



HALL'S CHRONICLE; CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF  
ENGLAND, DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FOURTH, AND  
THE SUCCEEDING MONARCHS, TO THE END OF THE REIGN  
OF HENRY THE EIGHTH, IN WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY  
DESCRIBED THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THOSE PERIODS





Hall's chronicle; containing the  
history of England, during the  
reign of Henry the Fourth, and the  
succeeding monarchs, to the end of  
the reign of Henry the Eighth, in  
which are particularly described the  
manners and customs of those  
periods

Edward Hall, Henry Ellis, Richard Grafton

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CAREFULLY COLLATED WITH THE EDITIONS OF 1548 AND 1550.

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LONDON.

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON, T. PAYNE; WILKIE  
AND ROBINSON; LONGMAN, HURST, REES AND ORME;  
CADELL AND DAVIES; AND J. MAWMAN.

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1809.



[Original Title.]

THE VNION

OF THE

TWO NOBLE AND ILLUSTRE FAMELIES

OF

LANCASTRE & YORKE,

BEEYNG LONG IN CONTINUAL DISCENSION FOR THE CROUNE OF THIS NOBLE REALME,

WITH ALL THE

ACTES DONE IN BOTHE THE TYMES OF THE PRINCES,

BOTHE OF THE ONE LINAGE AND OF THE OTHER,

BEGINNYNG AT THE TYME OF KYNG HENRY THE FOWERTH,

THE FIRST AUCTHOR OF THIS DEUISION,

AND SO SÜCCESSIUELY PROCEEDYNG TO THE REIGNE OF THE HIGH AND PRUDENT PRINCE

KYNG HENRY THE EIGHT,

THE VNDUBITATE FLOWER AND VERY HEIRE OF BOTH THE SAYD LINAGES

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1548.





¶ TO THE  
MOST MIGHTIE, VERTEOUS AND EXCELLENT PRINCE

## EDWARD THE SIXT,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD,

KYNG OF ENGLAND, FRAUNCE AND IRELAND,

DEFENDOR OF THE CATHOLIKE FAITH, AND VNDER GOD SUPREME HED, OF  
THE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND YOUR MOSIE HUMBLE SUB-  
JECT EDWARD HALLE, WISSHETH HEALTH, HONOR, AND FELICITIE.

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OBLIUION the cancard enemy to Fame and renounce the suckyng serpēt of auncient memory, the dedly darte to the glory of princes, and the defacer of all conquestes and notable actes, so muche bare rule in the firste and seconde age of the worlde, that nothyng was set out to mennes knowledge ether how the world was made either howe man and beastes wer created, or how the worlde was destroyed by water til father Moses had by deuine inspiraciō in the third age, inuented letters, the treasure of memorie, and set furth fīue notable bokes, to the greate comfort of all people huyng at this daie. Likewise Meřcurie in Egipte inuented letters and wrytyng, whiche Cadmus after brought into Grece. So euery naciō was desirous to enhaunce lady Fame, and to suppress that dedly beast Obliuō. For what diuersitie is betwene a noble prince & a poore begger, ye a reasonable man and a brute beast, if after their death there be left of them no remembrance or token. So that euidently it appereth that Fame is the triumphe of glory, and memory by litterature is the verie dilator and setter furth of Fame. How muche therefore are princes, gouernoures, and noble menne bounde to them whiche haue so liuely set furth the līues and actes of their parentes, that all though they bee ded by mortall death, yet they by wrytyng and Fame līue and bee continually present. If no man had written the goodnesse of noble Augustus, nor the pitie of merciful Traian, how shoulde their successours haue folowed their steppes in vertue and princely qualities: on the contrarie parte, if the crueltie of Nero, the vngracious līle of Caligula had not beene put in remembrance, young Princes and fraile gouernors might likewise haue fallen in a like pit, but by redyng their Vices and seying their mische-

uous ende, thei bee compelled to leaue their euill waies, and embrace the good qualities of notable princes and prudent gouernours: Thus, writyng is the keye to enduce vertue, and repress vice. Thus memorie maketh menne ded many a thousande yere still to liue as though thei wer present; Thus Fame triumpheth vpon death, and renoune vpon Obluion, and all by reason of writyng and historic.

Alas my soueraigne Lorde, my herte lamenteth to knowe and remembre what rule this tyrante Obluion bare in this realme, in the tyme of the Britons. For from the first habitacion of this land, no man of the Britons either set furthe historie of their begynnyng, or wrote the hole liues of their princes & kynges, excepte Gildas whiche inueighed against the euill doynges of a fewe tyrantes and euill gouernours. In so muche that Cesar writeth, that when he was in this realme, the people could not tel their linage, nor their begynnyng. But one Geffrey of Monmothe a thousand yere and more after Iulius Cesar, translated a certayn Britishe or Welshe boke, conteynyng the commyng of Brute with the sequele of his linage, till the tyme of Cadwalader, whiche Britishe boke if it had slept a litle lenger, Brute with al his posteritie had ben buried in the poke of Obluion, for lacke of writyng.

The strong Saxons, after thei had gayned this lande, set vp the bāner of Fame, and had their liues notably writtē by diuerse and sundery famous clerkes, euen from their firste entery into this lande, till the firste Monarchy, and so successynely. In the Normans tyme, many notable woorkes hath been set furthe, some of one prince perticularly, & some of mo. So that in fine, all the stories of kynges, from kyng Willyam the firste, to kyng Edward the third, bee set furthe at length by diuerse authours in the Latin toungue, as by Mattheue of Paris sometyme religious in saincte Albons and other. After whome Iohn Frossart wrote the liues of kyng Edward the third, and kyng Richard the seconde, so compendeously and so largely, that if there were not so many thynges spoken of in his long woorkes, I might beleue all written in his greate volumes to bee as trewe as the Gospell. But I haue redde an olde Prouerbe, whiche saithe, that in many woordes, a lye or twayne sone maie scape. Sith the ende of Frossarte whiche endeth at the begynnyng of kyng Henry the fourthe, no man in the Englishe toungue, hath either set furth their honors accordyng to their desertes, nor yet declared many notable actes worthy of memorie dooen in the tyme of seuen Kynges, whiche after kyng Richarde succeeded. Excepte Robert Fabian and one with out name, whiche wrote the common English Chronicle, men worthy to be praysed for their diligence, but farre shotyng wide from the butte of an historie.

Wherefore moste drad and benigne souereigne Lord, lest cancarde Obluion  
should

should deface the glory of these seuen Princes, to whom you be of all sides lineall heire and very inheritour, I haue compiled and gathered (and not made) out of diuerse writers, as well forayn as Englishe, this simple treatise whiche I haue named the vnion of the noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke, conioyned together by the godly mariage of your moste noble graundfather, and your verteous grandmother. For as kyng henry the fourthe was the beginnyng and rote of the great discord and deuision: so was the godly matrimony, the final ende of all discensions, titles and debates.

Besechyng your highe Maiestie, to take this my simple and rude woorke, accordyng to your accustomed goodnesse in good part, not regardyng the thyng, but my good will to my natiue countree, whose fame for lacke of wityng may muche be darkened and defaced, and thus I pray to the celestiaall Lorde to send you victorie ouer your enemies, Peace with your confederates, loue of your subiectes: and in conclusion, perpetuall ioye & eternall felicittee.

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## RICHARD GRAFTON TO THE READER.

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I must craue of the most gentle reader, charitably to iudge of me the imprinter of this worke, if ought herin shalbe sene vnto the of purpose to bee omitted either not sufficiently delated and set furth, or elles somethyng to playnly spoken, in the which might be noted affeccion, that thou wilt excuse me therin, for I professe that I haue as nere as in me lay, nether altered nor added any thyng of my selfe in the whole woorke, otherwise thē the auctor writ the same. But this is to be noted, that the Auctor therof, who though not to al mē, yet to many very wel knowē, was a man in the later tyme of his lyfe not so paynfull and studious as before he had ben. wherfore he perfited and writt this historie no farther then to the foure and twentie yere of kyng Henry the eight: the rest he left noted in diuers and many pamphletes and papers, whych so diligently & truly as I coulde, I gathered the same together, & haue in suchewise compiled them, as may after thesaied yeres, apere in this woorke: but vtterly without any addicion of myne. Therefore my request and desyr as aforesaied, is, that thou wilt truly and charitably iudge me. And so sone as my leasure will serue, for thine ease & ready fyndyng of any thyng herein conteyned I purpose to gather an exact table of the whole woorke.



¶ The names of the authours aswell Latin as other, out of the  
whiche this worke was first gathered, and after compiled and  
conioyned.

LATIN AUCTIONS.

Polichromicon.  
Cronica Cronicarum.  
Naucerus.  
Polidorus.  
Paulus Æmilius.  
Voluteranus.  
Gauguinus.  
Albertus Krantz.  
Michael Ricius.  
Hector Boetius.  
Ioannes Maior.  
Abbas Wyssenbergensis.  
Carion.  
Supplementum Cronicarum.  
Gesta Tholosanorum.  
Cronica Brabancie.

FRENCH AUCTIONS.

Enguerant de Munstrellet.  
Iean Buchet.  
Iean Mayer de Belges.  
Argenton.  
La Mere dez Histories.  
Les annales de Fraunce.  
Les annales de Aquitayne.  
Les Croniq; de Britayne.  
Giles Corozett  
Les Croniques de Normandi.  
Le Rosarie.  
Le genologie des Roys

ENGLISH WRITERS.

Trevisa.	Ihon Hardyng.
Fabian.	The Chronicles of London.
Sir Thomas Moore.	Ihon Basset.
Caxton.	Balantyne.

And out of other diuers Pamphlettes, the names of whom are to moste menne vn-  
knownen.

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The names of the histories cōteigned in this Volume.

An introduccion into the deuision of the two houses of Lancastre and Yorke.

- i. The vnquiet tyme of kyng Hēry the Fowerth.
- ii. The victorious actes of kyng Henry the v.
- iii. The troubleous season of kyng Henry the vi.
- iiii. The prosperous reigne of kyng Edward the iiij.
- v. The pitifull life of kyng Edward the v.
- vi. The tragicall doynges of kyng Richard the iiij.
- vii. The pōltike gouernaunce of kyng Henry the vij.
- viii. The triumphant reigne of king Henry the viij.

FINIS.

¶ An

# AN INTRODUCCION

## INTO THE HISTORY OF

### KYNȢ HENRY THE FOURTHE.

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**W**HAT mischiefe hath insurged in realmes by intestine deuision, what depopulation hath ensued in countries by ciuill discenciō, what detestable murder hath been cōmitted in ciuees by sepearte faccions, and what calamitee hath ensued in famous regiōs by domestical discord & vnnaturall controuersy Rome hath felt, Italy can testifie, Fraunce can bere witnes, Beame can tell, Scotlande maie write, Denmarke can shewe, and especially this noble realme of Englande can apparantly declare and make demonstration. For who abhorreth not to expresse the heynous factes comitted in Rome, by the ciuill war betwene Julius Cesar and hardy Pōpey by whose discorde the bright glory of the triūphant Rome was eclipsed & shadowed? Who can reherce what mischefes and what plagues the pleasant countree of Italy hath tasted and suffered by the sedicious faccions of the Guelphes and Gebelynes? Who can reporte the misery that daielely hath ensued in Fraunce, by the discorde of the houses of Burgoyne and Orlens: Or in Scotland betwene the brother and brother, the vnclē and the nephew? Who can curiously endite the manifolde battailles that were fought in the realme of Beame, betwene the catholikes and the pestiferous sectes of the Adamites and others? What damage discencion hath dooen in Germany and Denmarke, all christians at this daie can well declare. And the Turke can bere good testimony, whiche by the discord of christen princes hath amplified greatly his seigniory and dominion. But what miserie, what murder, and what execrable plagues this famous region hath suffered by the deuision and discencion of the renoumed houses of Lancastre and Yorke, my witte cannot comprehendē nor my tounge declare nether yet my penne fully set furthe.

FOR what noble man liueth at this daie, or what gentleman of any auncient stocke or progeny is clere, whose linage hath not ben infested and plagued with this vnnaturall deuision. All the other discordes, sectes and faccions almoste liuely florishē and continue at this presente tyme, to the greate displeure and preiudice of all the christian publike welth. But the olde deuided controuersie betwene the fornamed families of Lācastre and Yorke, by the vnion of Matrimony celebrate and consummate betwene the high and mighty Prince KynȢ Henry the seuenth and the lady Elizabeth his moste worthy Quene, the one beeyng indubitate heire of the hous of Lancastre, and the other of Yorke was suspended and appalled in the person of their moste noble, puissāt and mighty heire kynȢ Henry the eight, and by hym clerely buried and perpetually extinct. So that all men (more clerer then the

sonne)

## AN INTRODUCCION INTO THE HISTORY OF

sonne) maie apparantly perceiue, that as by discord greate thynges decaye and fall to ruine, so the same by concord be reuiued and erected. In likewise also all regions whiche by deuisiō and discencion be vexed, molested and troubled, bee by vnion and agrement releued pacified and enriched.

BY vnion of the Godhed to the manhod, manne was ioyned to God whiche before by the temptation of the subtile serpente, was from hym segragate and deuided. By the vnion of the catholike churche and the outworne sinagoge, not only the hard ceremonies and dedly peines of the Mosaicall law wer clerely abolISHED and made frustrate, but also christian libertie is inferred and Christes religion stablished & erected. By the vnion of man & woman in the holy Sacrament of Matrimony the generacion is blessed, and the synne of the body clene extincte & put awaie. By the vnion of mariage, peace betwene realme and realme is exalted, and loue betwene countree and countree is nourished. By coniunciō of matrimony, malice is extinct, amitie is embraced, and indissoluble aliance and consanguinite is procured. What profite, what cōmfort, what ioi succeeded in the realme of England by the vnion of the fornamed two noble families, you shall apparantly perceiue by the sequele of this rude and vnlearned history. And because there can be no vnion or agrement but in respect of a diuision, it is consequent to resō that I manifest to you not onely the originall cause and fōuntain of the same, but also declare the calamities, trobles & miseries whiche happened and chaunced duryng the tyme of the said contentious discencion.

FOR the whiche you shall vnderstande (accordyng as it is in an Acte of Parliamēte made in the firste yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the fourthe specified and declared.) That the highe and mightie Prince kyng Henry the third of that name, had issue Edward his firste begotten sonne borne at Westminster the eleuenth Kalendes of Iuly in the vigile of Sainte Marke and Marciian in the yere of our Lorde a thousande twoo hundred. xxix. And Edmonde his seconde begotten sonne borne on the daye of sainte Marcell in the yere of our Lorde a thousande twoo hundred. xlv. Whiche Edward after the death of king Henry his father, was entituled and called kyng Edward the first, and had issue his first begotten sonne entituled and called after the death of kyng Edward his father, kyng Edward the second, which had issue the right noble and honorable prince kyng Edward the third whiche kyng Edward had issue Edward his first begotten sōne prince of Wales, Willyā of Hatfeld the second begotten sonne, Lionell duke of Clarence the. iij. begotten sonne, Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the. iij. begotten sonne, Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the. v. begotten sonne, Thomas of Wodstocke duke of Glocestre the. vj. begotten sonne, and Willyam of Wynsor the. vij. begotten sonne. The saied prince Edward died in f life of his father kyng Edward the. iij. & had issue Richard borne at Burdeaux, whiche after the death of kyng Edward the. iij. as cosin and heire to hym, that is to saie sonne to the saied Edward prince of Wales sonne to the saied kyng Edward the thirde succeeded hym in royall estate and dignitee, lawfully entituled and called kyng Richard the seconde and died without issue, Lionell duke of Clarence the third begotten sonne of the saied kyng Edward the third, had issue Philippe his only daughter whiche was married to Edmond Mortymer erle of Marche and had issue Roger Mortymer erle of Marche: whiche Roger had issue Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, Anne and Elienor, whiche Edmond and Ehanor died without issue. And the saied Anne was married to Richard erle of Cambrige sonne to Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the fifth begotten sonne of the saied kyng Edward the thirde whiche Richard had issue thee famous prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke whiche had issue that noble prince kyng Edward the fourth father to Quene Elizabeth vnited in matrimony to the high and sage prince kyng Henry the. vij.

¶ Ihon duke of Lancastre had issue Henry erle of Darby, and Ihon erle of Somerssette. This Henry erle of Darby had issue, kyng Henry the fifth father to kyng Henry the sixte whiche begat prince Edward that was slayne at Tewkesbury, and diseased without issue. Ihon the erle of Somerssette before named, sonne to Ihon duke of Lancastre, engendered Ihon duke of Somerssette father to the lady Margarete Countes of Richemonde mother to the noble

The lyne  
of Kyng  
Henry the  
third.



noble and haute Prince Kyng Henry the seuenth whiche espoused lady Elizabeth the heire of the illustre family of Yorke, by the whiche marriage the deuise or badge of the hous of Lancastre whiche was the redde Rose, was vnite and ioyned with the white Rose, whiche was the cognisance and ensigne of the noble progeny of Yorke, as by the genealogy conteigned in the ende of this worke more plainly shall appere.

¶ This aforenamed Henry eile of Darby beeyng created alittle before duke of Herfforde, apudente and politike persone, but not more politike then welbeloued, and yet not so welbeloued of all, as of some highly disdayned, began to consider with hymself how that kyng Richard his cosyn germaine was now brought to that trade of liuyng that he litle or nothyng regarded the counsaill of his vncles, nor of other graue and sadde persones, but did all thyng at his pleasure, setting his will and appetite in stede of lawe and reason. Wherefore on a daie beeyng in the compaigny of Thomas Mowbrey firste duke of Norffolke and erle Marshall, beganne to breake his mynde to hym more for dolour and lamentacion, then for malice or displeasure, rehersyng howe that kyng Richard litle esiemed and lesse regarded the nobles and Princes of his realme, and as muche as laie in hym soughte occasions, inuented causes and practused priuely howe to destroye the more part of them to some thretenyng death, to other manacyng exile and banishment, forgettyng and not remembryng what blotte it was to his honor, and what detrimente and damage it was to the publike wealthe, to suffre his realme to lose the aunciente fame and pristinate renoume by his slouth and negligence, and that all thynges bothe in the tyme of peace, and also of warre, aswell in the realme as without, waxed worsse and worsse, and had neuer prosperous successe nor fortunate conclusion. And because noble menne murmured, and the comon people grudged, and all menne wondered at his vnprincely doynges, he desired the duke of Norffolke, whiche was one of the kynges priuy counsaill and well heard with hym, to aduise the kyng to turne the lefe and to take a better lesson. When the Duke of Norffolke had heard fully his deuise, he toke it not in good parte, but rekened y<sup>e</sup> he had gotten a prae by the whiche he should obtayne greater fauor of the kyng then euer he had, and so he at that tyme dissimuler the matter (as he was in deede bothe a depe dissimuler and a pleasaunte flaterer.) And after when he had oportunitie and sawe his tyme, was very glad (as tell tales and scicophantes bee, when thei haue any thyng to instill in to the eares and heddes of Princes) to declare to the kyng what he had heard, and to agrauate and make the offence the greater, he muche more added but nothyng diminished.

¶ This matter somewhat quickened and more tikeled the waneryng mynd of kyng Richard, and brought hym into a great fury. But when the water of fumitory was well digested in his stomacke, he determined to here bothe the parties indifferently, and called to hym the duke of Lancastre and his counsaill, and also the dukes of Herfforde and Norffolk, & caused the accusor to report opely the wordes to him declared, whiche rehersed them again as he had before related to the kyng. When Duke Henry heard the tale otherwise reported then he ether thought or saied, somewhat vnquieted for the noueltie of the thyng, or troubled with anger for the vntruth of the matter, stode stil & paused a good while lokyng stedfastly vpō the king. And after y<sup>e</sup> takyng a good corage to hym, makyng low obeisance, besought his highnes cōceiue no mistrust in hym til he had seen & herd more. Then turnyng hymself to his accuser, declared worde by worde what he had said shewyng the cause & occasion why he so spake, denyng fiersly al the other new inuēcions alleged & proponed to his charge: affirmyng y<sup>e</sup> if the kyng would permit & suffre hym he would proue his acusor vntrue, vniust & afalse forger of lies & sedicious tales by the stroke of a spere & dēt of a sword. The duke of Norffolke affirmed constantly his sayyng to be true & refused not the cōbate. The kyng demaunded of them if thei would agre betwene themselves, whiche thei both denied and threw doune their gages, by my truth q<sup>d</sup> the kyng, if you of yourselves will not agre I will not study how to agre you: and then he graūted thē the battaill & assigned the place to be at the citee of Couentree in the moneth of August next ensuyng, where he caused a sūpteous theatre and listes royal gorgeously to be prepared



## AN INTRODUCCION INTO THE HISTORY OF

At the day appointed the ij. valiant dukes cā to Couentre, accōpanied with the nobles & gentiles of their linages whiche theim encouraged & hertened to the vtmoste. At the day of the cōbate and fight, the duke of Aumarle that daie high counstable, and the duke of Suirey that daie high Marshall of England entred into the listes with a great cōpany of men apareled in silke sendall embrodered with siluer both richely and curiously, euery man hauyng a tipped staffe to kepe the feld in order. About the tyme of prime came to the barriars of the listes, the duke of Herfford mounted on a white corseil baihed with blew and grene veluet embrodered sumpteously with Swannes and Antelopes of goldsmithes worke, armed at all poyntes. The Constable and Marshall came to the barriars, demaundyng of hym what he was, he answered: I am Henry of Lancastre duke of Herfford, whiche am come hether to doo my deuoyre against Thomas Mowbrey duke of Norffolke as a traytor vntrew to God, the kyng, his realme and me. Then incontinent he sware vpō the holy Euangelistes that his quarel was trewe and iust, and vpon that poynte he desired to entre into the listes. Then he put vp his swearde whiche before he helde naked in his bande, and put doune his viser, made a crosse on his forhed, and with spere in hand entered into the listes, and disconded from his horse and set hym doune in a chayer of grene veluete whiche was set in a trauers of grene and blew veluet at the one ende of the listes, and there reposed hymself expectyng and abydyng the commyng of his aduersye. Sone after hym entered into the felde with greates pompe Kyng Richard accompaigned with all the peeres of his realme, and in his compaignie was therle of sent Paule, which was come out of Fraūce in post to se this chalyenge performed. The kyng had aboue ten thousand persones in harnesse, least some fraie or tumultue might spryng emongst his nobles by parttakyng or quarelling. When the kyng was set on his stage whiche was richely hanged and pleasantly adorned. A Kyng at Armes made open proclamacion, prohibityng all menne in the name of the kyng and the high Constable and Marshall to enterprise or attempte to approche or touche any parte of the listes vpon payne of death, except such as were apoynted to ordre and marshall the felde. The proclamacion ended, another Herald cried behold here Henry of Lancastre duke of Herefford appelland, whiche is entered into the listes royall to dooe his deuoyre against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norffolke defendante, vpon payne to bee proued false and recreant. The duke of Norffolke howered on horsebacke at the entry of the listes, his horse beyng barbed with crimosen veluet embrodered richely with Lions of siluer and Mulbery trees, and when he had made his othe before the Constable and Marshall that his quarell was iust and trewe, he entered the felde manfully sayyng aloude, God aide hym that hath the righte, and then he departed from his horse & satte doune in his chayer whiche was Crimosen Veluet, cortened aboute with white and redde Damaske. The lorde Marshall vewed their speres to see that thei were of egall length, and deliuered the one spere hymself to the duke of Herfforde, and sente the other spere to the duke of Norffolke by a knyghte. Then the Heralte proclaymed that the trauerses and chayers of the Champions should bee remoued, commaundyng them on the Kynges behalfe to mounte on horsebacke and adresse themselves to the battail and combate. The duke of Herfforde was quickly horssed and closed his hauier and caste his spere into the rest & when the trūpet sōded, set forward coragiously toward his enemy vj. or. vij. paces. The duke of Norffolke was not fully set forward whē the kyng cast doune his warder & the heraultes cried ho, ho. Then the kyng caused their speres to be taken from them, and commaunded them to repaire again to their chayers, where thei remained two long houres, while the kyng and his counsaill deliberately consulted what waie was best to bee taken in so waighy a cause. Then the Heraltes cried silence and sir Ihon Borcey secretary to the kyng red the sentence and determinacion of the kyng and his counsaill in a long rolle, pronounsying it after this maner. My lordes and masters I intimate and notify to you by the kyng & his counsaill, that Hēry of Lancastre duke of Herfforde appellante: and Thomas duke of Norffolke defendante, haue honorably and valiantly apared here within the listes royal this daie, & haue been redy to darraigne the batteill like two valiant knyghtes and hardy chāpions, but

but because the matter is greate and weighty betwene these two greate princes, this is the ordre of the kyng and his counsaill, that Henry duke of Hereford for diuerse considerations and because he hath displeased the kyng, shall within xv daies departe out of the realme for terme of ten yeres, without returnyng excepte by the kyng he be repealed again and that vpon pain of death. When the people whiche hertely loued the duke of Hereford heard this crie, they were not a litle amased, & marueled muche that he which had doen his deuor to the performance of his chalenge should be thus banished and exiled. Then the herauld cried again oyes, & the secretary declared that Thomas Mowbrey duke of Norffolke by the ordinaunce of the kyng and his counsaill because that he had sowed sedicion in this realme by his wordes wherof he can make no proffe, shall a voide the realme of England and dwel in Hūgery, Beame, Prouce or where he list, & to neuer returne again into Englande nor approche the cōfines nor borders of the same vpon pain of death, and that the kyng would stae the profites and reuenues of his landes in his bandes till he had receiued such somes of money as the duke had taken vp of the kynges treasure for the wages of the garison of Caleis whiche wer still vnpaid. When these iudgemētes wer thus deuulged, the kyng called before him the two exiles and made thē swere that the one should neuer come into the place wher the other was (willingly) nor kepe company together in any forien region, whiche oth they receiued humbly and departed from the listes. It was supposed that the kyng mistrusted that if they two should ioyne in one again, and conspire to be reuenged against him, that they and their frendes might worke hym greate trouble and calamitee, and for that cause to haue deuised this othe. The duke of Norffolke whiche supposed to haue been borne out by the kyng, was sore repentant of his enterprise, and departed sorowfully out of the realme into Almaine, and at the laste came to Venice where he for thoughte and Melancoly deceased. The duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of hys kyng, at Elthā, whiche there released foure yeres of his banishement. And so he tooke his iourney & came to Caleis, & so into Fraunce, wher he continued a while.

Wondrefull it is to write, and more straunge to here, what nombre of people ranne in euery towne & strete, lamentyng and bewaylyng his departure. As who saie that when he departed, the onely shelde, defence & comfort of the cōmen people was vadiid and gone, as though the sunne had fallē out of the spere, or the moone had lapsed frō her propre epicle.

When he was arriued in Fraunce, kyng Charles heryng the cause of his banishement, whiche he esteemed verie small and lighte, receaued hym gently, & hym honorably entreteyned. In somuche that he had by fauour obtained the maiaage of the only daughter of Ithō duke of Berry vncle to the Frenche kyng, if kyng Richard had not cast a stoppe in his waie: For he well considered howe the commonaltie loued the duke, and how desirous they were of his returne into Englande, and then forseying that if he should bee ioyned with so great an affinite as the blood of the house of Berry was in Fraunce, & afterward sodeinly to returne into Englande, it might fortune to redounde to his more displeasoure then pleasoure, whertore he letted the maiaage to his owne distruction.

Duryng hys first yere of this dukes exile, his father Ithō of Gaūt duke of Lancastre deceased, & is buried on the northside of the high aulter of hys cathedral churche of seint Paull in Londō. The death of this duke abbreuiated the life of kyng Richard, for he notwithstanding hys the duchy of Lancastre was to this duke Henry lawfully dissended, not onely ceazed without right or title all the goodes of duke Ithō his parent, but also defrauded his here of his lafull inheritance, receauyng the rentes and reuenues of all his patrimony, & geuyng to other that whiche was not his, distributed the dukes landes to his pasesites and flatterer folowers. This facte was adiudged of all the nobilitie to bee vnlawfull, vnjust and vngodly, to depriue a man beyng banished out of the realme without deserte, withoute culpe, and without cause, of his inheritance and patrimony. But Edmund duke of Yorke vncle to Henry now lawfully duke of Lancastre, was sore moued with this chaunce, to see the kyng breake and violate all lawes, all iustice and equitie, and after the murther  
of



of his brother the duke of Glocestre, to spoyle and robbe the soonne of his other brother. For he before this tyme asmuche as his pacience could beare, did tollerate and suffre the deathe of his brother, the exile of his nephew, and an hundred mo injuries, whiche for the leuitie and youth of the kyng, he remitted and sepulted in obliuion. And therefore considering that the glorie of the publike wealthe of his natue countree was like to apall by reason that the kyng was not moste ingenious, & had no manne nere hym that would boidely admonishe hym of his office & dуетie, thought it the acte of a wise man in tyme to get hym to a restyng place, and to leaue f̄ foloyng of suche a doubtfull captain whiche with a leadē swordc would cut his owne throte bolle. Wherefore he with the duke of Aumarle his soonne went to his house at Langley reioysyng that there was nothyng in the common wealthe mishappened either by his deuce or concent, daely emplyoryng aide of almighty God to deuerte from kyng Richarde the darke clowde whiche he sawe dependyng ouer his hed.

In this ceason kyng Richard sailed into Irelande as diuers authores testifie, but what he did there is no parte of my processe, whiche dependeth on the sequele of this deuisiō. While king Richard was in Irelande, the graue persones of the nobiltee, the sage prelates of the clergy f̄ sad magistrates & rulers of the citees, townes & comminaltie perceauyng daily more & more the realme to fall into ruine and desolacion (in maner irreuerable as long as kyng Richard either liued or reigned,) after long deliberacion, wrote into Fraunce to duke Henry, whom thei now called (as he was in deede) duke of Lancastre and Herford, solicytyng and requiryng hym with all diligente celeritee to conueighe hym self into Englande, promisyng hym all their aide, power and assistance, if he expellyng kyng Richard as a manne not mete nor conuenient for so princely an office and degree, would take vpon hym the sceptre rule and diademe of his natue countree and firste nutritiue soyle. And for that cause thei sente the reuerent father Thomas Arundell archebisshop of Cauntorbury with certein lordes and citezens of diuerse citees and boroghes in habite palliate and dissimuled, into the citee of Paris, some goyng one waie and some another, but all assemblyng together at the house of Clugny where the duke then sojourned. When he sawe the archebisshop his especiall frend and looked on other his fautores and louers, if he thanked God, no manne oughte to maruell, if he welcommed these ambassadors no creature can wondre; but if he reioyced and applauded not at their accesse and comyng, wise menne maie thynke folie & fooles maie laugh hym to skorne. When he was of them saluted, and thei of hym not onely resaluted but heartely welcommed & frendely enter-teyned. The archebisshop desiryng the duke to absent all other persons than suche as wer his cōpanions, said these or like wordes to hym.

An oracion  
made by  
Thomas  
Arundell  
arche-  
bisshope of  
Cauntorbu-  
ry to Henry  
duke of  
Lancaster.

When your louyng and naturall kynsmen and patricians moste noble and mightie prince, had muche and long tyme considred and debated with theiselues of their affaires and busines in this tempesteous world and ceason (in the whiche no manne of our nacion is sure of his life, nor enioyeth his landes and seignories withoute drede nor possedeth his mouables without terror or feare, whiche outrageous dooynges many yerres occupied hath brought the publike wealthe of our aboundāt countree almoste to wrecke and vtter exterminion) their last ankerholde refuge and conforte was to studie and inuestigate howe to haue a gouernour and ruler whiche should excell and florishe in wisdom, policie and justice aboue all other. By whiche reason a greate nombre of the nobiltee and in maner all the comminaltie, beyng led and persuaded (whē thei had well cast their eyes and marked all the peres and nobles of the realme of Englande) thei could fynde no duke, nor marques, no erle nor other potentate withun all the realme, to whose empire and authoritye thei would bee subiect and vassalls so gladly as to yours. For this I assure you (and you knowe it aswell as I) that wee miserable subiectes haue so long borne the yoke of wātō vnwitty kyng Richard, and haue patiently tollerate the pernicious persecucion of his gredy and auaricious counsellors, and haue wynked at the pollyng and extoreion of his vnmeasurable officers, that oure backes bee so galde that we can no more suffre, and our chynne bones



bones so weake that wee can no lenger cary And therfore necessitee and not will, reason and not affection, constancy and not leuytie enforceth vs to implore and desire youre aide and comforte, to whom wee bee sent by the moste part of the nobilitie and also of the more parte of the vniuersall comminaltie, to desire and require you to take vpon you the high power, gouernance and sceptre of your natue countree and paternall inheritaunce, and the same to gouerne, rule and defende accordyng to your approued wisdomes and long experimēted pollicie, whom wee haue euer knowne to bee of that iustice, of that prudence and of that integritie that you will commaunde, admonishe or attempt eny thyng whiche shall not bee iust, honest and laudable. Whiche request if you well considre and diligently pondre preuely with yourself, you shall facilye perceaue that nothyng more profitable, more honest, or more glorious can by eny waies happen or chaunce to you then to accepte and concoide to the same. For what can you moie expecte and wishe, then to commaūde and dooe all thynges accordyng to right, reason and honestie? Wee offie not to you golde, siluer, perle or precious stone, but our countree, our bodies, goodes and vs all to vse as youre and not as oures, desirying you to geue to vs in recompence, indifferēcy quietnes and peace, and to restore to her seate and throne again, the lady iustice, whiche hath so long been banished out of our nacion, to thentent that wise, sage and good persones (whose desire and appetite is euer to lue well) maie honour, loue and embrace you as a gouernour and kyng sent from God, and that malicious and obstinate persones (whose conscience is grudged with daily offences, and whom the feare of iustice and ponishment dooth continually vex and perturb, fearyng you as the skouge and plague of their facinorous dooynges and mischeueous actes) maie either sone amende, or shortly auoyde your countree and region. Nowe occasion is offred, refuse it not, by the whiche your wisdomes, pollicie and valiantnes shall apere to the vniuersall worlde, by the whiche you shall not onely bryng vs into an vnitie and monacord, but also repress all sedicion and cancard dissimulacion then the noble men shall triumphe, the riche men shall lue without feare, the poore and nedie persones shall not bee oppressed nor confounded, and you for your so doying, shall obtaine thankes of your creatour, loue of your people, fauour of your neighbours, fame and honoure sempiternall. Whē the bishop had ended, the duke pawsed awhile, and then put of his hood and saied.

My lorde of Cauntourbury and you my other frendes and louers, your commyng to vs is verie pleasaunt, but more ioyous is your message, for wee of our owne naturall disposition for the good will and synguler affection that you haue euer borne to vs, haue loued, embraced and highly esteemed you and all your dooynges Surely we would you knewe with what sorowe and agony of mynde wee haue borne your vexacions, calamities and oppressions (as for the manifest iniuries and opprobrious offences dooen and committed against vs as you knowe well inough, wee wolle not speake at this tyme) of the whiche wee esteemed oure selfe a partener, as a thyng common betwene vs. For as it is heard that the bed shall not feele when the hand or eny other membre is greued or sicke, so it is vnlike that eny displeasure or discommoditee should happen to you with whiche wee should not taste in parte, suche vicinietie is among membres, and suche communitee is among frendes Wherefore, neither for ambition of worldly honour, nor for desire of Empire or rule, or for affection of worldly riches and mucke of the worlde, we wolle agree to your peticio, but onely to relieue your miserable calamitie, to restore iustice to her auncient Rome & preheminance, & to defend the poore innocēt people from the extorte powre of the greedy coimerātes & rauenous oppressours, requirying you to ioyne with vs & we with you in aduācyng forward this our incepted purpose & pretēsed entreprice.

When the duke was condescended to the bishoppes request, the bisshop and his complices departed into Englande, makyng relacion to their confederates of the dukes agrement and pleasure, exhortyng every manne to be prest and ready at his arryuall

After their departure, the duke fayned to the Frenche kyng that he would go into Bryteyn to visite his fiende duke Ihon of Bryteyn. The Frenche kyng thynkyng him to

The aū wer  
of Henry  
duke of  
Lancaster  
to Thomas  
Arundel  
bishop of  
Cātorbury

meane

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meane inwardly as he outwardly dissimuled, sent to the duke of Brytein letters of commendacion in fauour of the duke of Lancastre. But if he had knowen that his entent was to transfret into Englande and depose his soonne in lawe kyng Richard, he would surely haue stopped hym a tyde, and let his purpose and passage. What should I saie? that whiche shalbee, shalbe. The duke passed into Brytein and there conducted and waged certeyne menne of warre and shippes, and with good wynde and better spede sailed into Englad and landed at Rauēspurre in holdrenes as moste wryters affirine. But some saie that he landed at Plyminoth, and other at Portesmouth, but where soeuer he arryued, sure it is that he tooke lande peaceably without any againsaie of interrupcion. I will not bee teduous to you in rehersyng howe the erles of Northumbrelande and Westmerlande, the lordes Percy, Rose, Willoughby and other resorted to hym, and taking an othe of hym that he should not dooe to kyng Richard any bodelye harme, and made to hym homage and became his liege men. I omit howe children applauded, howe wemen reioyced, and howe menne cryed oute for ioye in euery toun and village where he passed. I relinquishe farther the concourse of people, the number of horses, whiche occurred to hym as he journeyed toward London, reioysyng at his repaire and comyng to the Citie. I wil not speake of the procession and singing of the Cleargie, nor of the pleasant salutations nor eloquent oracions made to hym by the Prelacie, nor of the presentes, welcomynges, laudes, gratificacions made to hym by the citesiens and comminaltee of the cite of London, but I wil go to the purpose. Whē he was come to London he consulted with his fiendes diuers dayes, to whome came Thomas Earle of Arundell sōne to Richard of Arundell, by kyng Richard a litell afore put to deathe, whiche had lately escaped out of prison. When the Duke had perceaued the fauour of the Nobilitie, the affection of the Cleargie and the sincere loue of the comminalte towarde hym and his procedynges, he marched forward with a greate company toward the West countrey, and in passyng by the waie, the people assembled in great and houghe multitudes (as the nature of the common people is, euer desirous of nowe changes) calling him their kyng, deprauyng and railyng on kyng Richard, as an innocent a dastarde, a meicocke and not worthy to beare the name of a kyng. When he had assembled together a conuenient number of people for his purpose and was clerely determyned to depose kyng Rycharde from his rule and dignitie, he proclaimed open warre agaynst hym and all his partakers fauours and frendes. Kyng Rycharde beyng in Irelande was certified of the Dukes arriual, from whence (when he had pacified the sauage and wilde people) he retourned agayne into England, entending to resiste and defend the eminent peril and apparant ieopardy, and for the more tuiciō and safegard entred into the strong castel of Flinte in North Wales. x myles distaunt from Chester. When kyng Richard perceued that the people by plumpes fled from him to Duke Henry, he was amased and doubted what counceill sodeinlic to take, for on the one part he sawe his tūle iust, trewe, and vnfalible, and beside that he had no small truste in the Welshemen, his conscience to, he cleane pure immaculate without spot or enuy: on the other side, he sawe the puissaunce of his aduersaries, the sodaine departyng of them that he mooste trusted, and all thynges turned vpsydoun, with these thinges he beyng more abashed then encouraged, compelled by necessitie, determined to kepe hym selfe in that castell till he myght see the worlde stable and in more suetie. For nowe he evidently espied and manifestly perceaued that he was lefte, lowted and forsaken of theym by whom in tyme he myght haue bene ayded and reueued, and whiche nowe was to late and to farre oucrpassed: and this thing is worthy to be noted with a whitestone, of al princes rulērs and men set in auctoritee and rule, that this Duke Henry of Lancastre shoulde be thus called to the kyngdome and haue the healepe and assistance all most of all the whole realme, whiche perchaunce neuer thereof once thoughte or yet dreamed: and that kyng Richard shuld thus be lefte desolate void and desperate of all hope and comforte, in whom if there were any offence, it ought more to be imputed to the frailtee of his wanton youth then to the malice of his heart or cankerdness of his stomacke, but suche is the frayle iudgement of mortall men



men whiche vilependyng and not regardyng thynges presente before their eies, do euer thincke all thynges that are to come to haue a prosperous successe and a delectable sequele. When the Duke of Lancastre knewe that king Richarde was come to the castel of Flinte, whiche a man maye call the dolorous Castell, because there king Richarde declined from his dignitie and lost the tipe of his glorie and preheminnence, he assembled together a great annue in small space lest he myght geue his enemies time to preuent his purpose and so to lose the good occasion of victory to him geuen, came to the towne of Bristowe where he apprehended Willyam lord Scrope the kynges treasurer sir Ihō Busshe and sir Henri Grene knyghtes, and caused their heddes to be striken of, and from thence toke his iourneie directly to Chester. When Thomas Percy Earle of Worceter and great Master or lord Stuard of the kynges houshold beyng brother to the Earle of Northumberland hard tell of the dukes approach, being displeasure to the king because he had proclaimed his brother a traiter, brake before all the kynges honshold his white staffe, which is the ensigne and token of his office and without delay went to duke Henry. Whē the kynges familer seruitours perceived this, they dispersed them selves some into one countrey and some into another.

¶ The Duke came toward the castell of Flinte wherof king Richard beyng aduertised by counsell of Ihon Pallet and Richarde Seimer his assured seruauntes departed out of the castell and toke the sandes by the ryuer of Dee trusting to escape to Chester and there to haue refuge and succoure, but or he had farre passed he was forelayed and taken and brought to the Duke, which sent hym secretly to the Towre of London. When the Duke had thus possessed his longe desyred praye, he came to London in solempne estate and there called a Parliament in the kynges name, to the whiche many of the kynges frendes, but more of his there appeared. There was declared howe vnprofitable kyng Richarde had bene to the realme duryng his reigne, howe he subuerted the lawes, polled the people and ministred Iustice to no man but to suche as pleased hym. And to the entent that the comunons should bee perswaded that he was an vniust and vnprofitable Prince and a tiraunte ouer his subiectes, and worthy to bee deposed. There were set forthe. xxxv. solempne articles very heynous to the eares of men, and to some almost vncredible. The very effecte of whiche articles I will truly reporte hereafter accordyng to my copie

¶ Fyist that kyng Richard wastfully spent the treasure of the realme and had geuen the 1. possessions of the Crowne to men unworthy, by reason wherof daily newe charges more and more were layd in the neckes of the poore commualtie. And where diuerse lordes as well spiritual as temporall, were appointed by the highe court of Parliament to cōmon and treat of diuers matters concernyng the common wealth of the same, which beyng busie about the same commission, he with other of his affinitie went about to empeach of treson, and by 2. force and menace compelled the Iustices of the realme at Shrewsburie to condescend to his opinion, for the destruction of the said Lordes: in so muche that he began to reise war 3. against Ihon duke of Lancastre, Thomas Erle of Arundell, Richarde Erle of Warwicke, and other lordes contrary to his honour and promyse.

¶ Item that he caused his vnkle the Duke of Glocester to be arrested without lawe, and 4. sent him to Calers, and there without iudgemente murdered hym. And although the Erle of Arundell vpon his araiment pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shameful maner sodainly put to death

¶ Item he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheslure men to the entent to make warre 5. on the foresaid Lordes, and suffered them to robbe and pill without correction or reпре

¶ Item although the king flateringly and with great dissimulacion made proclamacion 6. throughout the realme, that the lordes before named were not attached for any crime of treason, but onely for extorcions and oppressions done in this realme, yet he laied to theym in the parliament, rebellion and manifest treason.

¶ Item he hath compelled diuers of the saied lordes seruauntes and frendes by menace & 7. extreme painmentes, to make great fines to theyr vtter vndoing. And notwithstanding his pardon to them graunted yet he made them fine of newe.

## AN INTRODUCCION INTO THE HISTORY OF

8. ¶ Item where diuers were appointed to common of the estate of the realme, and the common welthe of the same. The same kyng caused al the rolles and recordes to be kept from them, contrary to his promise made in the parliament, to his open dishonour
9. ¶ Item he vncharitably comaunded that no man vpon paine of losse of life and goodes should ouce entreate him for the retourne of Henry nowe duke of Lancastre.
10. ¶ Item where this realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or other prince, the said kyng Richard after he had obtained diuers actes of parliament for his owne peculier profite and pleasure, then he obtained Bulles and extreme censures from Rome, to compell al menne straightely to kepe the same, contrary to the honour and auncient priuileges of this realme.
11. ¶ Item although the duke of Lancastre had done his deuoir against Thomas duke of Norfolke in profe of his quarel, yet the said kyng without reason or ground banished him the realme for ten yeres contrary to all equitee.
12. ¶ Item before the dukes departure, he vnder his brode seale licenced him to make attourneys to prosecute and defend his causes: The said kyng after his departure wold suffre none attourney to apere for him but did with his at his pleasure.
13. ¶ Item the same kyng put oute diuers shrues lawefully elected and put in their romes, diuers other of his owne minions subuerting the lawe contrary to his othe and honour.
14. ¶ Item he borrowed great sōmes of money, and bound him vnder his letteis pattendes for the repaimēt of the same, & yet not one peny paid.
15. ¶ Itē he taxed men at the wil of him & his vnhappy counel, & the same treasure spent in folie, not payng pore men for their vitail & viande
16. ¶ Item he said that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and som time in his brest, by reason of whiche fantastical opinion, he destroyed noble men and empouerished the pore commons
17. ¶ Item the parliament setting and enacting diuers notable statutes for the profite and aduancement of the common welth, he by his priue frendes and solicters caused to be enacted that no acte then enacted shuld be more preiudiciall to him than it was to any of his predecessors, through whiche Prouiso he did often as he liste and not as the lawe ment.
18. ¶ Itē for to serue his purpose he wold suffer the Shrefes of the shire to remaine aboue one yere or two.
19. ¶ Item at the sommons of the parliament when knightes and burgesses should be electe that the election had bene full proceded, he put out diuers persones elected, and put in other in their places to serue his wyll and appetite.
20. ¶ Item he had priue espialles in every shire, to here who had of him any communication, and if he commoned of his lasciuious liuyng or outragious doying, he streight waies was apprehended and made a greuous fine
21. ¶ Item the spiritualtie alledged againste hym that he at his goyng into Ireland exacted many notable sōmes of money, beside plate & uels, without law or custome, contrary to his oth takē at his coronaciō
22. ¶ Item when diuers lordes and Iustices were sworne to say the truthe of diuers thinges to them committed in chaige both for the honor of the realme and profite of the kyng, the said kyng so menaced theym with sore thretenynges, that no man wold or durste saie the ryght
23. ¶ Item that with out the assent of the nobiltee, he caried the iewels and plate and treasure ouer the see into Irelande, to the great empouerishyng of the realme. And al the good recordes for the cōmon welthe and against his extorcions, he caused priuely to be embesiled and conueied away.
24. ¶ Item in all leages and letters to bee concluded or sent to the see of Rome or other regions: His wityng was so subtil and so darke, that no other prince durst once beleue him, nor yet his owne subiectes.



¶ Item he mooste tyrannously and vnpryncely said that the liues and goodes of al his 25. subiectes were in the princes hāds & at his disposiciō.

¶ Item that he contrary to the great Charter of England caused dyuers lustie men to 26. appele diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common law, in the court marcial, because that in that court is no triall but onely by battaile: Whervpon the said aged personnes fearyng the sequele of the matter submitted theym selves to his mercy whom he fined and ransomed vnreasonably at his pleasure.

¶ Item he craftely deuised certain priuie othes contrary to the lawe, & caused diuers of 27. his subiectes first to be swoine to obserue the same and after bounde them in bondes for former keeping of the same, to the great vndoing of many honest men.

¶ Item where the Chauncellour accordyng to the lawe woulde in no wise graunt a 28. prohibition to a certain person the king graunted it vnto the same person vnder his priuie seale with greate thretnynges if it shuld be disobeyed.

¶ Item he banysed the bishop of Canterbury without cause or iudgement and kept him 29. in the parliament chamber with men of Armes.

¶ Item the bishops goodes he graunted to his successour vpon condicion that he shuld 30. mainteine al his statutes made at Shrewsburie, Anno. xxi. and the statutes made. Anno xxii. at Couentre.

¶ Item vpon the accusation of the Archbishop, the king craftely perswaded the said 31. byshop to make no answer, for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to come to the parliament. And so withoute answer he was condemned and exiled, and his goodes seized.

These bee the articles of any effecte whiche were laied against hym, sauynge fowre concernyng the bishoppe of Caunterbury, whiche onely touched hi, but his workyng vnwrought king Richard frō his croiue.

AND for as much as these articles, and other heinous and detestable accusacions were laied against him in the open parliament, it was thought by the most parte that kyng Richard was worthy to be deposed of al honor, rule and Pryncely gouernance. And instrumentes autentike and solempne to depose, and other instrumentes were made to certain persons for them, and all homagers of the realme to resigne to hym all the homages and fealties dewe to him as kyng & soueraigne.

But or this deposition was executed in tyme, he came to Westminster and called a great councell of all the nobilitie and commons to the entente to conclude and make expedicion of all thynges whiche before were purposed and set forward.

¶ In the meane season diuerse of king Richardes seruauntes which by licence had accesse to his person, comforted, animated and encouraged him beyng for sorowe withered, broken and in maner halfe deade, aduertisyng and exhortyng him to regard his welthe and to saue his lyfe. And firste they aduised him willyngly to suffer him self to be deposed bothe of his dignitie, & deprived of his riches. so that the duke of Lancastre might without murdre or battail obtaine the scepter and Diademe, after the whiche they well perceiued he gaped and thrust by the mene wherof they thought he shuld be in perfit assuance of his life long to continue, & therefore might commit him selfe to good hope, which is the best felowe & companiō that a man in aduersitie can associat or ioine him selfe withal. Surely this counsel was both good and honeste in so great an extremite, but yet the full effect folowed not as the sequele of the thyng sheweth and apparantly declareth. What profite, what honoure, what suretie had it bene to kyng Richard, if he when he myght, whiche professed the name and title of a kyng, whiche is as much to saie, the ruler or keper of people, had excogitate or remēbred to haue bene a keper of his owne hedde and lyfe, whiche now beyng forsaken, reiect and abandoned of al such as he, being an euil sheperd or herdeman, before time did not pley, kepe and diligently ouerse was easily reduced and brought into the hādes of his enemies. Nowe it was no mastery to perswade a man beyng desperate perisfe and ful of dolour, to abdicate him selfe from his empire and imperiall preheminnence: so that

in onlie hope of his life and sauegard, he agreed to al thynges that of hym were demanded, and desired his keepers to shewe and declare to the duke, that if he wold vouchsafe to accord and come to hym, he wolde declare secretly thynges to hym both profitable and pleasant. His keepers sent word of all his saynges to the duke, whiche incontinent repaired to his chamber. There kyng Richard cōmoned with him of māny thynges, and amongst all other affirmed those accusacions to be to muche trewe whiche the commaltie of the realme alledged against him that is to say, that he had euell gouerned his dominion and kingdome, and therefore he desyred to be disburdoned of so great a charge and so heauy a burdein, besechyng the Duke to grant to him the safegarde of his lyfe, and to haue compassion of hym, nowe as he before that time had bene to him bountifull and magnificent.

¶ The duke biddyng him to be of good comfort and out of fear warranted him his lyfe, so that he wold resigne to him his scepter croune & dignitie also nether to procure nor consent to any thyng or act whiche myght be hurtfull or preiudiciall to his person or succession, to the whiche demaundes he graunted and frely condiscended and agreed.

THE Duke of Lancastre the nexte daie declared al kyng Richardes hole mind to the councel, but especially to his vnckle Edmund duke of Yorke (whose helpe he much vsed) whiche bearyng al thynges to be in a broyle, a fewe daies before was come to London. The nobles and commons were well pleased that kyng Richard shoulde frankly and frely of his owne mere mocion, whiche they much desired (lest it shuld he noysed and reported that he therevnto were inforced and by violence constrained) resigne his croune and depart from his regalltee.

Not long after he caused a great assemble to be appointed at the Towre of London, where kyng Richard appareled in vesture and robe royall the diademe on his head, & the scepter in his hand, came personally before the cōgregacion and said these wordes in effecte. I Richard king of England Duke of Fraunce, Aquitaine, and Lorde of Ireland, confesse and say before you my lordes and other our subiectes, that by the holt space of xxii. yere in the whiche I haue obtained and possessed the rule and regiment of this famous realme of England, partly ruled and misauised by the euell & sinister counsell of peruerse & flatteryng persons and partly led by the frailtie of young waueryng and wanton youth, and with delectacion of worldly and voluptuous appetite, haue omitted and not executed my royall office and bounden dute accordyng as I oughte to haue dooen, in ministryng iustice and prefermente of the comon wealthe, whiche negligence I more than any of you as I thynke my selfe, doo sore repente and bewayle, and specially because I am brought to this poyncte, that I knowledge and confesse my self, not worthy longer to reigne nor to haue any farther role. So that now I can nother amende my misdedees, nor correcte my offences whiche suerly I entended to dooe, and especially in my olde age, in the whiche euill thynges be accustomed to be amended, and the fautes and offences of youth, to be corrected and reformed. For what young man comonly can be founde indued with so muche vertue and so good qualities, whiche agitate & pricked with the heate of youth, shall not turne and decline from the right pathe and drect waie, and yet when he cometh to the more ripenes of yeres and greate grauitie, doth not amend and change into better his olde errates and wanton actes, for experience teacheth, that of a rugged colte, commeth a good horse, and of a shreude boye, proueth a good man. But sithe Fortune doth not permit and suffre me so to do, to thentent that the publike welth of this realme maie bee holpen and auansed by my weane, and after this not like again to declyne and decaye. And to the intent that it shall bee lefull to you, to elect and chose my cosyn germayne, Henry duke of Lancastre, a man mete for a realme, and a prince apt for a kyngdom, to your kyng and souereigne lorde I of my owne mere mocion and frewill, do putte and depose my self out of all royall dignitie, prehemynence and sofferaignitee, and resign the possession, title and vse of this realme, with all rightes there vnto apperteigyng, into his handes and possession. And then with a lamentable voyce and a sorowfull countenance, deliuered his sceptre and croune to the duke of Lancastre, requiryng euery persone seuerally by their names, to graunte and assentie that he might  
liue



live a priuate and a solitarie life, with the swetnesse whereof, he would be so well pleased, that it should be a paine and punishment to hym to go abrode, and deliuered all the goodes that he had, to the some of three hundred thousande pounce in coync, beside plate and iuels, as a pledge and satisfaccion, for the iniuries and wronges by hym committed and dooen. But what soeuer was promised, he was disceiued. For shortly after his resignation he was conueighed to the castell of Ledes in Kent, & from thence to Poumffret wher he departed out of this miserable life, as you shall heare hereafter.

## ¶ THE VNQUIETE TYME OF KYNG HENRY THE FOURTHE.

**W**HEN the fame was dispersed abroad that Kyng Rycharde had putte hymselfe from his dignitee royall, and resigned his scepter and diademe imperiall, Henry Plantagenet borne at Bolyngbroke in the Countie of Lyncolne, duke of Lancastre and Herfford erle of Derby, Leicester and Lyncolne sonne to Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lancastre, with one voyce bothe of the nobles and comons, was published, proclaymed & declared kyng of England and of Fraunce, and lorde of Irelāde, and on the daie of saincte Edward the confessor, was at Westminster with great solemnitee and royal pompe, sacred, enoynted and crowned king by the name of kyng Henry the fourth. But who so euer reioysed at this coronacion, or whosoever delighted at his high promociō, suer it is that Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche whiche was heire to Lionell duke of Claience, the thirde begotten sonne of kyng Edward the third as you before haue heard, and Richard erle of Cābrige the sonne to Edmond duke of Yorke, whiche had married Anne sister to the same Edmonde, wer with these doynge neither pleased nor contente. In so muche that nowe the diuisiō once beyng begon, the one linage persecuted the other, and neuer ceased till the heires males of bothe the lines wer by battaill murdered or by sedicion clerely extincte and destroyed.

At the daie of the coronacion, to thentent that he should not seme to take vpon hym the croune and scepter royall without title or lawfull clayme but by extorte power and iniurious intrusion, he was aduised to make his title as heire to Edmonde, surnamed or vntruly fayned Crouchebacke, sonne to kyng Henry the third, and to saie that the said Edmond was elder brother to kyng Edward the first, and for his deformitee repudiat and put by from the croune royall to whom by his mother Blanche daughter and sole heire to Henry duke of Lancastie, he was next of bloud and vudoubtfull heire. But because not onely his frēdes but also his priuy enemies knewe, that was but a title and that this title was by inuentors of mischief fayned, imaged & published and wer surely enformed not only that the said Edmond was younger sonne to kyng Henry the third accordyng as it is declared in the act of Parliament before recited. Also hauyng true knowledge that Edmōd was nether Croke-backed nor a deformed persone, but a goodly gentil man and a valante capitain, and so muche fauored of his louyng father, that he to pferre hym to the mariage of the Quene dowager of Nauerne hauyng a greate liuelode, gaue to hym the countie palātine of Lancastre with many notable honours, high seignories and large priuileges. Therefore thei

advised hym to make some other clayme to the newe obtained regiment, and so caused it to be proclaimed and published that he chalenged the realme not onely by conquest, but also because he was by kyng Richard adopted as herre, & declared successor & of hym by resignacion had accepted the croune and scepter, & also that he was the next heire male of the bloud royall to kyng Richard.

After that he was crowned, he created his eldest sonne lorde Henry, Prince of Wales, duke of Cornwale, and erle of Chicester, then beeyng of the age of. xij. yeres. This solēnite finished, he called his high court of parliament, in the whiche it was demaunded by the kynges frendes what should be doen with kyng Richard. The bishop of Carleile whiche was a man both wel lerned & well stomacked rose vp and said. My lordes I require you take hede what answere you make to this question. For I thynke there is none of you worthy or mete to geue iudgemente on so noble a Prince as kyng Richard is, whom we haue taken for our squireigne and leige lorde by the space of xxij. yeres, and I assure you, there is not so ranke a traytor, nor so arrante a thiefe, nor so cruell a murderer, whiche is apprehended and deteigned in prisone for his offence, but he shall bee brought before the iustice to heare his iudgemente, and yet you will procede to the iudgemente of an anoynted kyng, and here nother his answere nor excuse. And I saie that the duke of Lancastre whom you call kyng, hath more offended & more trespassed to kyng Richard and this realme, then the kyng hath other doen to hym or to vs. For it is manifestly knowne that the duke was banished the realme by kyng Richard and his counsaill, and by the iudgemente of his owne father, for the space of tenne yeres, for what cause all you knowe, and yet without license of Kyng Richard he is returned again into the realme, ye and that is worse, hath taken vpon hym the name, title and prehemience of a kyng. And therefore I say and affirme that you do apparantly wrong, and manifest iniury to procede in any thyng against kyng Richard, without calling him opely to his answer and defence. When the bishop had ended, he was incontinent by therle Marshall attached & committed to ward in the Abbey of. S. Albones.

¶ And then it was concluded, that kyng Richard should continew in a large prisone, and should bee plentifully serued of all thynges necessarie bothe for viande and apparell, and that if any persones would presume to reie warre or congregate a multitude to releue or deliuer hym out of prisone, that then he should bee the first that should dye for that sedicious comocion. In this Parliamente the Lorde Fitzwater appeled the duke of Aumarle of high treason, and offered to fight with hym in listes royall. Likewise the lorde Morley appeled therle of Salisbury, and there were more then xx. appellantes which waged battaill in this parliamente. But the kyng pardoned all their offences sauyng the fautes of the lorde Morley and therle of Salisbury, whom he comitted to ward, and after at the request of their trēdes their offences wer remitted & thei deliuered. He punished also extremely all suche as were priue and doers of the homicide of Thomas his vnclē late duke of Glocester, whiche was shamefully murdered before in y<sup>e</sup> tounē of Caleis. Besides this, he auansed his frendes, and called out of exile Richard erle of Warwike, and restored the exile of Arundelles sonne to his owne possession and dignite, and many other. He toke into his special fauor Ihon Hollandē duke of Exceter and erle of Huntynghdone halfe brother to king Richard, whiche had espoused the lady Elizabeth his owne sister. And beeyng before capitain of Caleis, greatly moued and inwardly greued that Kyng Richard his brother was amoued out of the seate royall, began to reyse and stirre vp newe mocions and sedicious faccions within the realme. Wherefore to aduoyde suche pestiferus dangers, the newe kyng recōciled hym to his fauor, and made hym as he surely coniectured his perfite frende, where in deede he was inwardly his dedly enemye. In this parliament wer adnichilate all the actes passed in the parliament holden by kyng Richard in the. xxj. yere of his reigne, whiche was called the euill parliament for the nobilitie, the wise for the menaltie, but worstē of all for the cōmanaltie. For in that parliament, will ruled for reason, men aliove were condemned without examination, men dedde and put to executiō by priuy murder wer adjudged openly to die, the hie prelate of the realme without answere was banished:



An erle arraigned could not be suffered to plede h<sup>s</sup> pardon, and consequently one counsailler did al thyng, and all counsaillers did nothyng, affirmyng the sayyng of Esope, whiche hearyng his feloe to saie that he could do all thynges, saied he could do nothyng. When he had thus reconciled his nobilite, and gat the fauor of the spirituall and wonderfully pleased the comonaltee, but not so muche pleasynge them, as the possessyng of the crowne pleased hymself and his fiendes, he of them and by the fauor of them bothe, for the auoydance of al claimes, titles and ambiguities to be made vnto the crowne and diademe of the realme had his dignitee ligne and succession enacted, confirmed and entayled by the assent of the high courte of Parliamente as foloweth worde by worde.

" At the request and petition aswell of the nobilitie as of the comons in this parliamente assembled, it is ordeigned and established that the enheritance of the crownes and realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, and of all other lordshippes to the kyng our souereigne lorde, aswel on this side the seas as beyond apperteinyng with their appurtenāces, shall bee vnted and remain in the persone of our souereigne lorde the kyng, and in the heires of his body lawfully begotten. And especially at the request and assent aforesaid, it is ordeigned, established, pronounced, enacted, written and declared, that my lorde Prince, Henry eldest sonne to our soueraigne lorde the kyng, shall bee heire apparante and successor to our saied souereigne lorde in the said crowne, realmes & seignories, to haue & enioy them with al their appurtenances after the discease of our saied soueraigne to hym and the heires of his body begotten. And if he die without heires of his body begottē, that then the saied crownes, realmes and seignories with their appurtenances shal remain to the lorde Thomas, secōd sonne to our said soueraigne lorde and to the heires of his body begotten, and if he departe without issue of his body begotten, all the premisses to remaigne to lorde Ihon his thirde sonne and to the heires of his body begotten. And if he dye without issuc, then the crownes, realmes, & seignories aforesaid with their appurtenances shal remain to the lorde Humtrey the iij. sonne to our said souereigne lorde, and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten."

After whiche acte passed, he thought neuer to bee by any of his subiectes molested or troubled. But O Lord, what is the mutabilitie of fortune? O God what is the chaunge of worldely safetie? O Christe what stablesnes consisteth in mannes prouision? O what ferme suerty hath a prince in his thione and degree? Considryng this kyng hauyng the possession of the crowne and realme, and that in open parliament, agreed to by the princes, condescended to by the Clerkes, ratified by the commons, and enacted by the three estates of the realme, was when he thought hymself suely mortised in a ferme rocke & immouable foundation, sodainly with a trimbelyng quickesande & vnstedfast grounde like to haue sonkē or been ouerthrowen. For diuerse lordes whiche wer kyng Richardes frendes, outwardly dissimuled that whiche thei inwardly conspired and determined, to confounde this kyng Henry to whom thei had bothe sworne allegiance and doen homage, and to erect again and set v<sup>p</sup> their old lorde and frend kyng Richard the second.

In this case there lacked only an orgaine and conueigllance bothe how secretly to scrche and knowe the myndes of the nobilitee, as all so to bryng them to an assemble and counsaill, where thei might consult and comen together, how to bryng to efficacie and effect, their long desired purpose and secrete enterprise. Se how the deuill is as ready to set furth mischief, as the good angell is to auance vertue. At this time was an Abbot in Westminster, a man of aparant vertues, professyng openly Christ, christian Charitee, and due subieccion and obeisance to his prince: whiche Abbot hearyng kyng Henry once saie when he was but erle of Darby and of no mature age or growen grauitee, that princes had to lide, and religiōns had to muche, imagined in hymself that he now obteinyng the crowne of the realme, if he wer therein a long continuer, would remoue the greate beame that then greued his iyes and pricked his conscience. For you muste vnderstande that these monasticall persones, lerned and vnliterate, better fed then taught, toke on thē to write & register in the boke of fame, the noble actes, the wise dooynges, and politike gouernances of kynges and princes

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princes, in whiche cronographie, if a kyng gaue to them possessions or graunted them liberties or exalted them to honoi & worldly dignitee, he was called a saint he was praised without any deserte aboue the Moone, his geanelogie was written, and not one iote that might exalt his fame, was ether forgotten or omitted. But if a christian prince had touched their liberties or claimed any part iustly of their possessions, or would haue intermitted in their holy franchises, or desired aide of the against his and their comon enemies. Then tonges talked and penes wrote, that he was a tirant, a depriesser of holy religion, an enemie to Christes Church and his holy flocke, and a damned and accursed persone with Dathan and Abiron to the depe pitte of helle. Wherof the prouerbe bega, geue and be blessed, take awaie and bee accursed. Thus the feare of lesyng their possessions, made them pay yerely annates to the Romish bishop thus the feare of correccion and honest restraint of libertie, made them from their ordinaries, yea almoste from obedience of their princes to sue dispensacions, exempcions and immunittees.

THIS Abbot that I spake of whiche could not well forgette the sayng of kyng Henry, and beyng before in greate fauor and high estimacion with kyng Richard called to his hous on a daie in the terne season al suche lordes & other persones whiche he ether knewe or thought to be as affectionate to kyng Richard, and enuious to the estate and auancement of kyng Henry, whose names wer, Ihon Hollande duke of Exceter and erle of Huntynghdon, Thomas Hollande duke of Surrey and erle of Kent, Edward duke of Aumarle and erle of Rutland sonne to the duke of Yorke, Ihō Montagew erle of Salisbury, Hugh Spēscerle of Gloucester, Ihon the bishop of Carleill, sir Thomas Blount and Magdalen one of kyng Richardes chapell, a man as like to hym in stature and proporcion in all liniametes of his body, as vnlike in birthe dignitee or condicions. This Abbot highly fested these greate lordes and his speciall frendes, and when thei had well dined, thei all withdrew themselves into a secrete chamber and sat doune to counsaill, when thei wer set, Ihon Hollande duke of Exceter whose rage of reuengyng y<sup>e</sup> injury doen to kyng Richard was nothyng mitigate nor mollified, but rather encreased and blossomed, declared to theim their allegiance promised, and by othe confirmed to kyng Richard his brother, forgetting not the high promociions and notable dignities whiche he and all other there present had obteigned by the high fauor and munificent liberalitee of his saied brother, by the whiche thei wer not onely by othe and allegiance bounde, and also by kindnes and vrbanteie insensed & moued to take part with hym and his frendes, but also bound to be reuenged for hym and his cause, on his mortall enemies and dedly foes, in whiche doying he thought policie more meter to be vsed then force, and some wittie practise rather to be experimented then manifest hostilitie or open warre. And for the expedicion of this enterprise he deuised a solempne iustes to be enterprised betwene hym and xx on his parte, and the erle of Salisbury and. xx. on his part at Oxforde to the whiche triumphe, Kyng Henry should be invited and desired, and when he were moste busely regardyng the maicall playe and warly dispoite, he sodainly should bee slain and destroyed. And by this meanes kyng Richard whiche was yet a liue, should be restored to his libertie and repossessed of his croune and kyngdome, and appoineted farther who should assemble the people, the numbre and persones, whiche should accomplishe and performe this inuented assaie and policie.

THIS deuise so much pleased the sedicious congregacion, that thei not onely made an adventure sextipartite sealed with their seales and signed with their handes in the whiche eche bounde hymselfe to othe to endeuour theim selves both for the destruction of Kyng Henry and the creacion of King Richard, but also swore on the holy Euangelistes the one to be trewe and secrete to the othei, euen to the houre and point of death. When all thynges were thus appointed and concluded the Duke of Exceter came to the kyng to Windsore, requirying hym for the loue that he bare to the noble actes of chivalrie, that he woulde vouchesate not onely to repaire to Oxford to see and behold their manlic feates, and warlike pastime: but also to be the discoverer and indifferente iudge (if any ambigutee should arise) of their couragious actes and royall triumphe. The kyng seeyng hymself so effectuously desired, and that of his brother



brother in lawe, and nothing lesse imagenyng thē that which was pretended, gently graunted and frendly condescended to his request. Which thing obtained, all the lordes of this cōspiracie departed to their houses (as thei noised) to set armours on work for trimmyng of their haires against the solemne iustes. Some had the helme the visere the two banniars & the two plackardes of the same curiously gauld and conningly costed: Some had their colliers fretted and other had them set with gilt bullions, one company had the plackard, the rest, the port the burley, the tassels, the lamboys, the backpece the tapull, and the border of the cuirace all gilt. And another bande had them all enameled Azure. One sorte had the vambases the pacegardes the grandgardes the poldien, the pollettes, parted with golde and azure. And another flocke had theym siluer and sable. Some had the mainfeires, the close gantlettes, the guisettes the flancardes dropped & gutted with red, and other had thē spekeled with grene. One sorte had the quishes, the grieues, the surlottes, y sockettes on the right side and on the left side siluer. Some had the spere, the buire, the cronet al yelowe, and other had them of diuers colours. One band had the scabbard on the cranet, the bard of the horse all white, and other had them all gilt. Some had their armyng sweardes freshly burnyshed and some had thē conningly vernished. Some spuries wer white, some gilt, and some cole blacke. One parte had their Plumes all white, another had them all redde, and the third had them of seuerall colours. One ware on his headpece his Ladies sleue, and another bare on his helme the glove of his dearyng. But to declare the costly Bases, the niche bardes, the pleasant trappers bothe of goldsmithes worke and embrowdery, no lesse sumptuously then curiously wrought, it would aske a long tyme to declare, for euery man after his appetite deuised his fantasy verifing the olde Prouerbe, so many heades, so many wittes.

The duke of Exceter came to his house, & raised men on euery side and prepared horse and harners, mete and apte for his compassed purpose. When the Duchesse his wife which was sister to kyng Henry perceiued this, she no lesse trouble coniectured to be prepared against her brother thē was in dede eminent & at hand, wherfore she wept & made great lamentacion. When the duke perceiued her dolour, he said, what Besse, how chaunsest this, when my brother king Richard was deposed of his dignitie, and committed to harde and sharpe prison whiche had bene kyng and ruled this realme noblie by the space of xxij yeris and your brother was exalted to the throne and dignitie imperiall of the same, then my hearte was heauie, my life stode in ieopardie and my combe was cleirely cut, but you then reioysed laughed and triumphed, wherfore I pray you be contente that I may aswell reioyce and haue pleasure at the deliuering and restoryng of my brother iustly to his dignite, as you were iocund and pleasaunt when your brother vnjustly and vntrulie depriued and dis-seized my brother of the same. For of this I am sure, that yf my brother prosper, you and I shal not fall nor decline but if your brother continue in his estate and magnificēce I doubt not your decay nor ruine, but I suspecte the losse of my life, beside the forfeiture of my landes and goodes. When he had sayd, he kissed his Lady whiche was sorowful and pensife, and he departed toward Oxforde with a greute company bothe of Archers and horsemen, and when he came there, he founde ready al his mates and confederates wel appointed for their purpose, except the Duke of Aumerle Erle of Rutland, for whom they sent messengers in great haste. This duke of Aumerle went before from Westminster to see his father the duke of Yorke, and sitting at dinner had his countrepaine of the indenture of the confederacie wherof I spake before in his bosome.

The father espied it and demaunded what it was, his sonne lowely and beningly answered that it myght not bee sene, and that it touched not him. By saint George quod the father I will see it. and so by force toke it out of his bosome, when he perceiued the content and the sixe signes and seales sette and fixed to the same, wherof the seale of his sonne was one, he sodainly rose from the table, cōmaundyng his horses to be saded, and in a greute furie saied to his sonne, thou trayter thefe, thou hast bene a traitour to kyng Richard, and wilt thou nowe be false to thy cosen kyng Henry? thou knowest wel enough that I am thy

pledge borowe and mayneperner, body for body, and land for goodes in open parliament, and goest thou about to seke my death and destruction? by the holy rode I had leauer see the strangled on a gibbet. And so the duke of Yorke mounted on horsbacke to ride toward Windsor to the kyng and to declare the hole effecte of his sōne and his adherentes & partakers. The duke of Aumerle seyng in what case he stode toke his horse and rode another way to Windsor, riding in post thither (whiche his father being an olde man could not do.) And when he was alighted at the castel gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saying that he must nedes deliuer the keyes to the kyng. When he came before the kynges presence he kneled downe on his knees, besechyng him of mercy and forgeuenes. The kyng demanded the cause: then he declared to him planely the hole confederacie and entier coniuration in manner and forme as you haue harde. Well said the kyng, if this be trewe we pardon you, if it bee fained at your extreme perill bee it. While the kyng and the duke talked together, the duke of Yorke knocked at the castel gate, whom the kyng caused to be let in, and there he deliuered the endenture whiche before was taken from his sonne, into the kynges handes. Which wrytyng when he had redde, and sene, perceuyng the signes and seales of the confederates, he chaunged his former purpose. For the daie before he heryng say that the chalengers were al ready and that the defenders were come to do their deuoir, purposed to haue departed towarde the triumphe the next day, but by his prudent and forecastyng counsell, somewhat staid till he myght se the ayre cleie and no darcke cloude nere to the place where the listes were. And nowe beyng aduertised of the truthe and veritie, howe his destruction and deathe was compassed, was not a littell vexed, but with a great and meruelous agonie perturbed and vnquieted, and therefore determined there to make his abode not hauyng time to loke and gase on Iustes and tourneys, but to take hede howe to kepe and conserue his lyfe and dignitie, and in that place taried tyll he knewe what way his enemies would set forward. And shortly wrote to the Earle of Northumberland his high Cōstable, and to the erle of Westmerland his high Marshal, and to othei his assured frendes of al the douteful daunger and perelous ieopardie. The coniuratoures perceuyng by the lacke of the duke of Aumerles cōming, and also seyng no preparacion made there for the kynges comyng, imagined with them selves that their enterpryse was intimate and published to the kyng: Wherefore that thyng whiche they attempted priuily to do, nowe openly with speare & shilde they determined with all diligent celerite to set forth and aduauunce. And so they adorned Magdalene, a man resemblinge muche kyng Richard in roiall and princely vesture, callyng him kyng Richard, affirming that he by fauour of his keepers was deliuered out of prison and set at libertie, and they followed in a quadrat array to the entent to destroy kyng Henry as the most pernicious & venemous enemy to the and his owne naturall countrey. While the confederates with this newe published Idole accompanied with a puissant armie of men, toke the directe way and passage toward Windsor. Kyng Henry beyng admonished of their approchyng, with a fewe horse in the night, came to the Tower of London about. xii. of the clocke, where he in the mornyng caused the Maie of the cite to apparell in armure the beste and moste couragious persons of the cite: which brought to him. iii. M. archers and iii. M. bill men, beside them that were deputed to defend the cite.

The Lordes of the confederacie entered the castel of Windsor, where they findyng not their prae, determined with all spede to passe forthe to London. But in the waie, changing their purpose they returned to the towne of Colbroke and there taried. These Lordes had much people folowyng them, what for feare and what for entreatie surely beleuyng that kyng Richard was there present and in company. King Hēry issued out of London with twentye M. men and came to Hounsloe Heath, where he pitched his campe, abidyng the comyng of his enemies: but when they were aduertised of the kynges puissance, or els amased with feare, or forthinkyng and repentynge their begonne busines, or mistrustynge their owne company and felowes, departed from thence to Bailehamstede and so to Aucester, and there the Lordes toke their lodgyng: The duke of Surrey erle of Kent and the erle of



Salisbury in one ynne, and the duke of Excester and the earle of Glocester in another, and al the hoste laie in the felde. The Bailly of the towne with foure score archiers set on the house wher the duke of Surrey and other laie: the house was mannely assaulted and strongly defended a great space. The Duke of Excester beyng in another ynne with the erle of Glocester set fier on diuers howses in the towne, thinkyng that the assailantes would leue their assault and rescue their goodes, which thing they nothyng regarded. The host lyng without hearyng noise and seying fire in the towne, beleuyng that the kyng was come thither with his puissance, fledde without measure to saue them selves. The duke of Excester and his company seying the force of the townes men more & more encrease, fled out of the backside entending to repaire to the ayme, whiche they found dispersed and retired. Then the duke seing no hope of cofort, fled into Essex, and the erle of Glocester goyng toward Wales was taken and beheaded at Bristowe. Magdalene flyng into Scotland was apprehēded and brought to the Tower. The lordes whiche fought still in the towne of Chichester wer wōded to deth and taken and then heades stricken of and sent to London: and there were taken sir Bennet Shelley of Cell, and sir barnard Brokas and. xxix. other Lordes Knyghtes and Esquiers & sent to Oxford, where the kyng then sojourned, where sir Thomas Blounte and all the other prysoners were executed. Whē the Duke of Excester heard that his complices wer taken, and his counceillers apprehended, and his frendes and alies put in execucion, he lamented his owne chaunce, and beweped the misfortune of his frendes, but most of all bewailed the fatall end of his brother kyng Richard, whose death he saw as in a mirrour by his vnhappy sedition and malicious attempte to approche, and so wanderynge lurkyng and hidyng him selfe in priuy places, was attached in Essex, and in the lordshippe of Plasshey a towne of the Duches of Glocester and there made shote by the hed, and in that place especially because that he in the same Lordship reduced & falsly betrayed Thomas duke of Glocester, and was the very inward auctour and open dissimuler of his death and destruction. So the cōmon Prouerbe was verified, as you haue done, so shall you fele. Oh Lord I would wishe that this example, of many highlye promoted to rule, might be had in memorie, the which mete and measure their owne iniquitie and ill doinges, with force auctoritie and power, to the extent that they by these examples shoulde auerte their myndes from ill doynge, and such vngodly and execrable offences. After this Magdalein that represented the person of kyng Richard amōgest the rebels, and diuerse other were put in execucion, and all the heades of the chefe conspiratoures sette on polles on London bridge, to the feare of other whiche were disposed to commit like offence. The Abbot of Westminster in whose house this traiterous confederacy was conspired, hearyng that the chefetains of his felowshippe, were espied, taken and executed, gong betwene his monastery and mancion, for thoughte fell in a sodaine palsey, and shortly after without any speche ended his life after whome the Bishop of Carlile more for feare then sickenes, rendred his spirite to God, as one rather desir- yng to die by deathes darre, then temporall swearde. But nowe was come the time when all the confederates and companions of this vnhappye sedicion, had tasted accordyng to their desertes, the painfull penance of their pleasante pastime, or rather pestiferous obstinacy, that an innocent with a nocēt, a man vngilty with a gilty, was pondered in an egall balance. For pore kyng Richard ignorant of all this coniuracion kept in miserable captiuite, knowyng nothyng but that he sawe in his chamber, was by kyng Henry adiudged to die, because that he beyng singed and tickled with the laste craftie policie of his enemies, would deliuer himself out of all inward feare and discorde, and cleane put away the very ground wherof suche frutes of displeasure mighte by any waie be attempted againste him, so that no man hereafter shoulde ether faine or resemble to represente the persone of kyng Richard: wherfore some saye he commaunded, other talke that he condescended, many write that he knewe not tyll it was done and then it confirmed. But howe so euer it was, kyng Richard dyed of a violent death, without any infection or naturall disease of the body.

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The common fame is that he was euery daye serued at the table with costely meate like a kyng, to the entent that no creature shuld suspecte any thing done contrary to the order taken in the parliament, and when the meate was set before him, he was forbidden that he shuld not once touch it, ye not to smel to it, and so died of famin which kynd of death is the most miserable, most vnnatural, ye and most detestable that can be, for it is ten times more painefull then death (whiche of all extremities is the most terrible) to die for thirst standyng in the river, or starue for hunger, besette with twentie deintie disshes. One writer whiche semed to haue muche knowledge of kyng Rycharde affaues, saith that kyng Henry sittyng at his table sore sighyng said, haue I no faithfull frende whiche will deliuer me of him whose life will be my deth, and whose death will be the preseruacion of my life. This sayyng was muche noted of them whiche were present and especially of one called sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinently departed frō the court with eight strong persons and came to Pomfret, commaundyng that the esquier whiche was accustomed to sewe and take the assaye before kyng Richard, shuld no more vse that maner of seruice, sayyng, let him eate wel nowe, for he shall not long eate. Kyng Richard sate downe to dyner and was serued without curtesie or assay, he muche meruailyng at the sodaine mutacion of the thyng, demaunded of the Esquier why he did not his duety? sir, said he, I am otherwise cōmaunded by sir Pyers of Exton, which is newly come from kyng Henry. When he heard that worde, he toke the caruyng knife in his hand and strake the esquier on the head sayyng, the deuell take Henry of Lancastre and the together. and with that worde sir Piers entered into the chamber wel armed with. viii. tall men in harneis, euery man hauyng a bill in his hād. Kyng Richard perceuyng them armed, knewe well that they came to his confusion, and puttyng the table from him, valiantly toke the bill out of the first mannes hand, and manly defended himselfe, and slewe fowre of them in a short space. Sir Piers being sōwhat dismayed with his resistyng, lepte into the chaire where kyng Richard was wonte to sitte, while the other fowre persons assailed and chased him aboute the chamber, whiche beyng vnarmed defended him against his enemies beyng armed, (whiche was a valiaunt acte) but in conclusion chasyng and traueysyng frō the one side to the other, he came by the chaire wher sir Piers stode, whiche with a stroke of his Pollax felled hym to the ground, and then shortly he was rid out of the worlde, without ether confession or receit of sacrament. When this knight perceived that he was deade, he sobbed, wept, and rent his heare cryyng, Oh Lord, what haue we done, we haue murthered hym whom by the space of. xxii. yeres we haue obeied askyng, and honored as our soueraigne lord, now all noble men will abhorre vs, all honest persons will disdaine vs, and all poore people will rayle and crie out vpon vs, so that duryng our naturall lues, we shal be poincted with the finger, and our posterite shal be reprovied as children of Homicides, ye of Regicides & prince quellers. Thus haue I declared to you the diuersities of opinions concernyng the deathe of this infortunate prince, remittynge to your iudgement whiche you thinke most trewe, but the very trouthe is that he died of a violent death, and not by the darte of naturall infirmitie

When Atopos had cut the line of his lyfe, his body was embaulmed and seared and couered with lead al saue his face (to the entent that all men might perceiue that he was departed out of this mortal lyfe) and was conueighed to London, where in the cathedrall church of sainte Paule he had a solempne obsequie, and from thence conueighed to Lāgley in Buckyngham shīre, where he was enterred, and after by kyng Henry the. v. remoued to Westminster, and there intombed honorably with quene Anne his wife, although the Scottes vntreuly write that he escaped out of prisone, and led a verteous and solitary life in Scotlande, and there died and is buried in the blacke Friers at Sterlyng. What trust is in this worlde, what suretie man hath of his life, & what constancie is in the mutable comonaltie, all men maie apparantly perceiue by the ruine of this noble pūnce, whiche beeyng an vndubitate kyng, crowned and anoynted by the spiritualtie, honored and exalted by the nobilitie, obeyed and worshipped



worshipped of the comon people, was sodaynly disceiued by theim whiche he moste trusted, betraied by theim whom he had preferred, & slain by theim whom he had brought vp and norished so that all menne maie perceiue and see, that fortune wayeth princes and pore men all in one balance

WHEN newes of kyng Richardes deposyng were reported into Fraunce, kyng Charles and all his couit wondered, detested & abhorred suche an iniurie to bee doen to an anyoynted kyng, to a crowned prince, & to the hed of a realme. but in especial Waleram erle of sent Paule whiche had married kyng Richardes halfe sister, moued with high disdain against kyng Henry, ceased not to stirre and prouoke y<sup>e</sup> Frenche kyng and his counsaill to make shaipe wārie in Englande; to reuenge the iniurie and dishonor comitted and doen to his sonne in lawe kyng Richard, & he hymself sent letters of defiance to England. Whiche thyng was sone agreed to, and an armie royall appoynted with all spede, to inuade England. But the Frenche kyng so stomacked this high displeure, & so inwardly cōceiued this infortunate chance in his minde, that he fell into his old disease of the frensy, hat he had nede accordyng to the old prouerbe, to saile into the Isle of \* Antieyra, to purge his melāchole humor, but by the meanes of his phisicians, he was somewhat releued & brought to knowledge of hymself. This armie was come doune into Picardy, redy to be trāsported into Englād, but whē it was certainly certified that kyng Richard was ded, & that their enterprise of his deliuerace was frustrate & voyd. tharinie scattred & departed a sonder.

\*Antieyra  
is an Isle in  
Asia, where  
in groweth  
an Herbe y<sup>e</sup>  
purgeth  
Melācoly,  
& therof  
is the pro-  
uerbe, go-  
saile to  
Antieyra, as  
who saeth,  
goe purge  
your Melā-  
coly.

BUT when the certaintie of kyng Richardes death was declared to the Aquitaynes and Gascons, the moste parte of the wisest men of the countree, fell into a greate bodely feare, and into a dedly deade. For some lamentyng the instabilitie of the Englishe people, iudged them to be spotted with perpetuall infamie, and brought to dishonor & losse of their auncient fame and gloiy, for comitting so heynous a crime and detestable an offence against their king & soueraigne lord. The memorie wherof, thei thought would neuer be buried or extincted. Other fered the losse of their goodes and liberties, because they imagined that by this ciuill discencion and intestine deuision, the realme of England should so bee vexed and troubled, that their countree (if the Frenchemenne should inuade it) should bee destitute and leste void of all aide and succor of the Englishe nacion. But the citezens of Burdeaux toke this mātter very sore at y<sup>e</sup> stomacke, because kyng Richard was borne and brought vp in then citee, lamentyng and crying out, that sithe the beginnyng of the worlde, there was neuer a more detestable, a more vilanous nor a more heynous acte committed: whiche beyng sad with sorowe and enflamed with malencolie, saied that vntrue, vnnaturall and vnmercifull people had betrayed and slain, contray to all law and iustice and honestie, a good man, a iuste prince and poltike gouernor. Besechyng God deuoutly on their knees, to be the reuenger and punisher of that detestable offence and notorius crime.

WHEN the Frenchmen, whiche haue eyes of the wakyng serpent, perceiued the dolor and agony that the Aquitaynes and Gascons wer in for the death of their prince, duke and countrymanne, they reioysed and aplauded in maruelous maners, thynkyng with themselves that (the Gascons nowe abhoriyng and detestyng the Englishe men more than a Dogge or an Adder) they verie easely mighte obtain the whole countree and douchie of Aquitaine, with the members and territories there to apperteignyng, if they would ether by entreatie or by inuasion moue the people beyng now amased and comfortles, as shepe without a shepeherd, or beastes without an herdman. Wherfore in greate haste and slowe spede, Lewes duke of Bourbon was sent to Angiers, & wrote to diuerse citees and townes on the confynes of Aquitaine and Gascon, exhortyng them with laige promises and flateryng wordes, to reuolte and turne from the Englishe subieccion, and become vassals to the croune of Fraunce. But all his glosyng wordes seiued litle, and all his faire promises profited muche lesse. For the people knewe that the Englishe yoke was but a lether, & the yoke of Fraunce was more ponderus then lede, seyng daily how the French men vexed and molested ther miserable people with extreme exacciōs and intollerable tallages, rasyng their skiune to the very bone, and their purses



## THE FIRST YERE OF

purses to the very botome wherfore they determined rather to abide in their old subieccion and obedience, then for a displeasure incurable to auenture themselves on a newe chance and a doubtfull parrill.

KING Henry beeyng aduertised of all the Frenche attempts and couert conueighances, sent the lorde Thomas Percy erle of Worceter with a goodly crowe of souldiours into Aquitain, to aide and assist sir Robert Knolles his leutenant there; and to perswade and exorte the people to continewe in their ancient libertie and dewe obeysance. The erle arriued there, and so wisely entreated the noble men, so grauously perswaded the magistrates of the citees and tounes, and so gently and familiarly vsed and tracted the vulgare people, that he not onely appeased their furie and malice, but brought them to a louyng and vniforme obeysance, receiuyng of them othes of obedience and loyall fealtie, whiche done he retourned againe into England with great thanks. When kyng Charles of Fraunce perceived that his purpose and attempt was frustrate and came to no good conclusion in Aquitayne and that kyng Richard being deade, his enterprise into England was of no value and of small purpose, he determined with him selfe to inuent some way howe to haue the Lady Isabell his daughter, sometime espoused to kyng Richard restored to him again: and for that purpose sent a solemne ambassade into England to kyng Henry, whiche gently receiued them, and gaue in answeere that he would send his commissioners shortly to Caleis, whiche shoulde farther common and cōclude with them, not onely that request, but diuers other matters of gret effecte and efficacie. And shortly after their departyng he sent Edward duke of Yorke, before called duke of Aumerle, whiche succeeded in the said duchie his father Edmond duke of Yorke, a littell before diseased and Henry erle of Northumberland into the countrei of Guisnes. The commissioners assembled at diuers places at sondry times. The duke of Borbon aboute al thynges required in the name of the French king his master, to haue queene Isabell to him deliuered. The Englishmen that to do continually did deny, requyng to haue her married to Henry Prince of Wales, a man bothe in blud and age to her in all thinges equall. But the Frenche kyng that marriage viterly refused, sayng he wolde neuer ioync affinitie after with the Englishe nacion, because that the aliance had so vnfortunate successe.

Then they began to entreate a continuall peace, whiche request the Frenchemen refused, and in conclusion they agreed that the truce whiche was taken betwene them and kyng Richard, for the tyme of. xxx. yeres, was renouate and confirmed. Some authors affirm that there was a newe leage concluded and confirmed betwene both the realmes duryng the liues of bothe the princes, whiche semeth to haue a certein colour of veritie. For the kyng sent shortly after the foresaid Lady Isabell vnder the conducte of the Lord Thomas Percy erle of Worceter, associate with many noble and honourable personages, as well of women as men, hauyng with her al the Jewells ornamentes & plate (with a great surplusage geuen to hir by the kyng whiche she brought into England) was sente in solemne estate to Caleis, and there deliuered to Waleran erle of sainte Paule Lieutenant for the French king in Picardie, and so conueighed to her father, whiche gaue her in mariage to Charles sōne to Lewes duke of Orleance. The Frenchmen often times required king Henry to assigne to her a dower, but al was in vaine, for the Englishmen answered that the matrimony was neuer consummate, by reason wherof she was not dowable, by the very treatie of the mariage concluded, and so this matter seased, and was no more moued. As the old prouerbe saith, after winde commeth rain, & after one euil comōly ensueth another, so duryng the tyme that kyng Henry was vexed and vnquieted, bothe within the realme & without.

OWEN Glendor a squire of Wales, perceuyng the realme to be vnquieted, and the kyng not yet to be placed in a sure and vnmoouable seate, entēdyng to vsurpe and take vpon hym the principalitie of Wales, and the name and preheminence of the same, what with faire flatteryng wordes and with large promises, soenuegled entised and allured the wilde and vndiscrite Welshmen, that they toke hym as their prince and made to hym anothe of allégeance and subieccion. By whose supportacion, he beyng elated and set vp in authorite, to the intent

intent to bee out of all doubt of his neighbors, made sharpe warre on Reigolde lorde Grey of Ruthen and toke hym prisoner, promisyng hym libertee and dischargyng his raunsome, if he would espouse and marie his doughter, thynkyng by that affinitie, to haue greate aide and muche power in Wales. The lorde Grey beeyng not very riche nether of substance nor of frendes, consideryng this offer to be the onely waie of his releffe and deliuerance, assented to his pleasure and married the damosell. But this false father in lawe, this vntrew, vnholonest and periured person, kept hym with his wife still in captiuitie till he died. And not content with this heynous offence, made warre on lorde Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, and in his owne lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slewe many of therles men and toke hym prisoner, and feteryng hym in chaynes, cast hym in a depe and miserable dongeon. The kyng was required to purchase his deliuerance by diuerse of the nobilitie, but he could not heare on that side, rather he would and wished al his linage in heuen. For then his title had been out of all doubt & question, and so vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion.

THUS Owen Glendor glorifyng hymself in these twoo victories, invaded the Marches of Wales on the West side of Seuerne, robbed vilages, brent townes and slewe the people, and laden with praies and bloody handes returned again into Wales, neuer desistynge to do euil till the next yere, that the kyng reised a greate armie and puissance to resist and defende his malicious attempts and sedicious inuasions, as after shall be declared. It was not sufficient in this first yere of kyng Henry, this realme to be troubled with domestical sedicion, vexed with the craftie practices and inuencions of the Frenche men, and invaded and infested with the frantike waueryng Welshemen, but also fortune hauyng enuy at the glory and fortunate procedyng of this man, muste in his saied firste yere also, arme the Scottes with spere and shelde against hym and his realme, wherof the occasion shall bee to you declared accordyng to the Scotticall histories. A litle before this tyme, George of Dunbar erle of the Marches of the realme, made meanes to kyng Robert of Scotlande, that Dauid his eldest sonne might marie and espouse the erles doughter called Elizabeth, and deliuered for the performance of the same mariage, into the kynges handes a greate some of money. When Archebaulde erle Douglas heard of this concludion, disdainyng therle of the Marches blud to be auanced before his stocke, wherfore ether by faire wordes, or els by disbursyng a greter some of money, he so enuegeled Kyng Roberte of Scotlande, that Dauid his heire refusyng the first damosell, espoused Marcell the erle Douglas doughter. Therle of Marche desired restitution of his money, to whom the kyng gaue many finuolus and trifelyng aunsweres, wherfore he disdainyng so to bee mocked & deluded of his money, with his wife and family, fled into England, to Henry erle of Northumberlande, entendyng with dent of swerd to reuenge the iniury & displeasure to hym by the kyng comitted & doen, & so with the help of the borderers brent diuerse townes, & slew many persons in the realme of Scotland.

KING Robert beeyng thereof aduertised, firste deprived the Erle George of all his dignitees and possessions, and caused his goodes to bee confiscate, and after wrote to the Kyng of Englande instantly requirynge hym, if he would the truce any longer to continew ether to deliuer into his possession the Eile of Marche, and other traitors and rebelles to his persone and realme, or els to banishe and exile them out of his realme, territories and dominions. Kyng Henry discretly answered the herault of Scotland, that the worde of a prince ought to bee kepte, and his writyng and seale ought to bee uniolate, and consideryng that he had graunted a saue conduite to the erle and his compaigny, he would nether without cause resonable bicake his promise, nor yet deface his honor. Whiche answer declared to the kyng of Scottes, he incontenente did proclaime and intimate open warre, against the kyng of England, with bloud fire and swerd. Kyng Henry perceiuyng, that policie preuenteth chance, gathred and assembled together a greate armie, and entered into Scotlande, burnyng townes vilages and castles, sparyng nothyng but religious houses and churches, and brent a greate parte of the townes of Edenbrough and Lathie and beseged the  
castle



castle of Maidens in Edenbrough, in thende of Septembe, whereof was capitain, David duke of Rothsay and prince of the realme, and Archibalde erle Douglas, with many hardy men. Roberte duke of Albanie, beyng appoynted gouernor of the realme, because the kyng was sicke and vnapt to rule, sent vnto kyng Henry an harold, assuryng hym on his honour that if he woulde abide and tary his coming and repaire, whiche should be within sixe daies at the most he would geue hym battaill, and remoue the siege, or els die for it.

The kyng beeyng glad of these ioyous good newes, rewarded the herault with a gounce of silke and a chayne of gold, promisyng hym in the worde of a prince, not to depart thence but abide there, the comyng of the gouernor. The sixe daies passed, ye sixe and sixtene to, the gouernor nether apered nor sent worde, the winter waxed cold, vitale failed, men died of the flixe, it rained euery daie so habundantly, that hunger and colde caused the kyng to bieke vp his siege, and to departe out of Scotland, without battaill or skirmish offered. Duryng whiche tyme bothe the Wardens of the Marches beyng with the kyng, the Scottes made a rode into Northumberlande, and burned diuerse townes in Bamborough shere, and shortly returned again, or els thei had been trapped & come to late home. When the kyng of England had dismissed his souldiers, and discharged his army, the Scottes entendyng to bee reuenged of their greate damages to them by the Englishe naciō doen and committed by therle Douglas, appoynted twoo armyes to inuade Englande. Of the first was chieftain, sir Thomas Halibarton of Dulton, and Patrike Hebburne of Hales, whiche made a rode into Englande, and returned with litle losse and no greate gain. After this the forsaid sir Patrike Hebburne, encouraged & boldened with the prosperous successe of this first iorney, with a greate ayme of the people of Lowdian inuaded Northumberlande, robberyng and spoylyng the coūtree and departed homeward, not without greate gain of beastes and captiues. But in the retourne he was encoūtered with therle of Northumberlandes vicewarden, & other gentilmē the borders at a toun in Northumberlande called Nesbit, and there the Englishemen sore assailed, and the Scottes valiantly resisted, but after a long fight, the victory fell on the Englishē parte, and as Ihon Mayer the Scot writeth, there wer slain the flower of all Loughdean, and especially sir Patrick Hebburne with many of his linage. There wer apprehended sir Ihon and Willyam Cockeburne, sir Robert of Bas, Ihon and Thomas Habington esquiers, and a greate number of the comon people. The erle Douglas sore beyng greued with the losse of his nation and fiendes, entendyng a requitement if it were possible of the same, by the consente of the gouernour of Scotland, did gather a houghe ayme of twentie thousande talle menne and more.

In the whiche armie was Lord Mordake earle of Fife sonne to the gouernour of Scotland, the erle of Angus, and many other erles and barons of the nobilitie of Scotland. These valiaunte capytayns and couragious souldiours entered into Northumberlande with banners displayed like menne either apte or thynkyng them selves-able to destioy the townes and spoyle the countrey and Marches of Northumberlande. When they were entered into England thinkyng no puissaunce able to encounter with their force, out of a valey beside a toun called Homeldon issued sodainly the Lorde Henry Percie, whom the Scottes for his haut and valiant corage called sir Henry hotspur, and in his company the Lorde George of Dunbar erle of Marche before banished Scotlande, as you haue heard, with all the gentill menne of Northumberland, and eight thousande men on horsebacke and on fote. The encounter was sharpe, the fight was daungerous, the long continuance was doubtfull, for some were felled and rescued, some in rescuyng other were slaine, other gredy of praye more then of strokes fled to se what baggages were kept emongest the Pages. Thus with pure fightyng of the Englishemen, and fainte heites of the bragging Scottes, the brighte beame of victory shone on saint Georges crosse, and there were slaine of men of great renoune and estimation sir Ihō Swinton, sir Adam Gordon, sir Ihon Leuiston, sir Alexander Ransey of Dalehowse, and. xxiii. knyghtes moo, whose names ether for ignorance or for feare of reproche, Hector Boece the Scottish archechronocler kepeth in silence and dothe omitte, beside x. M. cōmons. But there wer taken prisoners, Mordake erle of Fife, Archebald



erle Douglas, whiche in the combat loste one of his eyes, Thomas erle of Murrey, Robert erle of Angus, and as other writers affirme, the eils of Athell and Mentethe with v C. other.

When the Lord Percy had thus obtained this glorious victory, he sent his prisoners into diuerse fortresses, and determined to subdue or destroy all the countreis of Lowdene and Marche, whose heades and Gouvernours ether he had slain or by force taken captiues. And so with a gret power entered into Tuedale wastying any destroyng the hole cuntry, and they beseged the castell of Cokelaues, whereof was capitain sir Ihon Grenlowe, which seyng that his castel was not long able to be defended cōpounded with the Englishmen that yf the castel wern ot suckered within iii. monthes, that then he would deliuer it into the Englishe mennes handes. The capitaine thereof wrotē vnto the Gouvernour, whiche calling a great councell, the moste parte aduised hym rather flankely and frely to yeld the castel, than to put in ieopardie and caste in hasard the remnaunt of the florishyng nobiline of the realme. So muche was their courages abated and their fumishe crakes refrigerat with the remembraunce of the last conflicte and batail. But the gouvernour rebukying their timorous heates, and Feminine audacitie (whether he thought so or no was a questiō) sware that if no man wold folowe of the nobilitie he woulde do his deuoure to reskewe the castell at the day. But his othe was nether kept nor broken, for he litell preparying and lesse entending the oth whiche he solelymply made neuer set fote forward duiying the first. ii. monethes, for the reising of the seige or reskewe of the castel. But the Englishe men beyng sent for to go with the kyng into Wales, raised their siege and departed leauyng the noble men prisoners styll with the earle of Northumberland and the Lord Percie his sonne, which by the kyng were commaunded to kepe them to his vse, and not to deliuer them without his assent.

KYNG Henry forgat not his enterpryse into Wales, but made prouision for menne, munitions and artillery mete and conuenient for so great a businesse, whercof the Frenche kyng beyng aduertised, sente priuile Lorde James of Burbone earle of Maiche and his two brethren Ihon and Lewes, with xii. C. knightes and esquiers to aide Owen Glendor against the inuasions of kyng Henry, he toke shippingg with xxx saile at the mouthe of Seine, and the wynd was not fauourable to his purpose for he coulde neuer approche the coaste of Wales but came before the towne of Pliminouthe in Deuonshire, and there leauyng his great shippes lyng at ancre, in the nyghte toke land and brent, spoiled and destioied diuers small villages, and poore cotages, and robbed. v. or vi. littel Craiers and fisher botes laden with fysshe and corne. But while he and his companie like gredy wolves were sekyng after their praire, the winde rose highe and a great tempesteous rage and furious storme sodainely flushed and drowned. xii. of his great shippes whiche laie in the mouth of the hauen for his safegard and defence. Whereof when the eile was aduertised, and perceuyng by the firyng of the beacons that the people began to assemble in plumpes to encounter with him, and also seyng his power sore diminished as well by the slaughter of suche as ranged abroad in hope of spoyle and praye, as by the furious rage of the vniuersall see and hydeous tempest, with muche paine and great labour toke his shippes againe, and was not without ieopardie of his lyfe driuen on the coast of Britaine and landed at sanct Malos. The French kyng perceuyng that this chāce had il successe; appointed one of his Marshals called Memorancie, and the master of his Crosbowes with. xii. M. men, to saile into Wales, which toke shippingg at Brest and had the winde to them so prosperous that they landed at Milford hauen, and leauing the castel of Penbroke vnassaulted, because it was well fortified, manned, and vitailed, besieged the towne of Harforde West whiche was so well defended by the erle of Arundell and his power that they much more lost then gained. And from thence they departed towarde Owen Glendor whome they nominated prince of Wales, and founde him at the towne of Denbigh abidyng their cōmyng with ten thousand men. They wel of him louingly receiued, and gentelly entertained, and when all thynges were prepared, they passed by Glamorgan shire toward Worcester and there brent the suburbes, but hearyng of

## THE SECOND YERE OF

the kynges approchyng sodainly returned into Wales. The king with a great puissance followed and founde them embattaile on a highe mountaine, and a gret valey betwene bothe the armies, so that eche armie plainely perceiued other, and euery hoste looked to be assaured of his aduersary, and of the ground to take the most aduauntage thus they cōtinued eight daies frō mornyng to nyght ready to abide but not to geue bataille. There wer many fearce skirmishes and many propre feales of armes daily done, whiche the French Cronicles more then the Englishe writers can reporte. For there were slaine the Lorde Patrioles of Ties, brother to the Marshall of France, the Lord Mattelone and the Lord Vale and the bastarde of Burbon, with v. hundred gentelmen.

The Frenche men and Welshe men were sore trobeled and afflicted with famine, that their hertes were appalled and their corages sore abated, for the kyng had so stopped the passages that nether vitayl nor succour could by any way be conueighed to thē. Wherefore of vey necessity they were compelled eyther to fyghte or flee. And so by the aduisement and counsell of the Marshall of Fraunce, whiche put not to muche confidence in the waueryng Welshemen, the hole hoste departed theight day at midnight in the most secretes maner that they could deuise. The Frenche men with littel rewardes and no gaine returned into Britayne makyng small boast of their painfull iourney.

THE kyng seyng them departed, folowed thē into Wales, and chasing them from hilles to dales, from dales to woddes, from woddes to marishes, and yet could neuer haue them at any aduauntage. A world it was to see his quotidiane remouyng, his painfull and busy wanderyng, his troublesome and vncertaine abidyng, his continual mocion, his daily peregrination in the desert, felles and craggy mountains of that bareine vnfertile and depopulate cōuntry. And thus beyng tossed from cōuntry to cōuntry, from hill to vale, from marishe to wod, from noughte to worse, without gaine or profite, withoute vitayle or succour, he was of necessity cōpelled to retire his armie and retourne againe to Worcester, in whiche retournyng the Welshemen knowing the passages of the cōuntry, toke certaine cariages of his laden with vitayle to his great displeasre, and their great comforte. When he came to Worcester perceiuyng winter to approche which season of the yere is not conuenient and proper for men of warre to lie in the feldes, and specially in suche a barraine and hilly cōuntry as Wales is, dispersed his armie for that time and returned to London. In the meane time while the kyng was thus occupied in Wales, certain malicious and cruel persons enuiyng and malignyng in their heartes that king Henry contrary to the opinion of many, but against the will of mo had so shortely obtayned and possessed the realme and regalitie, biased abroad & noised daily amongst the vulgare people that kyng Richard (whiche was openly sene dead) was yet liuyng and desired aide of the common people to repossesse his realme and roiall dignitie. And to the furtheraunce of this fantastical inuencion partly moued with indignacion, partly incensed with furious malencolie, set vpon postes and caste aboute the stretes railyng rimes, malicious meters and tauntyng verses against kyng Henry and his procedynges. He beyng nettele with these vncuteous ye vnuetuous prickes & thornes, serched out the authours, and amongst other were found culpable of this offence and crime, sir Roger Claryngdon knight, and eight gray Friars whiche according to their merites and desertes were strangleed at Tiborne and there put in execution. I may not here forget to shewe you howe that kyng Henry sekyng nowe affinitie and frendshippe in Germanie sent this yere his eldest daughter Blaunche accompanied with the Erle of Somerset, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Lord Clifford, and other noble personages into Almaine, whiche brought her to Coleyne, and there with great triumphe she was married to Willyam Duke of Bauier, sonne and heire to Lewes of Bauier the Emperour, in whiche yere also died Lady Katherine Swinsford the thyrd wife of Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lancaster father to this kyng Henry, & was buried at Lincolne. In the same yere kyng Henry married Iane Duches of Britaine late wife to Ihon duke of Britaine at the cite of Winchester and with triumphal pompe conueighed her thorow the cite of London to Westminster, and there she was crowned Quene.

While



While these thynges were thus doying in England Waleran Erle of saint Paule whiche had married the halfe sister of Richard, hauyng a malicious heart and a deadly hatred to kyng Henry, assēbled a great number of men of warre to the number of xvi. or xviii. C. whereof the gieste parte were noble men, and made great prouisiō of all thynges necessary for his feate and enterprise. And on saint Nicholas day entered into his shippes at Harflete and landed in the Isle of Wight, and when he sawe no appeaunce of defence, he burned two poore villages and iiii simple cottages, and for great triumphe of this noble acte he made iiii knightes: but sodainly when he was aduertysed by his espials that the people of the Isle wer assembled and approched to fight with hym. He with al haste possible toke his shippes and retourned home againe, wherwith the noble men of his company were much discontente and displeased, considering that his prouision was great and his gaine small or none. And in the same very season Ihon Erle of Cleremount sonne to the Duke of Burbone, wonne in Gascoigne the castelles of saint Peter, sainte Marie and the newe castell, and the Lord Delabrethle wonne the castell of Carlaffin, whiche was no small losse to the Englishe nacion. Duryng which time died Philippe duke of Burgoyn, and duke Albert of Bauier Erle of Henault.

¶ THE THIRDE YERE.

IN this yere appered a comete or blasyng Starre of a houe quantitie by a long season which as the Astronomers affirmed, signified great effusion of mannes blud, which iudgement was not frustrate as you shall perceiue. For Henry erle of Northumberland and Thomas erle of Worcester his brother, and his sonne Lord Henry Percy called hotspur, which were to kyng Henry in the beginnyng of his reigne bothe fautours frendes and aiders, perceiuing nowe that he had pacified all domesticall sedicion and repressed his enemies, and reduced his realm to a conuenient quietnes, began somewhat to enuie the glory of hym, and grudged againste his welthe and felicitie. And specially greued, because the kyng demaunded of the Earle and his sonne suche Scottishe prisoners as they had taken at the conflictes fought at Homeldon and Nesbit as you before haue heard. For of all the captiues whiche were there taken, ther was deliuered to the kynges possession onely Mordake earle of Fife sonne to the duke of Albanie Gouvernour of Scotland, for the king them diuerse and sondry times of therle and his sonne required. But the Peicies affirmyng them to be their owne propre prisoners and their peculiar praies, and to deliuer theym vterly denaied, in so muche that the kyng openly saied that if they wolde not deliuer them, he woulde take them without deliuerance. Wherwith they beyng sore discōtent, by the counsell of Lord Thomas Percy erle of Worcester, whose study was euer to procure malice, and to set al thynges in broile and vncerteintie, fainyng a cause to proue and tempte the kyng, came to him to Wyndsor, requiryng him by raunsome or othe wise to cause to bee deliuered out of prison Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche their cosyn germain whome (as they reported) Owen Glendor kept in filthy prison shakeled with yrons, onely for that cause that he toke his parte, and was to hym faithful and trewe. The kyng began not a litell to muse on this request, and not without a cause, for in dede it touched him as nere as his sherte, as you well may perceiue by the Genealogy rehersed in the beginnyng of this story. For this Edmond was sonne to Earle Roger whiche was sonne to Lady Philip daughter to Lionell Duke of Clarence, the third sonne to kyng Edward the third, whiche Edmonde at kyng Richardes going into Ireland, was proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne and realme, whose Aunt called Elinor this Lord Henry Percie had Married. And therefore the kyng litell forced although that that lignage were clerely subuerted and vtterly extincte.

WHEN the kyng had long digested and studied on this matter, he made aunswere and sayd that the Earle of Marche was not taken prisoner neither for his cause nor in his seruice, but willyngly suffered him selfe to be taken, because he woulde take no parte againste Owen Glendor and his complices, and therefore he woulde nether raunsome nor releue hym,



## THE THIRD YERE OF

whiche fraude the kyng caused openly to be published and diuulged, with whiche aunswere if the parties were angry doubt you not. But with the publyshyng of the cautell, that the Earle of Marche was willyngly taken, they ten times more fumed and ragèd in so muche that sir Henry hotspur said openly Behold the heire of the realme is robbed of his righte, and yet the robber, with his owne, wyl not redeme hym. So in this fury the Percies departed, nothing moie myndyng then to depose kyng Henry from the high tye of his regaltie, and to deliuer and set in his trone their cosyn frende & confederate Edmonde Earle of Marche, whome they not onely deliuered oute of the captiuitie of Owen Glendor, but also entered into a leage and amitie with the said Owen against king Henry and all his frendes and fauours, to the great displeasure and long vnquieting of kyng Henry and his partakers. Here I passe ouer to declare howe a certayne writer writeth that this earle of Marche, the Lorde Percy and Owen Glendor wer vnwisely made belieue by a Welch Prophecier, that king Henry was the Moldwarpe, cursed of Goddes owne mouth, and that they thre were the Dragon, the Lion and the Wolfe, whiche shoulde deuide this realme betwene them, by the deuination and not deuinatiō of that mawmet Merlin. I wyll not reherse howe they by their deputies in the howse of the Archdeacon of Bangor, seduced with that falce fained Prophetie deuided the realme amongst thē, nor yet write howe by a tripartie endenture sealed with their seales, all Englande from Seuerne and Trent South and Eastward, was assigned to the erle of Marche: Nor how all Wales and the landes beyond Seuerne Westward, were appointed to Owen Glendor, and all the remnaunt from Trent Northwarde to the lorde Percie. But I will declare to you that whiche was not prophesied, that is the confuson, destruccion and perdition of these persones, not onely geuyng credite to suche a vain fable, but also setting it forwarde and hopyng to attaine to the effecte of the same whiche was especiall of the lorde Percie and Owen Glendor. For the erle of Marche was euer keppe in the courte vnder suche a keper that he could nether doo or attempte any thyng againste the kyng without his knowledge, and died without issue, lenyng his righte title and interest to Anne his sister and heire, married to Rycharde erle of Cambrige father to the duke of Yorke, whose ofspryng in continuaunce of tyme, obtayned the game and gat the garland. O ye waueryng Welshmen, call you these prophetes? nay call them vnprofitable practises. Name you them diuinacions? nay name them diabolically deuises, say you they be prognostications? nay they be pestiferous publishinges. For by declaryng & credite geuing to their subtil & obscure meanynges, princes haue been deceiued, many a noble manne hath suffred, and many an honest man hath been begyled & destroyed.

KYNG Henry knowyng of this newe confederacy, and nothing lesse myndyng then that that happened after, gathered a greate armye too goo agayne into Wales: whereof the Erle of Northumberlande and his sonne wer aduertised, by lorde Thomas erle of Wocester, and with all diligence raysed all the power that they could make and sent to the Scottes whiche before wer taken prisoners at Hamaldon for aide and men, promisyng the erle Douglas the toune of Barwicke and a parte of Northumberlande: and to other Scotishe lordes greate lordshippes and seignories, if they obtayned the vpper hande and superioritee. The Scottes allured with desire of gain, and for no malice that they bare to kyng Henry, but somewhat desirous to be reuenged of their olde greues, came to the erle with greate compaignie, and to make their cause seme good and iuste, they deuised certain articles by the aduise of Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke, brother to the lorde Scrope, whom kyng Henry caused to bee beheded at Bristow as you haue heard before. Whiche articles thei shewed to diuerse noble men and prelates of the realme, whiche fauouryng and consentyng to their purpose, not onely promised them aide and succor by wordes, but by their writyng and seales confirmed the same. Howbeit, whether it wer for feare, ether for that thei would be lookers on and no dede doers, nether promise by worde or by writyng was perfoimcd. For all y confederatēs them abādoned, & at the daie of the conflict left alone the erle of Stafford only

only excepte, which beyng of a haute corage and hie stomacke, kept his promise & ioined with the Percies to his destructiō.

THE lorde Percy with therle Douglas and other erles of Scotlād with a greate armie, departed out of the Northparties, leuyng his father sicke (whiche promised vpon his amendment & recovery without delay to folowe) and came to Stafford where his vnclē therle of Worcester and he met, and there began to consult vpon their great affaires and high attempted enterprice, there they exhorted their souldiers and companions to refuse no pain for the auaucement of the common wealth, nor to spare no trauell for the libertie of their countree. protestyng openly that they made warre onely (to restore the noble realme of England to his accustomed glory and fredō, which was gouerned by a tirant and not by his lawfull and right kyng The capitaines sware and the souldiers promised to fight, ye & to dye for the libertie of their countree. When all thynges was prepared, they set forward towarde Wales, lokyng euery houre for new aide and succors, noysyng abroad that they came to aide the kyng against Owen Glendor. The kyng heryng of the erles approachyng, thought it policie to encounter with thē before that the Welshmē should ioyne with their armie, and so include hym on both partes, and therefore returned sodainly to the toun of Shrewesbury. He was skantely entered into the tōune, but he was by his postes aduertised that the erles with baners displaid and battailes ranged, wer comyng towarde hym, and were so hote and so coragious, that they with light horses began to skirmishe with his hoste. The kyng perceuyng their dooynges, issued out and encamped hymself without the Estgate of the tōune. Therles nothing abashed although their succors them deceued, embattailed themselves not farr from the kynges armie. And the same night thei sēt the articles whereof I spake before, by Thomas Kaiton and Thomas Saluaine esquiers to kyng Henry, signed with their handes and sealed with their seales, whiche articles (because no Chronicler saue one, maketh mēcion what was the very cause and occasion of this great bloudy battaile, in the whiche on bothe partes wer aboute fourty thousande men assembled) I worde for worde according to my copie do here rehece.

WE Henry, Percy erle of Northumberland, high Constable of England, and Warden of the West Marches of England toward Scotlande, Henry Percy our eldest sonne Wardein of the Easte Marches of Englande toward Scotlande, and Thomas Percy erle of Worcester beyng proctours and protectours of the comon wealth, before our Lorde Jesu Chiste our supreme iudge doo allege, saie and entende to proue with our handes personally this instantē dāe, against the Henry duke of Lancastre, thy complices and fauorers, vnjustly presuming and named kyng of Englande without tittle of right, but onely of thy guyle and by force of thy fauors: that when thou after thyne exile diddest entre Englande, thou madest an othe to vs vpon the holy Gospelles bodely touched and kissed by thee at Dan-castre that thou wouldest neuer claime the croune, kyngdōm or state royall but only thyne owne propre inheritance, and the inheriſtance of thy wife in Englande, and that Richard our soueraigne lord the kyng and thyne, should raigne during the terme of his life, gouerned by the good counsaile of the lordes spirituall and temporall Thou hast imprisoned the same thy soueraigne lorde and our kyng within the toure of London, vntil he had for feare of death, resigned his kyngdomes of Englande and France, and had renounced all his right in the forsaid kyngdomes, and others his dominions and landes of beyonde the sea Vnder colour of whiche resignacion and renunciacion by the counsaile of thy frendes and complices, and by the open noysyng of the rascall pēple by thee and thy adherentes assembled at Westminster, thou hast crowned thy self kyng of the realmes aforsaid, and hast seazed and entered into all the castles and lordshippes perteignyng to the kynges croune, contrary to thyne othe. Wherefore thou art forsworne and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saie and entend to proue, that wher thou sworeſt vpō the same Gospelles in the same place and tyme to vs, that thou wouldest not suffre any dismes to be leued of the Clergie, nor fiftenes on the people, nor any other tallages and taxes to be leued in the realme of Englande to the behoffe of the realme duryng thy life, but by the consideracion



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consideracion of the thre estates of the realme, except for great nede in causes of importance or for the resistance of our enemies, onely and none otherwise. Thou contrary to thyne othe so made, hast done to bee leui'd right many dismes-and fiftenes, and other impositiōs and tallagies, aswel of the Clergie as of the comonaltee of the realme of Englande, & of the Marchauntes, for feare of thy magestie royall. Wherefore thou art periured and false.

ALSO we do allege, saie & entēde to proue, that were thou sworest to vs vpon the same Gospelles in theforesaid place and tyme, that our soueraigne lorde and thyne, kyng Richarde, should reigne duryng the terme of his life in his royall prerogative and dignitee: thou hast caused the same our soueraigne lorde and thine, traiterously within the castell of Poumtret, without the cōsent or iudgement of the lordes of the realme, by the space of fiftene daies and so many nightes (whiche is horrible among christian people to be heard) with hunger, thirst and colde to perishe, to be murdered. Wherefore thou art periured and false

ALSO we do alledge, saie & entēde to proue, that thou at that tyme when our soueraigne lorde and thyne, kyng Richarde, was so by that horrible muider ded as aboue saied, thou by extorte power, diddest vsurpe and take the kyngdome of Englande, and the name and the honor of the kyngdome of Fraunce, vniustly and wrongfully, contrary to thyne othe, from Edmonde Mortimer Earle of Marche and of Ulster, then next and direct heire of England and of Fraunce immediatly by due course of inheritaunce after the deceasse of of theforesaid Richard. Wherefore thou art periured and false

ALSO we do alledge, saie & entēde to proue as aforesaid, that where thou madest an othe in the same place and tyme, to supporte and maintain the lawes and good customes of the realme of Englande, and also afterward at the tyme of thy coronacion thou madest an othe, thesaid lawes and good customes to kepe and conserue inuolate. Thou fraudulently and contrary to the lawe of Englande and thy fautors, haue written almoste through euery shire in England to chose such knightes for to hold a parliament as shalbe for thy pleasure and purpose, so that in thy parlamentes no iustice should be ministered against thy mynde in these our complaints now moued and shewed by vs, wherby at any tyme we might haue any perflight redresse, notwithstanding that wee according to our consciēce (as we truste ruled by God) haue often tymes therof complained, as well can testifie and bere witnes the right reuerend fathers in God Thomas Arundell archbishop of Cañtorbury, and Richarde Scrope, archebishop of Yorke. Wherefore nowe by force and strength of hande before our Lorde, Jesu Christ we must aske our remedy and helpe

ALSO we do alledge, saie and intēde to proue, that where Edmōd Mortimer erle of Marche and Ulster, was taken prisoner by Owen Glēndor in a pitched and foughten feld, and cast into prisone and ladē with yron fetters, for thy matter and cause, whom falsely thou hast proclaymed willyngly to yelde hymself prisoner to thesaid Owen Glēndor, and nether wouldest deluier hym thy self, nor yet suffre vs his kinsmen to raunsome and deluier hym: Yet notwithstanding, we haue not onely concluded and agreed with thesame Owen for his raunsome at our propre charges and expences, but also for a peace betwene thee and the said Owen. Why hast thou then not onely published and declared vs as traytors, but also craftely and deceufully imaged, purposed and conspired the vtter destruccion and confusion of our persones. For the whiche cause we defy thee, thy fautores and complices as comen traytours and destroyers of the realme, and the inuadours, oppressoures and confounders of the verie true and righte heires to the crowne of Englande, whiche thyng we entēde with our hādes to proue this daie, almightie God helpyng vs.

WHEN kyng Henry had ouerseen their articles and defiance, he answered the esquiers that he was redy with dent of swerde and fierce battail to proue their quarell false and fayned, and not with wrytyng nor slanderous wordes, and so in his righteous cause and iust quarell he doubted not but God would bothe aide and assiste hym, against vntrue persones and false forsworne traytours: with whiche answer the messengers departed. The next daie in the mornyng early, whiche was the vigile of Mary Magdalene, the kyng perceuyng that



that the battaill was nerer than he ether thoughte or loked for, leste that long taryng might be a minishyng of his suength, set his battailles in good ordre likewise did his enemies, whiche bothe in puissance and courage were nothyng to hym inferiour. Then sodainly the trumpettes blew, the kynges parte cried sanct George vpon them. The aduersaries cried. Espeiaunce Percie, and so furiously the armies ioyned. The Scottes whiche had the forward on the lordes side, entending to bee reuenged of their old displeasures done to them by the Englishe nacion, set so fiersely on the kynges forward, that they made them drawe backe, and had almost broken their arraye. The Welshemen also whiche sithe the kynges departure out of Wales, had lurked and lien in woodes mountaignes and marishes, heryng of this battaill towarde, came to the aide of the engles, and refreshed the very people with new succurs. When a fearful messenger had declared to the kyng, that his people were beaten doune on euery side, it was no nede to bid hym sture, for sodainly he approched with his freshe battaill, and comforted, heitened and encouraged his part so, that they toke their hertes to them, and manly fought with their enemies. The prince Henry that daie holpe muche his father, for although he was sole wounded in the face with an arrow, yet he neuer ceased ether to fight where the battail was moste strongest, or to courage his men where their hertes was moste danted. This greate battail cōtinued thre long houres with indifferēt fortune on bothe partes. That at the last the kyng cryng saint George, victory, brake the arraie and entered into the battaill of his enemies and fought fiersely, and auentured so far into the battaill, that the erle Douglas strake hym doune and slewe sir Water Blonde, and three other appeared in the kynges suite and clothynge sayng. I maruail to see so many kynges so sodainly arise again, the kyng was reised and did that daie many a noble feate of armes. For as the Scottes write and Fienche men affirme, all though that Englishemen kepe silence, that he hymself slewe with his handes that daie xxxvj. persones of his enemies, the other of his parte encoraged by his doynges, fought valiantly and slew the lorde Percie called sir Henry hotspurre, the best capitain on the parte aduaise. When his death was knowen, the Scottes fled, the Welshemen ran, the traitors wer oucome, then nether wooddes letted, nor hilles stopped the fearfull hertes of them that were vanquished to fle, and in that flighte therle Douglas, whiche for hast fall- yng from the cragge of a mountaigne brake one of his genitals and was taken, and for his valiantnes of the kyng frely & frankly deliuered. There was taken also sir Thomas Percie erle of Worcester & diuise other, on the kynges parte wer slain sir Walter Blount and. xvj. C. other persones, but on the parte of the rebelles were slain the erle of Stafford, the lorde Percie and aboute fift thousand other, and as for the Scottes few or none escaped alue.

AFTER this glorious victory by the kyng obtaigned, he rendered to almightie God his humble and hertie thanks, and caused therle of Worcester the morowe after Mary Magdalene, at Shrewesbury to be drawen hanged and quartered; and his hed to be sent to London; at whiche place many mo capitaines wer executed. After this greate battaill, he like a triumphante conqueror returned with greate pompe to London, where he was by the senate and magistrates solemnly receiued, not a little reioysyng of his good fortune and fortunate victorye. But before his departure from Shrewesbury, he not forgettyng his enterprise against Owen Glendor, sent into Wales with a great army prince Henry his eldest sonne against thesaid Owen and his sedicious fautors, whiche beyng dismated and in maner desperate of all comfort by the reason of the kynges late victory, fled in desert places and solitary caues, where he receiued afinal reward mete and prepared by Goddes prouidence for suche a rebell and sedicious seducer. For beyng destitute of all comforte, dreading to shewe his face to any creature, lackyng meate to sustain nature, for pure hunger and lacke of fode miserably ended his wretched life. This ende was prouided for suche as gaue credence to false prophesies. This ende had they that by diabolical deuonations were promised great possessions and seignories. This ende happeneth to suche as beleuyng such fantastical folies, aspire and gape for honor and high promociōs. When the prince with litle labor and lesse losse, had tamed & brided the furious rage of the wild and sauage Welshemen,  
and.

and leste gouernors to rule and gouerne the countree, he returned to his father with great honor & no small praise. The erle of Northumberland heryng of the overthrowe of his brother and sonne, came of his owne free will to the kyng, excusyng hymself as one nether party nor knowyng of their doying nor enterpryce: the kyng nether accused him nor held hym excused, but dissimuled the matter for. ii. causes, one was he had Berwicke in his possession, which the kyng rather desired to haue by polici then by force: the other was that therle had his castelles of Alnewicke, Warkeworth and other fortified with Scottes, so that if therle wer apprehēded, all Northumberland wer in jeopardy to become Scottish. For these causes ꝑ kyng gaue hym faire wordes & let hym depart home, wher he continued inpeace a while, but after he rebelled as you shall perceiue by thesequēle of this story.

#### ¶ THE FOURTH YERE.

The IIIJ.  
yere

This yere Waleram erle of sent Pole, considryng that he had defied kyng Henry, and also that he had made diuerse voyages, and done litle damage to the English nacion, and susteigned muche losse, continuyn in his olde malice against the kyng of England, by the assent of the Frenche kyng assembled a great nombre of men of warre, as. v. C. men of armes. v. C. Genewais with Crosebowes, and a. M. Flemynges on fote, and laied siege to the Castell of Marke thre leages frō Caleis, within the territory of the kyng of Englande, the. xvi. daie of Iuly, wherof was capitain Philip Halle esquier, with. lxxx archers and. xxxiii. other souldiers. Therle raised against the Castle diuerse engines but they preuailed not, for they within shot so fersly, and cast out stones so incessantly, and toke suche paine that to the hearers it is almosie incredible. The erle perceiuing that his feate had suche successe as he loked for, retired with his men lodged in the toune, fortifyng thesame for feie of rescous that might issue from Caleis, the next day he gaue a sore assaute again, and with great force entered the viter court of the castle, and toke therein a great number of horse kyen and catell, at the whiche assaut sir Roberte Barengule cosin to therle was slain. The same daie a. C. Archers on horseback comyng out of Caleis, sawe and perceiued the dooynges & demeanure of therle and his compaignie, and toward night they sent an Heiualte certefiying him that they would dine with him the next daie to whom he proudly answered, that he would gladly receiue them, and their dinner should at their comyng be ready prepared. The nexte daie ensuyng issued out of Caleis. CC. men of armes CC. archers. CCC. mē on fote with x. or xii Chariottes laden with vitall and artillery, conducted by sir Richard Astone knight, leutenant of the Englishe pale for the erle of Somerset capitain generall of those marches whiche in good ordre of battaill marched toward their enemies, which before by their espials wer aduertised of their comyng, but that notwithstanding they issued not out of their lodgings to encounter with them, but kept them self within their closure. The Englishmen shot so sharply and so closely together, that the Flemynges and fotemen began to fle, the men of armes feryng the slaughter of their horses ran awate with a light gallop the Genowais whiche had spent the most part of their shot at thassaut made litle defence and small resistance and so all were slain and put to flight. The hasty & rashe eile of sent Paul & diuerse othei without any stroke geuen to their enemies fled to sent Omers, and there wer taken of the best of the armie, as the Frenche and Duche Chronicle reporteth thre or foure score persones, emongest whom the capitain of Bullayne was one, and many lordes and knightes slain. After that the Englishmen had taken all the cartes municions & vitales that their enemies had brought thither, they returned to Caleis in great triumphe, and within fīue daies after there issued out of the Englishe pale, about the nombre of. v. C. men towarde Arde by night tyme, thynkyng to haue found the toune vnprouded, but sir Mansard de Boys and the lord Kygnie defended it and let the Englisshemen of their purpose, and so with losse of fourty men they returned to Cāleis. whiche dedde persones wer brent in an old hous, because their enemies should be ignorate of the damage



mage that the Englishemen had by them sustained. Therle of sent Paule beyn<sup>r</sup> at Terwin, imaginyng how to recouer somewhat of his losse but more of his honor, sente for a greate compaignie of noble men and valiant personages, and cōcluded to innade the Marches of his enemies. But the Frenche kyng considering the erles euil fortune and vnfortunate chance, cōmaūded hym to leue of his enterpryse, with whiche he was sore displeased. Yet to auoyd perelles, the Frenche kyng laid in garrison at Bullein and other places, the Marques of Pownt sonne to the duke of Bair, and therle of Dampnay, and sir Ihon Harpadane a knight of greate renoune and high estimacion. The kyng of England circūspectly forseyng thynges to come, and imagenyng that the Frenchemen attempted some newe enterpryce, against hym or his dominions beyonde the sea, sent. iii. M. men to Caleis and to the sea, whereof. iii. M. landed at Sluce, whiche besieged a castle standyng at the mouthe of the hauen, and made diuerse assautes and lost diuerse of their compaignie, but newes were brought to theim, that the duke of Burgoyne had requied licence of the Frenche kyng to besiege the toun of Caleis, for whiche cause thei raised their siege, and returned to the defence of that fortresse and desired prairie of the Frenche nacion.

¶ THE FIFTHE YERE.

ABOUTE this season Loys Duke of Orliance brother to the Frenche Kyng, a man of no lesse pryde then haute courage, wrote letters to Kyng Henry aduertisyng hym, that he for the perfighte loue whiche he bare to the noble feates of chualie and maicrall actes, in auoidyng the slowe worme and deadly Dormouse called Idlenes, the ruine of realmes and confounder of nobilitie, and for the obteignyng of laude and renoune by deades of armes and manly enterprises, coude imagine or inuent nothyng either more honorable or laudable to them both, then to mete in the feld eche parte with an hundred Knightes and Esquiers, all beyng Gentlemen bothe of name and armes armed at all pointes and furnished with speares, axes, swerdes and daggers, and there to fighte and combate to the yeldyng, and every person to whom God shal send victory to haue his prisoner, and him to raunsome at his pleasure, offeryng hym selfe with his company to come to his cite of Angoulesme, so that the kyng of England wolde come to the laundes of Burdeaux and there defend this challenge. The kyng of England whiche was as graue and wittie as the duke was light and couragious, wrote to hym againe that he not a litell mused but muche more meruailed that the duke beyng sworne as well to him as to kyng Richard to mainteyne the peace betweene his brother the Frenche kyng and theym concluded, and to that had set his signe and great seale, wolde nowe for vainglory vnder colour of doying dedes of Armes not onely violate the peace and breake the amitie betwene them before concluded, but also geue an occasion of displeasure and ingratitude, by the whiche in conclusion might rise mortall war and deadly enemie, affimyng farther that no kyng anointed of very dutie was ether bound or obliged to answere any challenge but to his pere of egall estate and equiuolent dignitie, and that no christian prince ether ought or shoulde consent to warre or effusion of christen blud but onely for the defence of his realme, or for conquest of his right, or for amplifying of Christes faithe and christian religion, and not for pride, worldly fame and vainglory, declaryng also that when opportunitie of time and conuenient leisure serued, he would transfret and passe the sea himselfe with suche company as he thought most conuenient into his countrey of Gascoigne, at whiche time the Duke myght set forward with his hand for the attaynyng of nonour and accomplishing of his couragious desire and haute enterprise, promising in the worde of a prince not thence to depart till the duke either by fulfilling his owne desire, or by singular combate betwene them two, onely for auoidyng the effusion of Christen bloud, shoulde thinke himself satisfied and fully answered. Howbeit, at that time he beyng enbusied with weightie affaires & vrgent causes concernyng the publike welth of his realme could neither apoint time nor place, protestyng that the deferryng of time was nether for disdaine

The v.  
yere.



nor yet for cowardnes, but only to abate the pride of him whiche knowyng not himself, nor fering reproche, regarded not his othe writyng nor seale. To this answer the duke of Orleauce replied and kyng Henry reioyned, which doynge what for the vnpryncely tauntes and vcharitable checkes in them cōteigned, and what for rehersyng againe thanges to you here before declared I omitte and put in obliuion. The duke of Orleauce not content with the king of England, assembled an aīmie of vi M. men and entered into Guien and besieged the town of Veigy, wherof was Capitaine sir Robait Antelfelde a valiant knight and an hardy captain, hauyng with him onely thre hundred Englishmen. The duke alnoste euery day assaulted the towne fierely, but they within the towne couragiously defended the same: In so much that when he had lien there thre monethes & had lost many of his men, and nothyng gotten, without honour or spoile returned into Fraunce. After this the Admiral of Britayne whiche beyng highly elated and much encouraged because the laste yere he had taken certaine Englishe shippes laden with wine accompanied with the Lord Castyll a valiant baron of Britaine, and xii C. men of armes, & xxx. shippes, sailed from saint Malowes and came before the towne of Darthmouthe and woulde haue landed, but by the puissaunce of the townsmen and aide of the countrey, they were repulsed and put backe in whiche conflicte the Lorde of Castell with his two brethren with foure hundrede other were slain, and aboue two hundred prisoners taken and raunsomed, wherof the Lord of Baqueuile high Marshall of Britaine was one, whiche was brought to the kyng and after redemed. The Admiral sory of this infortunate enterprise with much losse and no gain returned hastily into his countrey. Kyng Henry being aduertised of this attempt, sent the Lord Thomas his sonne whiche after was duke of Clarence to the sea with a gret name of shippes to the entent eyther with battaill or depopulacion of the sea coastes bothe of Britaine and of Fraunce to reuenge this iniurie and inuasion he sailyng by the sea costes landed diuers times and fiered shippes & brent townes and destroyed people without fauoure or mercie, and when he thoughte his quarell well reuenged he sailed toward England, and in his retournyng he encountied with two great Carickes of Ieane laden with riche marchandise and substantial stuff betwene whom was a greates conflicte and a bloudy battell, but after long fightyng, the Englishemen preuailed and brought bothe the Carickes into Camber before Rye, where one of them by misauenture of fier perished to the losse and no gaine of bothe the parties. About this time Ihon duke of Burgoin whiche had long laboured and now obtained licence to besiege the towne of Caleis, preparyng enginnes, ladders, cartes, and all other instrumentes necessary and conuenient for so great a feate and notorious siege, and assembled at S Omers vi. M. men of armes, xv C. Crosbowes, beside xii. M. fotemen, hauyng vital Bumbardes and other municions of warre sufficient and conuenient for his abroad blown enterprise. But when all thynges wei prepared and the hole army assembled he was by the French kyng and his counsell (whiche put diffidence in the exploite of his glorious busines) countermaunded & prohibited farther to procede in that weightie purpose: for the which cause he conceiued so great an hatred and deadly malice against the Duke of Orleauce (as the onely stop and let of his glory and renoume) that he euer after not only maligned and grudged against him and his procedynges, but also (as you shall shortly heare) brought him to death and finall destruction

## ¶ THE SIXT YERE.

The vi  
yere.

IN this yere the Earle of Northumberland whiche bare still a venomous scorpion in his cankered heart, and coude not desist to inuent and deuise waies and meanes howe to be reuenged of kyng Henry and his fautours, began secretly to communicate his interjor imagnacions and priue thoughtes with Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke brother to Willia lord Scrop treasurer of England whom kyng Henry (as you haue hearde) beleaded at the towne of Bristow, and with Thomas Mowbrey erle Marshal sonne to Thomas duke of Norffolke, for kyng Henries cause before banished the realme of England, and with the lordes

lordes, Hastynges, Fauconbridge, Bardolfe and diuerse other whiche he knewe to beare deadly hate and inward grudge toward the kyng After long consultaciou had, it was finally concluded and determined amongst theym that all they, then frendes and alies with all their power shoulde mete at Yorkes wold at a day appointed and that therle of Northumberland should be chefetaine and supreme gouernour of the armie, which promised to bring with him a great number of Scottes.

THIS sedicious conspiracy was not so secretly kept nor so closely cloked but that the kyng thereof had knowledge, and was fully aduertised. Wherefore to prevent the time of their assembly, he with suche power as he could sodainly gather together with all diligence marched toward the North parties and vsed such a celeritie in his iourney that he was thither come with all his hoste and power before the confederates hearde any inkelyng of his marching forward, and sodainly theie wer apprehended the Archebishop, the earle Marshal, sir Ihon Lampley, and sir Robert Plumpton. These personnes wer arraigned, atteinted and adiudged to die, and so on the Monday in Whitson weke all they withoute the Citie of Yorke were beheaded. Here of necessitie I oughte not nor will not forgeate howe some folishe and fantasticall personnes haue written, howe erroneous Ipocrites and sedicious Asses haue endited, howe superstitious Friers and malicious Monkes haue declared and diuulged both contrary to Goddes doctrine the honou of their prince and common knownen veritie that at the howe of the executiō of this Bishop (which of the Executioner desired to haue five strokes in remembrance of the five woundes of Christ) the kyng at the same time sitting at diner had v strokes in his necke by a person inuisible, & was incontinently strikē with a leprey, whiche is a manifest lye as you shall after plainly perceiue. What shall a man say of suche writers whiche toke upon them to knowe the secretes of Goddes iudgement? what shall men thinke of such beastly persons whiche regarding not their bounden dutie and obeisance to their prince & souerain Lord enuid the punishment of traiters and torment of offenders? But what shall all men coniecture of suche whiche fauouring their own worldly dignitie, their own priuate auctoritie, their own peculiar profit, wil thus iuggle raile and imagine fantasies against their soueraigne lord and Prince, and put them in memoire as a miracle to his dishonor and perpetual infamy Wel let wise men iudge what I haue said. Beside these persons, diuers other of thesaid conspiracie and facciō, the lorde Hastynges, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Ihon Coluile of the dale, sir Ihon Griffith were beheaded at Durham. Theile of Northumberland hearyng his counsel to be reueled and his confederates to be put to execucion and shameful death, fled into Scotland to his old fiend George of Dunbarre earle of the Marche, which the yere before was reuoked out of exile and restored to his possessions name and dignitie, where he taried till the next Sōmer & then sailed into Fraūce and after into Flaunders desyryng aide and assistance againste kyng Henry, but when he sawe littel hope of comfoit and that fewe willyngly were ententif to his request, he accompanied with the Lorde Bardolffe muche dismayed and more desperate returned again to his trew fiendes into Scotlande and there made his abode the hole yere abyding the fauour of Fortune and chaunge of his vnfortunate chaunce duryng whiche tyme the kyng withoute any difficultie toke into his possession the towne of Barwicke, the castelles of Alnewyke and all other Fortresses appartaining to the Eaile. and lying at Berwycke he caused to be put to death the Barons sonne of Greystocke, sir Henry Beynton, and Ihon Blenkinsoppe and fue other as fauourites and workers of this newe innented conspiracy. When the kyng had thus appeased and asswaged that late begonne commocion, he sent his son the prince of Wales accompanied with Edward duke of Yorke and a great puissance, to encounter with the Scottes which by promise wer bound to ayde and assiste the confederates and rebelles. But thei hearyng that the founders of the warre were apprehended and put to deathe, made no haste forward but taried peacibly at home. So that the prince entryng into Scotland and findyng no resistance, brent tounes spoyled villages and wasted the countrey euery where as he passed, which thyng so muche amased the kyng of Scottes and his counceel, that notwithstanding that he had gathered and appointed a greate hoste vn-



## THE VII. YERE OF

der the conducte of the Erles of Douglas and Bowgham to resist the prince and his inuasions, yet they sente Ambassadors to hym requirynge hym of peace and finall concord, whiche requeste he vtterly denaied, but at their humble petition he graunted them a truce for certaine monethes, of the whiche they were bothe glad and ioyous, and so the prince laden with pray and spoile retourned with great gain to his father. While the prince thus infected the countrey of Scotland on the land, sir Robert Vmfreule vice Admirall of England vexed the couñtreys of Fyffe and Loghdian on the sea coast, for he liyng in the Scottishe sea. xiiii. daies and euery daie landed on the one side or the other and toke praies spoyles and prisoners maugre the gret powers of the duke of Albanie and the Erle Douglas, insomuche that he brent and toke the town of Peples on their faire day and caused his men to mete Clothe with their bowes. and with great gain retournyng to his shippes brent the Galiet of Scotland with many other vessels, and sente Clothe vitail and diuers Marchandises to euery towne in Northumberland, setting thereon no great price: Wherefore the Scottes called hym Robyn mendmarket. The kyng about this time was newly vnquieted and perturbed, for notwithstanding this fortunate successe that he had obteigned in all his outward warres and interiour affayres, yet some of his people bare suche a cankered hearte to warde hym that to expell hym from his rule and dignitie they left no occasion vnsought nor deuise vnattempted. For sodainly sprūge out a fame of an vncertain auctour that king Richard was yet liuing in Scotland, to whiche fable suche credite was geuen that if prudente policie had not forsene the sequele, it had kendeled a greater flame then within short space might haue well bene quenched or extincte.

## ¶ THE SEUENTH YERE.

The vii.  
yere.

IN this sommer, the Pestilenciall plage so infected the Citie of London and the countrey rōūd about that the king durst not repaire thither nor yet nere to the confines of the same, wherfore he departing from the castel of Ledes, determined to take ship at Quinboioughe in the Isle of Shepey, and to sail ouer to Lye in Essex and so to Plashey, there to passe his tūne till the plage were seased: and because certain pyrates of Fraunce were lurkyng at the Temmes mouthe waityng for their pray, Thomas Lord Camois with certaine shippes of warre was appointed to waite ouer the king. When the kyng was on the sea, in the midst of his iourney, whether the wind turned, or that the Lord Camois kept not a directe course, or that his shippe was but a slugge. The Frenchemen whiche by all similitude had knowledge of the kynges passage entered amongst the kynges nauie and toke fowre vesselles nexte to the kynges shippe and in one of the sir Thomas Rampston knight the kynges vice chamberlain with all his chamber stuffe and apparel, and folowed the kyng so nere that if his shippe had nat bene swift he had landed sooner in Frāce then in Essex, but by Goddes prouision and fortunate chaunce he escaped the daunger and arriued at his appointed porte. The kyng beyng sore moued with the lord Camois, caused him to be attached and endited that he consdescended and agreed with the Frenchemen that the kyng in his iourney should be intercepted and taken. On this point he was arraigned the last day of October before Edmond erle of Kent that day high stuard of the realme, on which day were he gilte or giltless, faultie or clere, culpable or innocent of that fact and doying, he was by his peres found not gilte and dismissed at the barre, hauyng restitution bothe of his landes goodes and offices. In this yere kyng Henry not onely desirynge newe affinitie with forein priaces but also the preferment of his line and progeny, sent the Lady Phylip his yonger daughter to Erieke kyng of Denmarke, Norway and Swethen which was conueighed thither with great pompe and there with muche triumphe married to the said kyng, where she tasted bothe welthe, and wo. ioye & pain. About this season died sir Robert Knolles knight a man of great policie, wisdom and experience in war which had bene a Capitayn from the time of Kyng Edward the. iii. till his latter dayes, in the whiche he beyng Gouvernour of Aquitayne encombred with age resigned his



his office to sir Thomas Belford a valiaunt capytaine and returned to London, where he diseased and was honorably buried in the Church of the White Fryers.

¶ THE EYGT YERE.

YOU haue heard before how kyng Robert of Scotlande being very aged and impotent, was <sup>The viii. yere</sup> not able to rule and gouerne his realme, and how Walter his brother, beyng by hym created duke of Albanie, (whiche was the firste duke that euer was in Scotlande) was made gouernor of his brothers countree and dominion. After whiche office and prebeminēce by hym obtayned, he so sore thirsted after the croune and scepter royal that he cared litle though the kyng his brother and his two sōnes had been at Christes fote in heuen. And somewhat to further his purpose, it vnfortunatly chaūsed that Dauid of Rothsay prince of the realme and eldest sonne to the kyng, was accused to his father of diuerse heynous crimes, and in especiall of lascruious & dissolute luyng, as rauishyng of wiues, deflouryng of virgins, and defyling of maidens, wherfore the kyng deliuered hym to his brother the gouernor, trustyng that by his good counsaill and discreete aduertismente he would not onely amend his life, but also to fall to wisdom prudence and grauntie. Whē the duke had possessed part of his desired pray, he sent his nephewe frō castle to castle, from prisone to prisone, from place to place, and in conclusion lodged him in a toure within the castle of Franckelande, where with famyne he caused miserably to ende his life, puttyng a poore woman to painfull death, whiche gaue to the Prince the milke of her brestes by a rede into the prisone. His death was long hidden from the king his father, but in conclusiō, the gouernor shewed to the king how diuerse persones traiterously had murdered hym whiche wer appiehended and iudged to die, & yet in their liues they neuer knew nor yet saw hym. The kyng notwithstanding his brothers excuse, doubted much thend of his other sonne named Iames, wherfore he prively provided a ship, in the whiche he put the child beyng then of the age of ix. yeres, under the tuition of the lord Hēry Senciere erle of Orkeney, willyng him to cōuey the prince into f. realme of Fraūce if by any possibilitie he could thether attain. And if fortune should driue hym on f. coast of England, he wrote letters to the kyng of England, f. teres wherof insuch.

“ ROBERT Kyng of Scottes, sendeth gretyng to Kyng Henry of Englande, although by <sup>A letter sente by the Kyng of Scottes.</sup> relacon of other persones I haue knowen before this tyme, what magnanimitie, what clemencie, and other infinite vertues be planted and roted in your royall persone, yet in the voyage that you your self personally last made into Scotlād, I haue had manifest and open experience of the same. For whē you like our enemy inuaded our countrie, brent our townes, and destroyed our people, yet by the fauor that you shewed to suche places and people whiche receiued and fostered your noble father when he fled out of Englād (for feare of rebelles whiche then sore afflicted his lande) we haue receiued almoste as muche profit and aduantage as we did hurte and damage, by your terrible warres and bloody inuasions. Wherefore I cannot but laud and praise your highnes & iudge your noble herte mete for a kyngdō, but also I do loue and will not cease to loue you duryng my naturall life. And notwithstanding that realmes and nacions daily contende and make warre for glory rule and empire, yet to vs bothe beyng kynges, no suche occasion is geuen to do as they do, or to folowe their steppes or progression, but we (whiche is the duetie of a kyng) oughte to strue who shall prosecute other with moste human fauor and continual clemencie, and as muche as we maie to be felowes, compaigniōs and alies, in singuler loue and perpetual amitie. And as for suche causes as now be different and in discencion betwene vs and our realmes for my part I shall endeuer my self to bryng all thynges to a good cōclusion & mutuall conformitie. And because that I now am in the same trouble and perplexitie for my children, that your father was with the rebelles of Englande, I am compelled of very necessitie to desire aide

aide and seke-cōforte of forain princes and strange nacions And although that by the help of God and power of my people, I am able inough to kepe the same against all outward powers and forain attemptes Yet from the secrete malice of suche as lurke and bee daily nourished in my very bosome, I cannot kepe them in suertie within myne owne dominion And yet in no other place thei can bee from that pestiferous conspiracy put in any sure defence or perfight sauegard, except thei be preserued by the faith and fidelitie of good and iust men. The woulde this tyme is so full of malice, so replenished with rancor, that wheresoeuer that golde or siluer (whiche bee instrumentes of mischief) maie enter or penetrate, there shalbe founde ministers prone and redy to do and perpetrate al detestable crimes and mischeuous inuencions. But because I knowe and perceiue your person to be endued with so many notable vertues, and to be adorned with such Magnanimitie, fidelitie, iusticie, clemencie, and finally, not onely to be replenished with the whole compaignie and felowship of the vertues Moral, but also to be of that power, riches & puyssance that no prince in our tyme, maie to your highnes be ether compared or assimuled, I beyng by your noble and notable qualities allected and encoraged, most hertely requene your helpe and humbly desire your aide, ietele and comfort. For mine eldest sonne Dauid, (as I suspect and as the same runeth, although I cannot yet thereof make a perfight proffe) is inurthered, by no comen murthei, by no open thefe, by no notorious malefactor nor by no furious persone, but by my brothei his vnkle whiche ought to haue protected and saued him, to whom I cōmitted the gouernance of me, my children, my whole realme and all that I had, whiche vnnaturall kinseman hath not only killed my child, but hath shamefully slain and murdered hym with the moste cruell and miserable kynd of death, which is famyne. And so he, which ought & whose duety was to haue aduoyded and put frō me the iniuries of all other persones, hath afflicted me with the moste contumelie, the greatest iniury and manifest damage, that euer subiecte did attempt against his Prince, or brother against brother, or enemy against kinseman. For he whom I made gouernor to withstand the power and malice of mine outward enemies, compasseth and imagineth how to destroy myne issue, and consequently myne owne persone Wherefore for the fauor that you bere to iustice sent by God to mankinde, and for the naturall loue and fatherly affection that you bere to your children and posteritie, I humbly requene and hertely desire your magnificēce, that this mine onely child, not onely maie safely and surely lue vnder your defence and protection but also that you of your accustomed goodnes will vouchsaue to preserue and defende this the onely heire of my posteritie from the malicious attemptes of his cruell kynred and ambitious consanguinitie. And this the ratlier for the remembrance both of your fathers chance, whiche in his necessitie spund muche humanitie in our nacion, and also of the frailtie of worldly suretie, whiche assone changeth from good to euill, and from euill to worse, as the faire and redolent flower this daie florisheth, and to morow widreth and sodainly vadeth Requiryng you to haue in remembrance, that if princes put their whole confidence only in their comon people, which be more variable then the Wethercocke or wynd, and haue no outward frendes nor forain amitie, their empire is falling and their regiment very brittle. But if princes be coupled in the chaines of indissoluble amitie, and will mutually & faithfully defende their comen enemies, and aduoyde their manifest iniuries, there is no power or strength of the comen people, that ether can hurte or cast them from the throne: in suche a suretie is a kyng that so is garnished with the loue, fauor and amitie of outward princes and louyng neighbors. Wherefore, if it may seme expedient to your high wisdom, to here this my lowly requeste and louyng sute (whiche I thynke your clemencie will not reiect nor refell) my desire is, that accordyng to the last truce concluded betwene you and vs, in the whiche is conteigned that all men conueyhyng letters from the one of vs to the other, should suerly & sauely passe and repasse without any cōtradiccio. That it would plesse you not to breke nor deny the said liberty to this berer our only sōne, but for your honor to kepe your promise sincerely inuolated & faithfully obserued And thus the gracious God preserue your noble person in your royal estate long to continew."



WHEN all thynges necessary were prepared, the mariners halsed vp their ankers and departed from Bas castle with this young prince and Henry Percie sonne to the lord Percie slain before at Shrewesbury, and by rigor of tempest wer driuen on the coast of Holder-nes called Flamborough hed the. xxx. daie of Marche, where the yong prince for to re-freshe hymselfe toke lande. He wroughte not so priuily, but he was knowen and taken with all his cōpany, & conueighed to the kyng beyng at Winsore, where he with dew reuerēce deli-uered his fathers letter. When the letter was redde & vnderstand, the kyng assembled his counsail to knowe what should be doen with this noble enfant. Some to whome the con-tinual waies and daily battail was bothe displeasāt and odious, affirmed that there could not happen a better or a more suer occasion of peace and amitie betwene bothe the realmes, whiche beyng so offred, they would in no wise should be reiectet but taken, considering that this prince was sent thither, in trust of sauegard, in hope of refuge, and in request of aide and comfort against his euill willers and malicous enemies: other (whose opinion toke place) affirmed hym to be a prisoner and so to bee ordered, for asmuche as he was taken the warre beeyng open, and that his father did not onely maintayne therle of Northumberland and other rebelles within his countie and geue them great honors, but also sent a greate nombre of his nobilite against the kyng at the battaill of Shrewesbery. Wherefore it was agreed that he should be detained as a prisoner, lawfully taken and duely apprehēded. When tidynges of this definitiue sentence was shewed to his father, he tooke suche an in-warde conceit and so sore a pencillenes, that he ended his naturall life within a few mone-thes after. Although the takyng of this young pince, was at the first tyme displeasent to the realme of Scotlande: yet surely, after he and all his region had greate cause to reioyse and thanke God of their fortunate chaunce and good lucke that insued. For where before that tyme the people of Scotlande wer rude, rusticall, without any vrbanie, hauyng litle ler-nyng and lesse good maners, & good qualities least of all. This prince beeyng xvij. yeres prisoner within this realme, was so instructed and taught by his scholemasters & pedagoges apointed to him by the onely clemencie of the kyng, that he not onely florished in good lea-nyng and freshe literature (as the tyme then serued) but also excelled in all poyntes of Mar-ciall feates, Muscicall instrumentes, Poëticall artes and liberal sciences. In so muche that at his returne from captiuitie, he furnished his realme bothe with good learyng and ciuill policie, whiche before was barbarous, sauage, rude & without all good nurtur.

¶ THE NYNETH YERE.

THERLE of Northumberland, whiche had been in Fraunce and other regions to ob-  
teigne aide against kyng Henry, and had missed of his purpose, now putte his whole confidence  
in the Scottes, and in especiall in his olde frende George erle of Marche, and so assembled  
a great power of the Scottish nacion to inuade Northumberland, and recouered diuersc of  
his owne castles and seignories, to whom the people without nombre daily resorted. Where-  
fore he entending to bee reuenged of his old greues, accompaigned with the lorde Bar-  
dolfte and diuerse other Scottes and Englishmen entred into Yorke shire and there began to  
destroy and depopulate the countie. Wherof the kyng beyng aduertised, caused a greate  
army to be assembled and marched toward his enemies, but or the kyng came to Notyng-  
ham, Raufe Rekesbie shrife of Yorke shire, in the middest of February with the power of  
the countie, sodainly set on therle and his compaignie, at a place called Bramham More,  
where after long fightyng, the erle and the Lorde Bardolfte and many other wer taken and  
brought to Yorke and there executed, and their heddes sent to London.

The. ix.  
Yeres.

AFTER this the kyng hauing knowledge that diuerse pirates wer wanderyng on the coast  
of Englande, prepared a great armie furnished with men, vitale and municions of warre  
mete & conuenient for such an enterprice, and in the beginnyng of Marche sent to the sea,  
loide Edmond Hollande erle of Kent, chieftain of that crewe and armie. When the erle  
had



## THE TENTH YERE OF

had searched all the coaste of Fraunce, and had founde not one pirate or sea robber, he was aduertised by his espials that they heryng of his armie, wer duerted to the partes of Britayn. Wherefore the said erle entending to be reuenged on them whiche he sought for, made his course thether, before his arrival they had conueighed their shippes into the hauens, so that he could not fight with them on the sea, wherefore he launched out his botes and with his fierce souldiers toke land and fiercely assaulted the towne of Briake standyng on the sea side. The citiezens threwe out dartes, cast stoues, shotte quarrelles and manfully defended their walles. In whiche conflicte the erle receiued such a wound in his head that he departed out of this world the v day after. The assailantes not dismaied but set a fire with the death of their captaine like men desperate styll assaulted the towne and by fine force entered into the same and set it a fier and slewe all that would make any resistance, and for lacke of a captain, the men of warie laden with praies and prisoners returned againe into Englande.

THIS Edmond erle of Kent was in such fauour with kyng Henry that he not alonely aduanced and promoted him to highe offices and great prehenunces, but also by his meane and no small coste obtayned for him the eldest daughter and one of the heires of the Lord Barnabo of Millaine brother to Lord Galeace whose sone also called Galeace murderynghis vncke Barnabo made himselfe first duke of Millaine, for which marriage Lord Barnabo paid to him an hundred M. Duccattes at the church of saint Marie Oueries in Southwarke at the day of the solempnite, by doon Alphos de Caniola. This Lucie after the death of her husband by whom she had no issue, was moued by the kyng to mary with his bastard brother the Earle of Dorcet a man very aged and il visaged, whose person nether satisfied her fantasy nor whose face pleased her appetite, wherefore she preferring her own mind more then the kynges desie, delityng in him the whiche shoulde more satisfie her wanton pleasure then gaine her any profite, for very loue toke to husband Henry Mortimer a goodly yong Esquier and a bewtitull Bachelor. For which cause the kyng was not onely with her displeased but also for marryng withoute his licence he seassed and fined her at a great some of money, which fine kyng Henry the. v. bothe released and pardoned and also made him knyght and promoted hym to great offices both in England and Normandie, whiche sir Henry had issue by this Lady, Anne married to sir Ihon Awbemond mother to Elizabeth Chandos mother to Phillis married to sir Dauid Halle capitayne of Caen, she had also issue Mari married to Ihon Cheddur and Luce espoused to sir Ihon Cressy. This yere by reason of Frost, shepes and birds died without number, whiche continued fiftene weekes.

## ¶ THE X. YERE.

The x.  
yere

ABOUTE this time Ihon duke of Burgoine a man of a quicke witte, desirous of rule, & of a haute courage, being of great auctoritie amongst the Frenche nacion to whome ciuill discorde was more pleasure than fraternall amitie and mutuall concorde, began sore to grudge and maligne against Lewes Duke of Orleance brother to the French kyng, because that he was chefe of the kynges counsell and ordered al thinges by his discrecion, because the king his brother was (as you haue heard) fallen into a frensy and therefore meddled in nothyng. The duke of Orleance on the otherside beyng highly set vp in pride, began to disdain and froune at the duke of Burgom, because he perceiued that he aspired & gaped to haue the supreme regimete in the publike affaires and weightie causes, thus the one would haue no superior, and the other would haue no pere. This cancard disdain in shorte space grewe to suche a hate, that all the realme of Fraunce was demided into two factions, thone parte fauoryng the duke of Orleance, and the other inclinyng to the duke of Burgoyne, whiche deuision had almoste brought the realme of France to vter ruine and perpetuall confusion. The Frenche kyng beyng somewhat anended of his disease, heryng of this controuersie betwene these two princes, set for them bothe to Paris, where he reproued their pride, rebuked their malice, and taunted their vngodly dooynges, in so muche that all the nobilitie beyng

beyng present, iudged the displeasure to haue been bothe forgotten and forgeuen. But high courages are not so sone abated, nor roted malice is not in hast plucked vp, for the duke of Burgoyne still cōpassing the destiuccion of the duke of Orleance, appoynted a secrete frende called Raffe of Actouille, to bryng his purpose to passe. This Raffe forgetting not his enterprise, assembled together a compaignie of suche persons as he moste trusted, & as a Wolfe gredy of his pray, when the duke of Orleance was commyng from the court in the night season, he fiersly set vpon hym and shamefully slewe hym. When this murder was published, the king lamented, the nobles grudged, and the comon people cried to God for vengeance. The duke of Burgoyne iustified this act by the mouth of Master Ihon Petit doctor in deuinite, whiche wrested scripture and doctors so far out of course, that his iustification within fewe yeres after was adiudged heresy by the whole vniuersite of Paris. The French kyng, lest that greater mischiefe should ensue was compelled to hide and cloke his inward affection and dolorus herte and to dissimule the matter, doubtyng lest the duke of Burgoyne whose herte and haute corage he had well knownen before, (if he should proceade against hym for this euill acte) would ioyne and take part with the Englishe nacion against the realme of France. Wherefore after long consultation had by the entreatie of the kyng and other Princes of the bloud royall, Charles duke of Orleance sonne to duke Lewes lately muredred, and Ihon duke of Burgoyne were reconciled and brought to a fained concord and a fainte agremente, eche of them takyng a corporall othe vpon the holy Euangelists, neuer after to disagre or renewe any displeasure for any thyng before passed. But what preuaileth an othe where hertes still burne & malice continually smoketh, who careth for periury when appetite of reuengyng daily encreaseth.

IN this case was the duke of Orleance whiche perceuyng the king his vncke to beare with the duke of Burgoyne, and to let the detestable murder of his father so lightly passe without pain or punishmēt, alied and confederated hymself with the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, & the erles of Alaunson and Arminacke, whiche reised agreate puissance of people, and defied the duke of Burgoin and his cōplices as their mortall foo and dedly enemy. The duke of Burgoin feryng the sequele of the matter (because ther was a mocō of marriage to be had betwene the prince of Wales and his daughter) was somewhat the bolder to send to the kyng of England for aide and succors against his enemies. Kyng Henry no lesse forseyng then that whiche after ensued, whiche was that the discord of these two great princes might turne his realme to profit and honor, sent to the duke of Burgoin, Thomas erle of Arundell, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile lorde of Kyne, sir Robert Vmfreuile, and sir Ihon Grey with. xij. C. archers, whiche toke shippyng at Douer and landed at Sluce. When thenglishmen wer arrived in Flaunders, the duke of Burgoin with thenglishmen and all his power, rode daie and night til he came nere to Paris, and ther the next daie after with hard fighting and coragious shotyng, the Englishmen gat the bridge of saint Clow, whiche passed ouer the riuier of Saine, and toke and slewe all the souldiers whiche the duke of Orleance had left there in garrison to defend the bridge. Emongest whom sir Mansard de Boys a valiant capitain was taken prisoner by the Englishemen & highly ransomed. But the duke of Orleance and his company whiche wer like to haue been compassed with their enemies, so that almost al their waies of refuge were stopped and enclosed, in the nyght tyme made a bridge ouer the riuier on the part of saint Denis strete, & so escaped & fled into the high countres. And after this conflicte the duke of Burgoin beyng now in his ruffe thynkyng no man ether in auctorite or bloud equolente to his person, and blinded with a hail of vain-glory before his eyes, toke vpo him him the holt rule and gouernance of the realme and ordered the kyng as pleased him, and not to the kinges wil, and thinking that in so trobelous a season he had vnknit the knot of all ambiguities & doubtes perceiuing all thynges to haue better succeeded for his purpose then he before imagined dismissed Thenglishmen into their countrey geiuing to them hartly thankes and great rewardes. Which doyng king Ilēry much disalowed, considering that he had sent away his defence before the great brunt of the war wer ouerpassed, & shuld haue taken hede before what policie his enemies had practised or



## THE XII. YERE OF

what puissance they had assembled. For he well remēbred that one faire daie assureth not a good Sommer, nor one flyng Swallow prognosticateth not a good yere.

## ¶ THE ELEUENTH YERE.

**Th. x.**  
**yere** Kyng Henry nowe beyng quiet & not molested with ciuil discencion nor domestical factions called his high court of parliamente in the whiche alter he had concluded diuerse Actes mete and expedient for the publike welth of his realme and people, he exalted and promoted his thre yonger sonnes to his honors, as lorde Thomas to the Duchie of Clarence, lorde Ihon to the duchie of Bedford, & lorde Humphrey to the duchie of Glocester, and lord Thomas his halfe brother eile of Dorcet he made duke of Excester. Howbeit some writers saie he was erected to that estate and dignitie by kyng Henry the. v. in the first yere of his reigne, whiche thyng is nether materiall nor disputable considering he had none issue.

## ¶ THE TWELFTH YERE.

**The. xii.**  
**yere** While these thynges wer thus doying in England, Iho duke of Burgoyne which ruled the roste and gouerned both kyng Charles the. Frenche kyng and his whole realme, so muche stomaked and enured the duke of Orliañe & his fautors that he caused the Frēch kyng in person to arme himself against them and their adherentes, as traitors to hym and apparāt enemies to the comon welth, & sent diuise capitaines to invade their landes and territories in the countrees of Poytiers and Angoulesme, & other seigniories aperteinyng and belonging to the homage and obeisance of the duchie of Aquitain & Guen. Wherefore the dukes of Orlenne; Berre, and Bourbon with their frēdes and alies, seyng that now their onely hope consisted in the kyng of England, sent to hym Alberte Aubemound a man of no lesse leinyng then audacite, & yet of no lesse audacitie, then wit and policie, whiche in the name of the confederates offred certain cōdicionis as you shall here after accordyng to myne auctor truly reported, whiche wer made & cōcluded in the yere of our Lorde. M.CCCC xij. the. viij. daie of Maie

FIRST, thesaid lordes offred that fīō thēce furth thei should expose and set furth their owne persons, finances and lādes to serue the kyng of England his heires and successors, when souer thei wer required or called in all iust quarelles whiche iust quarelles the kyng of Englāde shall take to aperteigné to the duchie of Guyen with the appartenances, affirmyng how thesaid duchie perteigneth and ought to apertain to hym of righte by lineall heritage and lawfull succession, manifestyng from thence furthe, that thei should not blemishe nor spotte their trueth nor fidelite to assiste and aide hym in recoueryng thesame duchy

ALSO thesaid Lordes offred their sonnes, daughters, nephewes and neces, parentes and all their subiectes, to contract marriage accordyng to the discrecion of the kyng of Englande.

ALSO thei offred townes castles tresures, & generally al their goodes to ayde the kyng his heires and successors for the defence of their rightes and quarels, so that the bonde of their allegiance might be sauēd, the whiche in another secrete apointment they before had declared.

ALSO thei offred to the kyng of England generally al their frendes adherentes alies and well willers to serue him in his quarel for the recouery of the hole Duchie of Guyen.

ALSO to cease al fraude, the sayd lordes recognised that they were ready, to affirme the sayd Duchie of Guyen to belong to the kyng of England, in like and scmblyable wise in liberty and franchises, as euer any of the said kynes predecessors held or possessed the same.

ALSO the said lordes knowledged that al the townes castles and fortresses that they had  
1 within



within the Duchie of Guien, to holde them of the kyng of England as the very trewe duke of Guien, promisyng all service and homages after the best maner that in suche case might be.

ALSO they promised to deliuer to the kyng as much as laie in thē all townes and castelles apperteynyng to the roialtie and seignorie of England, whiche are in nomber xx what townes and castels, and as to the regarde of other townes and fortresses whiche were not in their puissaunce and seignory, they woulde healte the kyng of England his herres and deputies to winne them with men in sufficiente number at their propre charges and expences.

ALSO the kyng of England was agreed that the duke of Berry his tiewe Uncle and\* vassalle and the duke of Orleance his subiecte and vassalle and the Earle of Arminacke should holde of hym by homage and fealtie the landes and seigniores hereafter folowyng, that is to saye the Duke of Berry to holde the Countie of Pontieu duryng his life, and the duke of Orleance to holde the countie of Angoulesme duryng his life onely, and the countie of Perigot for euer, and the Erle of Arminacke to holde. iiii. castels vpon certain sureties and condicions as by indenture should be appointed.

\* Vassal  
one that  
holdeth  
landes of  
prelatus  
or of feal-  
tie of ho-  
mage.

FOR the which offers couenantes and agrementes they affirmed that the kyng of England as Duke of Guien, ought to defende & succour them against all men as their very Lord and soueraigne, and not to conclude any treatie of leage with the Duke of Burgoine, his brethren, children, fiendes or allies.

FVRTHERMORE, the kyng of England ought to ayde the sayd Lordes as his trewe vassals in all their iuste quarels for recoueryng of damages for iniuries to them wrongfully done.

ALSO they required the kyng of England to send to thē viii. thousand men to ayde them againste the Duke of Burgoine, whiche daily prouoked the French kyng to make open warre on them, their landes and seignories, promisyng farther to disbourse and pay all the costes and charges whiche the sayd armie of Englishmen should expend duryng their waire, whiche letter was written the. viii. day of May.

KYNG Henry louingly receiued & gently entertayned this messenger Aberte, and when he had well debated and considered the case, he first detesting the abhominable murder of the late duke of Orleance and seying no Iustice ministred nor no punishment done for so shamefull an acte, hauyng also approued experience that the Duke of Burgoine wolde kepe no longer promise then he him self listed. And secondarily considering what large offers these Princes had made to him bothe greatly to his honour and to the high profit and commoditie of his realme and subiectes, thought that he was bounde by the office of a kyng to ayde and succour theym whiche cried for Iustice and could haue none, and in especiall because they in that point beyng his subiectes and vassalles ought to be defended in maintenaunce of his superiourtie and seignorie: wherefore he louyngly promysed them aide and relese. This return of the messenger was to them as pleasant as is the deliuerance of a captiue frō his sore imprisonment, or of a marchant passyng by the way beset about by Theues, beyng reskewed by his fiendes or cōpamions. And not without cause, for the French king not of his owne courage animated, but maliciously encēsed by the duke of Burgoyne, persecuted the faction of the Orleances from citie to citie from towne to towne, with such power and extremite that they were bothe of force and necessitie compelled to repaire to the Citie of Bourges in Berry, and there to appointe theym selves ether to render or defend. Ye must vnderstand that princes sometime haue Argus eyes and Midas cares. For this feate was not so secretly wrought in England but it was apparently espied in Fraunce, wherefore the French kynges counsaill sent the Earle of S. Paule the olde cankered eneniy to the Englishmen into the parties of Picardy with fiftē C. horsemen and a great nomber of fotemen, he ordeined certain of his men to geue assaulte to the towne of Guisnes while he stode in a stale to be in waite for the relese that myght come from Calais. The furious Frenchmen brake a fewe old pales about poie mens gardens of Guisnes, but the men of warre of the Castell shotte so fiercely at them with arrowes and caste oute wildechei in suche abundance that the assailantes were faine to retire. And so the eile of saint

† Argus,  
the sor of  
Anaxor the  
king of the  
Argues,  
yo poetes said  
hym to haue  
had an hun-  
dred eyes,  
signifying  
therby his  
wysedome  
and circum-  
specion

† Midas,  
the Poetes  
saie to haue  
longe eares  
signifying  
hereby, y<sup>e</sup>  
kynges  
heare satre  
of

## THE. XIII. YERE OF

Paule whiche neuer wonne gain but loste honor at the Englishe mens handes, returned not onely with losse of his people but defrauded of his desired pray, returned to the toune of Saint Quintins.

## ¶ THE. XIII. YERE.

The xlii.  
yere.

THE Frenche kyng in the meane seasō by the enticement of the duke of Burgoine layd sege to the cite of Bouiges in Berry where the duke of Orleance and his contederates had included and fortified themselves. When the kyng of England was thereof aduertised, he with all diligence sent forthe his sonne Thomas duke of Clarence, and Edward duke of Yorke with viii. C. horsmen and ix. thousand archers whiche toke land in the bay of Hogges in Normandy by saint Waste in the territory of Constantine. The Englishmen swarmed like Bees rounde aboute the countrey, robbing Marchantes, spoiling husbandmen and brennyng townes, and were ioyously receiued of the Erles of Alaūson and Richmond fautors of the Orlienial part. The counsell of Fraunce not willing that the Englishmen should ioyne or concurre with the Dukes of Orleance and Berry or their complices, caused a common fame (although it were not trewe) to be diuulged abroad that there was a finall peace and a perfite amitie concluded betwene the Frenche kyng & his lordes whiche lately were to hym aduersaries. When this fable was nouised to the Englishmen whiche were by hasty iourneys passed the ryuer of Leire, they spoiled the towne and Monastery of Beaulieu, and wasted with fire and swerde the countreis of Touraine and Maine. Against whom the duke of Burgoyne sent the lord of Rambures with a great armie, whiche in short time was before vanquished. The Dolphyn of Fraunce fearyng the doynges of the Englishmen concluded a fayned peace betwene the dukes of Orleance and Burgoyne and their adherentes, so that the duke of Orleance should without delay dispatche out of the dominions of Fraunce all the English armie. The duke was not rich to paie, and the Englishmen were gredy to haue, in so muche that they marchyng toward Guien in good order what by sacking of townes & what with raunsomyng of riche persones, gat great treasure and many good prayes. Beside this to the aide of the duke of Orleance king Henry sent to Caleis therles of Kent and Warwike with ii. thousand fightyng men whiche spoiled & defaced the countie of Bullenois, and brent the towne of Samer de Boys and toke with assault the fortresse of Russalte with diuers other. The duke of Orleance which was daily called on to dispatche the Englishmen out of Fraunce, came to the duke of Clarence and his army rendyng to them a M. gramercies and disbursed to them as muche money as ether he or his fiendes myghte easily spare and for two hundred and ix. M. Frankes which remaind vnpaide he deliuered in gage his second brother Ihon erle of Angulesme whiche was Grandfather to Frances afterward French king and sir Marcell of Bourge, sir Ihon of Samoures, sir Archibault of Viliers and diuers other, which earle long continewed in Englande as you shall perceiue hereafter. When this agrement was taken, the dukes of Clarence and Yorke with gret pray (riche prisoners, and welthy hostages) came to Burdeaux makyng warre on the frontiers of Fraunce, to their greate gaine and profitable lucre. So by the onely commyng of the Englishmen into France the duke of Orleance was restored not onely to peace and quetnes with al persons saue the duke of Burgoyne: But also fell in suche fauour with the kyng & the realm that he was of all men welbeloued, muche honored and highly esteemed, and so continewed till wauering Fortune turned her variable whele. For after this he beyng enemy to the Englishe nation was vanquished and taken prisoner and so remained in Englande aboute. xxiiii. yeres, till the flower of his age was passed or sore blemysshed.

## ¶ THE FOURTENTH YERE.

The xliii.  
yere.

AFTER these great and fortunate chaunces happened to kyng Henry, he perfightly remembring that there could be no more praise geuen to a prince then to execute his office in admin-



administryng Iustice whiche aboue all thyng is the very necessary minister to all people, entending to lrae in quietenes, beyng now deliuered of al Ciuill deuision and intestine discencion, with the which almost all Christendom was infected and disturbed, not onely to the gret decay of Christes religion and Christian creatures but to the great exaltaciō of Paimprinces, by the dilatng of the pestiferous sect of the false counterfait prophet vanglorious Mahumet. called a great counsaile of the thre estates of his realme, in the whiche he deliberately consulted and concluded aswell for the politike gouernance of his realme as also for the war to be made against the Infidels, and especially for the recouery of the holy Cite of Ierusalem, in whiche Christian warres he entended to ende his transitory life, and for that cause he prepared a great army, and gathered muche treasure, entending to set forward in the same spring time But se the chaunce, what so euer man intendeth God sodainly reuerseth, what princes will, god wil not, what we thinke stable, God sodainly maketh mutable, to the entent that Salomons sayng might be found trewe, which wrote that the wisdom of men is but folishnes before God. When this Prince was thus furnysed with treasure sufficient, with valiant capitaines and hardy souldiers, with tall shippes furnished with vitayles municions and all thynges necessary for suche a iourney roiall, he was taken with a sore sodain disease and laied in his bed: whiche disease was no Lepry stryken by the handes of God as folish Friers before declared, for then he neither would for shame, nor for debilitie was able to enterprise so great a iourney as in to Iewrie in his own person, but he was taken with a sore \* Apoplexye of the whiche he languished tyll his appoynted howre, and had none other grefe nor malady. Duryng whiche sickenes as Auctors write he caused his crowne to be set on the pillowe at his beddes heade and sodainly his pange so sore trobeled him that as he lay as though al his vitall sprites had been from him departed. suche chamberleins as had the cure and charge of his bodye thinking him to bee departed and deade couered his face with a linnen cloth. The prince his sonne being therof aduertised, entered into the chamber and toke away the crowne and departed. the father being sodainly reuiued out of his trance quickly perceiued the lacke of his crowne, and hauyng knowledge that the prince his sonne had possessed it, caused hym to repaie to his presence, requiryng of him for what cause he had so misused hiselfe. The prince with a good audacitie answered, sir to mine and all mennes iudgemētes you semed deade in this world, wherfore I as your next & aparant heir toke that as mine own & not as yours well faire son said the kyng (with a gret sigh) what right I had to it & how I enioied it God knoweth, wel q<sup>d</sup> the prince if you die kyng I wil haue the garlād & trust to kepē it with the sword against all mine enemies as you haue done well said the kyng I comit all to God & remēber you to do well, and with that turned himself in his bed & shortly after departed to God, in a chamber of the abbotes of westminster called Ierusalem the. xx. day of March in the yere of our Lord M. iiii. C. xiii. and in the yere of his age xlvj when he had reigned. xiii. yeres, v. monthes & odde daies in muche perplexitie and littel pleasure, whose body with all funerall pōpe was cōueighed to Canterbury, and there solemply buried, leuyng behynd him by the lady Marie daughter to lord Hūfrey erle of Hereford & Northāpton, Henry prince of Wales, Thomas duke of Clarence, Ithō duke of Bedford, Humfrey duke of Gloucester, Blanche duches of Bauier & Philip Quene of Denmarke, for by his last wife Quene Iane he had no children. This kyng was of a mean stature, wel proporcioned and formally compact, quicke and deliuer & of as tout courage. After that he had appeased all ciuile discēcions he shewed him selfe so gentely to all men that he gat him more loue of the nobles in his latter daies then he had makce and il will of them in the beginnyng When tidynges of his death was related to the duke of Clarence beyng in Aquitayn, he with all diligent celeritie toke ship with therle of Angulesime, and other his hostages & returned into England to the great cōfort of his brethren.

\* Apoplexye is a sickness engendered of gross humors which fill the vessels of the head from whence the feling of the body cometh And therefore they which haue this disease are depriued of feling, speache & mouyng

The end of the vnquiet tyme of kyng Henry the fourth.

THE



## THE VICTORIOUS ACTES OF KYNG HENRY

### THE FIFTH.

This yere. **H**ENRY Prince of Wales, sonne and heire to kyng Hēry the. iiii. borne at Monmouth on the Riuer of Wye, after the obsequies of his noble parēt solēply celebrate and sūpteously finished, toke vpon him the high power & regiment of this realme of Englande the xx. daie of Marche in the yere after that Christ our sauior had entered into the immaculate wōbe of the holy Virgin his naturall mother a thousande foure hundred and. xii. and was crowned the. ix. daie of Aprill then next ensuyng, and proclaimed kyng by the name of kyng Henry the fifth. Before whiche royall possession so by hym obtained, diuerse noble men and honorable personages djd to hym homage, hege and swaie dewe obeisance (whiche thyng had not been before experimēted) as to hym in whom they conceined a good expectation bothe of his verteous beginnynges and also of his fortunat succeſse in all thynges whiche should be attempted or begonne dūryng the tyme of his prosperous reigne and fortunate Empire.

THIS kyng, this man was he, whiche (accordyng to the olde Prouerbe) declared and shewed that honors ought to change maners, for incontinent after that he was stalled in the siege royall, and had receiued the croune and scepter of the famous and fortunate region, determined with hymself to put on the shape of a new man, and to vse another sorte of luyng, turnyng insolencie and wildnes into grautie and sobernes, and waueryng vice into constant vertue. And to thentent that he would so continue without goyng-backe, & not thereunto bee allured by his famlier cōpaignions, with whom he had passed his young age and wanton pastime & riotous misorder (insomuche that for imprisonment of one of his wanton mates and vnbrutish plaifauers he strake the chiefe Iustice with his fiste on the face. For whiche offence he was not onely committed to streight prison, but also of his father put out of the preuy counsaill and banished the courte, and his brother Thomas duke of Clarence elected president of the kynges counsaill to his great displeasuie and open reproche) he therfore banished and seperated frō hym all his old flatterers and famlier compaignions, (not vnrewarded nor yet vnpreferred) inhibityng them vpon a greate pain not once to approche ether to his speche or ptesence, nor yet to lodge or sojourne within ten miles of his courte or mansion. And in their places he elected and chose men of gauntee, men of witte, and men of high policy, by whose wise counsaill and prudente instruccion he might—at all tymes rule to his honor and gouerne to his profite. Thus prince was almost the Arabyall Phoenix, and emōgest his predecessors a very Paragon. For that he emongest all gouernors, chiefly did remembre that a kyng ought to bee a ruler with wit, grautie, circumspeccion, diligence and constancie, and for that cause to haue a rule to hym comitted, not for an honor, but for an onorarious charge and dailly burden, and not to looke so muche on other mennes luynges, as to consider and remembre his owne doyngeſ and propre actes. For whiche cause, he nōt to muche trustyng to the readinesse of his owne witte, nor to the iudgementes of his owne waueryng will, called to his counsaill suche prudent and politike personages, the whiche should not onely help to ease his charge & pain in supportyng the burden of his realme and Empire, but also incense and instruct hym with suche good reasons and fruitefull perswasions, that he might shewe hymself a synguler mirror and manifest example of moral vertues and good qualities to his comen people and louing subiectes. For it is dailly seen, that a vicious prince doth muche more hurte with his pernicious exāple to other

other, then to hymself by hys owne peculier offence For it is not so muche euill as Cicero saeth (although it bee euill in it self) a prince to do euill, as he by his euill doynges to corrupt other, because it is daily seen, that as princes chāge, the people altereth, and as kynges go, the subiectes folowe. For certainly he that is preferred to high authoritee, is therefore muche exalted and had in honor, that he should rule, ouerse and correct the maners and cōditions of the people, and vigilantly to forsee and daily study how to acquie to hymself laude and glory, and to other profite and comodite, and not to delight in worldly pleasures whiche are comen emongest the lowest sorte of the vile and rusticall people. And he that will do nothing nor can do nothing is moie worthy to be called a seruant then a ruler, & a subiect rather then a gouernor For what can bee more shame or reproche to a prince, then he whiche ought to gouerne and rule other shall by cowardnes, slouth and ignorance as a pupille not of viii or x yeres of age, but beyng ok xx. or xxx yeres and more, shalbe compelled to obey and folowe the willes of other, and be ruled and beare no rule, like a vaid and not like a gardē, like a séuant and not like a Master Suche a gouernour was kyng Richarde the seconde, whiche of hymself beeyng not of the most euill disposicion, was not of so symple a minde, nor of suche debilitie of witte, nor yet of so litle herte and corage, but he might haue demaunded and learned good and profitable counsaill, and after aduise taken, kept, retayned and folowed the same But howsoeuer it was, vnprofitable counsaillers wer his confusion and finall perdition. Suche another ruler was kyng Edwarde the seconde, whiche two before named kynges fell from the high glory of fortunes whele to extrememiscry and miserable calamitte By whose unfortunate chance (as I thynke) this kyng Henry beyng admonished, expulsed from hym his old plaie felowes, his preuie Sico-phantes and vngracious gard as authors and procuicis of al mischfes and not, and assigned into their places men of grauttee, persons of actiuttee, and counsaillers of greate witte and pollicie

AFTER that he had laied this prudent and polletique foundation, he entending in his mynd to do many noble and notable actes, and remembryng that all goodnes cometh of God, and that all worldly thynges and human Actes bee more weaker and poorer then the celestiaall powers & heuenly rewarde, determined to begin with some thyng pleasaunt and acceptable to God. Whicfore he first commaunded the Clergie synceiely and truly to preache the worde of God and to line after thesame, so that they to the temporaltee might be the Lanternes of light and mirrors of vertue The laie men he willed to serue God and obey their prince, prohibityng to them aboue al thynges bieche of matrimony vse of sweryng & wilful perjury, exhortyng bothe to loue together as man with wife or brother with brother Beside this he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the realme to the offices of iustice, and men of good huyng he preferred to high degrees and authoritee.

THE madnes of the Welshmen and Scottes (whose often incursions and robberies he wel had in his fathers daies experimented and assayed) he studied to asuage and re-presser, to the intent that he beeyng quiet in his owne regions, might ether make outward warie without doubte or dangier, or els for the comen wealth of his realme to study how to encrease the glory of his seigniory, & so both kepe & conserue it.

WHEN all thynges were thus settled and framed to his purpose, he caused the body of kyng Richard the second to be remoued with all funerall pompes conueniente for his estate, from Langely to Westinminster, where he was honorably enteried with Quene Anne his firste wife in a solemipne tombe erected and set vp at the costes and charges of this noble prince kyng Henry.

ALTHOUGH this prudente prince and this polittique gouernor had set and established all thynges beyng in difference and variaunce within his owne peculier reahnes, countrees and territories and confines of thesame yet he nothing lesse forgetting nor no. one thyng moie myndyng or desuyng, then the ceassyng of the long seisme and deuision sprong & continued in the catholike church of Christian religion by the moste ambitious desire and auaricious appetite of certaine persones callyng themselves spirituall fathers, but in deede carnall



## THE. I. YERE OF

carnall coueteours and gredy glattōs aspyryng for honor and not for vertue to the proud see of Rome, desnyng more to pillé then to profite Christes flocke or Christian religion, hauyng knowledge that a generall counsaill was somoned to bee celebrate and kept at the faire citee of Constance vpon the ruer of Ryne, thought that it was not his honor nor yet his duetie, beyng thereof warned by the Emperour Sigismond to bee as a hearer and no partaker in so high a cause, and in especiall in so high an assemble. Wherefore he sent thether Richard erle of Warwike and three bishoppes with other famous prelates and doctors, besides knightes & esquires to the numbere of eight hundred horsse. They wer men so well appareled and their horsse so richely trapped, and all the compaignie so well furnished, that the Almannes wondred, the Italians gased, and all other nacions were astonnied to se suche an honorable compaignie come from a countee so farre distant. At this Sinody were assembled (as one authore writeth) CCC.xlvj. bishoppes, Abbottes and doctors v. C.lxiiij. noble men, knightes and esquires. xvj. M. beside seruantes whiche (not accomptyng the townes men) wer numbred lxx. M. persones. These Ambassadors were highly receiued of the Emperour Sygismond and of the Romishe bishop called Ihon the. xxij. whiche in thesame counsaill for greate and abhominable crimes and detestable offenses by hym perpetrated and committed (of the whiche he could not pource hymself nor make any defence) was by thesame Sinody accordyng to the demerites put doune and of his estate depriued. Gregory the xij was one of the Scismatical numbrie, fearyng shame more then regardyng his wooldy affection did putte doune hymself of his owne propie mocion from his foolishe vsurped name and Popishe dignitee. But Benedict the. xiii. still and stuffy affirmyng hymself to be the very Viker of God, so muche desired honor, and so muche was wrapped in his owne folishe and fantastical opinion, that no frend could persuaide hym, nor argumēt entice hym, nor no reason refrain hym from thesame, and so accordyng to his desert by open iudgement, against his wil, lost bothe name and honestie And thre yeres after Otho Columbe a noble Romaine borne was elected to the bishopricke of Rome and named Martyne the fifth.

IN this counsaill Ihon Wichffe borne in England, and Ihon Husse and Iherom of Prage wer condemned to death. Duryng this firste yere, sir Ihon Old Castle, whiche by his wife was called lorde Cobham, a valiant capitain and an hardy gentleman, was accused to the Archbishop of Cauntorbury of certain poynctes of heresy. Whiche bishoppe knowyng hym to be highly in the kynges fauor, declared to his highnes the whole accusaciō. The kyng first hauyng compassion of the noble man, required the prelates that if he were a straied shepe, rather by gentlenes then by rigoure to reduce hym to his old flocke After that he sendyng for hym, godly exhorted and louyngly admonished hym to reconcile hymself to God and his lawes. The lorde Cobham not onely thanked the kyng of his moste fauourable clemencye, but also declared firste to hym by mouthe and afterwarde by wrytyng the foundation of his faith, the ground of his belefe and the botome of his stomacke, affirmyng his grace to be his supreme hed and competent iudge & none other persone, offeryng an hundred knightes and esquires to come to his purgatiō, or els to fight in open listes with his accusors. The kyng not onely knowing the lawes of the reame, but also persnaded by his counsaill, that hereticall accusacions ought to be tried by the spiritual prelates, sente hym to the tower of London there to abide the determination of the cleigie accordyng to the statutes in and for that cace prouided. After whiche tyme the. xxij. daie of Septembre, a solempne session was appoynted in the Cathedrall church of saint Paule, and anothei the. xxv. da of the said moneth in the hal of the Friers prechers in London, in whiche places thesaid lorde was examined, apposed and fully heard, & in conclusion by the archbishop denounced an hereticke and so remitted again to the toure of London: Fro whiche place, ether by help of friendes or corruption of keepers, he priuely escaped and cam into Wales, where he remained by the space of thre yeres and more.

AFTER this tyme in a certain vnlawfull assemble was taken sir Robert Acton knight, a man of greate wit & possessions, Ihon Broune Esquire, Ihon Beuery cleike and a greates nombre



numbre of other whiche were brought to the kynges presence, and to hym declared the cause of their commocion and risynge: and accusynge a greate nūbre of their sort and societie (whiche cōfessiō because I haue not seen, I leaue at large) After this folishe acte, so many persones were appieheded that all the prisons in and about London wer replenished with people. The chief of them whiche wer xxix. wer condemned by the clergie of heiesy, and attainted of high treason as mouers of waire against their kyng by the temporal lawe in the Guyld hall the. xii. daie of December, and adjudged for treason to be drawn and hanged, and for heresy to be consumed with fire gallows and all. Which iudgemente was executed in Ianuer folowyng on thesaid Robert Acton and the xxviii. other.

SOME saie that the occasion of their death was the conueighance of the Lorde Cobham out of prisone. Other write that it was bothe for treason and heiesy as the record declareth. Certaine affirme that it was for feined causes surmised by the spiritualtie more of displeasour then truth the iudgement whereof I leaue to men indifferent. For surely all coniectures be not true, nor all wrytynges are not the Gospell, & therefore because I was nether a witnes of the facts, nor present at the deede I ouerpasse that matter and begin another.

## ¶ THE SECONDE YERE.

KYng Henry cōtinually studyng for the honor of hymself and aduancement of his people, called his high court of parliament the last daie of April in the toune of Leicester In the whiche parlamente many profitable lawes were concluded: and many petitions moued wer for that tyme deferred. Emongest whiche requestes, one was, that a bill exhibited in the parlamente holden at Westminster in the xj. yere of kyng Henry the fourth (whiche by reason that the kyng was then vexed and troubled with ciuill deuision & domesticall dissencion, came to none effect) might now bee well studied, pondered, regarded and brought to some good conclusion. The effect of whiche supplicacion was, that the temporall landes deuoutely geuen, and disordinatly spent by religious and other spirituall persones, might suffice to maintein to the honor of the kyng and defence of the realme, xv. erles, xv. C. knightes, vj. M. ii. C. esquires, and. C. almose houses for relief onely of the poore impotent and nedy persones, and the kyng to haue clerely to his cofers twentie thousande poundes, with many other prouisions and valewes of religioushouses whiche I ouerpasse

THIS before remembered bill was muche noted and feared emōgest the religious sort whom in effect it muche touched, insomuche that the fat Abbotes swet, the proude Priors frouned, the poore Friers curssed the sely Nonnes wept, and al together wer nothyng pleased nor yet cōtent. Now to finde a remedy for a mischief and a tent to stop a wounde, the Clergy myndyng rather to bowe then breake, agreed to offre to the kyng a greate some of money to staye this newe moued demaund. The cause of this offre semed to some of the wise prelates nether decenre nor conuenient, for they well forsaue and perfectly knewe that if the commōs perceiued that thei by rewarde or offre of money would resist their request & petition, that thei stirred & moued with a fury would not onely rayle and despise them as corruptours of Princes and enemies of the publique wealthe, but would so crye and call on the kyng and his temporall lordes that they were like to lese bothe worke and oyle, cost and linyng. Wherefore they determined to cast all chaunces whiche mighte serue their purpose; & in especiall to replenishe the kynges brayne with some pleasante study that he should nether phantasy nor regard the serious petition of the importunate commons.

WHEREFORE on a daie when the kyng was present in the parliament, Henry Chicheley Archebishop of Cañtorbury thereto newly preferred, whiche beforetime had been a Monke of the Carthusians, a mā whiche had professed wilfull pouertie in religion, and yet commynge abrode muche desired honor, & a man muche regardyng Godes law, but moie louyng his his owne lucre. After lowe obeysaunce made to the kyng he said after this maner in effect.

The oracion  
of I Erv  
Chunelley  
Archebish-  
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bery

Whē I consider our most entirely beloued and no lesse drad soueraigne lord and naturall Prince, the louyng mynd, the daily labor and continuall study whiche you incessantly impleie bothe for thaduācemēt of the honor of your realme and also profite of your people. I cannot nor ought not, except I would bee noted not onely ingrate to your royall person beyng my patrone & prefferer, but also a neglecter of my dutye, a secreete mummer of suche thynges whiche touche both the inheritaunce of your crowne & the honor of your realme ether holde my peace or kepe silence. For all authors agree that the glory of kynges consisteth not onely in high bloud and haute progeny, not in haboundant riches and superfluous substaunce, nor in plesant pastyme and ioyous solace. But the very tye of the magnificence of a prince resteth in populous riche regions, wealthy subiectes and beautifull citees and townes, of the whiche thanked be God, although you be cōueniently furnished both within your realmes of England & Ireland and principallite of Wales, yet by lineal discēt, by progeny of blud and by very inheritance, not onely the duchy of Normandy and Aquitaine with the counties of Aniove and Mayne and the countrei of Gascoyn zie to you as true and vndubitate heir of the same lausfully deuoluted and lineally descended from the high and most noble prince of famous memory kyng Edward the third your great grandfather, but also the whole realme of Fraunce with all his prerogatiues and preheminences, to you as heire to your great grandfather is of right belongyng and apperteinyng. In whiche realme, to reherse what noble persons, what beautifull cities, what fertile regions what substantial marchātes, and what plentifull riuers are conteigned and included, I assure you that time should rather faile then matter shoulde wax skant. The fraudulent Frenchmen to defraude and take away your ryght and title to the realme of Fraunce, in the tyme of your noble progenitor kyng Edward the third, alledged a lawe, vntuly fained, falsely glosed and Sophistically expounded, wherof the very wordes are these, In terram salicam mulieres ne succedant, which is to say, let not women succede in the land \* Salicque. This land Salicque the deceitful glosers name to be the realme of Fraunce. This lawe the Logicall interpretours assigne to directe the crowne and regalitie of the same region, as who wold say that to that preheminance no woman were liable to aspie, nor no heire Female was worthy to inherite. The French writers affirm that Pharamond kyng of the Frenche Gaules, first instituted this lawe which neuer was, shoulde nor might be broken. See nowe howe an euell glose confoundeth the text, and a pecciall interpretour manneth the sentence, for first it is apparantly knowen and by an hūdred writers confirmed that Pharamond whom they alledge to be aucthour of this lawe was duke of Franconia in Germany, and elected to be kyng of the Sicaimbres, whiche calling them selves Frenchmen had gotten parte of the Gaule Celuke betwene the riuers of Maine and Scyn. This Pharamond disceased in the yere of our Lord m C & xxvi. long after whose death, Charles the great beyng Emperoure and many yeres making warre on the Saxons dyd in bluddy battaile disperse and confounde the whole puissance of that nacion in the yere of our Lord viii C and fiue, and broughte them to the catholique faith and christian conformitie. After which victory certaine souldiers as the Frenche Cronographiers affiim, passed ouer the water of Sala and taere inhabited, betwene the riuers of Elue and Sala, and wer commonly called Sali Frenchmen or Sali Gaules, whiche countrey nowe is the lande of Mismie. This people had suche displeasure at the vn honest fashions of the German women, that they made a law that the Females shuld not succede to any inheritance within that land.

NOWE with indifferent eares if you wyl note these two pointes you shall easily perceiue that the lawe Salicque was only fained and inuented to put your noble progenitours and you from your lawfull ryght and true inheritance. For they saie that Pharamond made the lawe for the land Salicque, whiche the glose calleth Fraunce. Then I demaunde of master Gloser or rather master Doctor commenter, yf I may call a commenter an open lier, whether Pharamond whiche died m C xxi. yeres before the Frenchmen possessed the Gaule Salicque and neuer sawe or knewe it, made a lawe of that thyng whiche at that tyme was not his nor inhabited by his people. Beside this, the realme of Fraunce whiche is your patrimony is compact of m. Gaules Belgique, Celtique and Aquitain, and no part of Salicque. then

\* The lande  
Sal que



then may the gloser expounde aswell that Gaule Belgique is the countrey of Brytain, as to glose that the lande Salicque is the whole realme and dominion of the crowne of Fraunce. Wonder it is to see how the Frenchmen Iugge with this phantastical lawe, folowyng the crafty hasarders whiche vse a plaie called seest thou me or seest thou me not For whē kyng Pepyn whiche was Duke of Brabante by his mother Begga, and master of the palayce of Fraunce coueted the crowne and scepter of the realme, the Frenche nacion not remēbryng this infrigible law, deposed Childeryck the iii the very heyre male and vndoubted childe of the line of Pharamond and Clouis kynges of Fraunce by the counsaile of Zachary then Bishop of Rome, and set vp in tronc this Pepyn as nexte heire generall descended of lady Blithyld daughter to kyng Clothayre the first. Hugh Capet also whiche vsurped the crowne without right or reason on Charles duke of Lorayne the sole heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the greate, after that he had shamefully murtheied and in pittfull prison by the procurement of the Bishop of Orleans destroyed the said Charles, to make his title seme true and apere good, where in dede it was bothe euell and vtrue, to blynd the opinions of the common people and to set a glasse before their eyes, cōueighed him selfe as heire to the lady Lyngard daughter to the kyng Charlemaine sonne to Lewes the Emperour which was sonne to Charles the great kyng of Fraunce. Kyng Lewes also the ninth whome the Frenchmen call Saint Lewes beyng very heire to the said vsurper Hugh Capet, coulde neuer be satisfied in his conscience how he might iustely kepe and possesse the crowne & regalitie of the realme of Fraunce tyll he was perswaded and fully instructed that Quene Isabell his graundmother was lineally descended of Lady Emmengard daughter and heire to the aboue named Charles duke of Lorayn, by the foresaid Hugh Capet of life and realme wrongfully deprivied by the which marage the bludde and line of kyng Charles the great was againe vnited and restored to the Crowne and Scepter of Fraunce, so that it more clearer than the sonne, openly appeareth the title of Kyng Pepyn, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of kyng Lewes, ye and of all the French kynges to this day, are deriued, claymed and cōueighed from the heire Female and yet they would barre you as though your great graundmother had bene no woman nor heire female, but a painted Image or fained shadowe. If so many examples, if suche copie of presydenes collected out of your owne histories and gathered oute of your owne writers suffice not to confounde you simple Salicque lawe inuented by false fablers and crafty imaginers of you fablyng Frēch menne, then here what God saith in the book of Numeri. When a man dieth without a sonne let the inheritance descend to the daughter: If your princes call them selves most Christian kynges let them folowe the lawe of God before the lawe of the Painym Pharamond. Are not all lawes discrepant from Goddes lawes euell, and to al Christen eares odious and noisome are Frenche women dyscended of the blud royal no Christians, and not worthy to inherite in the realme of Fraunce? Is the realme of Fraunce more noble then the kyngdome of Iuda of whom Christ descended by a woman? When God sayed to Abraham that in one of his sede al nacions shuld be blessed, how came Christ of the seede of Abraham but onely by that immaculate Virgin his glorious mother? Likewise, when the Prophet Michee said, thou tribe of Iuda art not the leaste of estimation amongst the Princes of Iuda, for oute of the shall come a capitayne whiche shall rule and direct my people of Israel. Howe descended Christ from the rote of Iesse, and howe was he duke and captain of the Israelites, and how descended he of the line of Dauid But onely by his niether a pure virgin and a married wife. Beholde, by Goddes lawe, women shall inherite Behold in Fraunce, Frenchmen haue inherited by the onely line of the women, and yet Englishmen be prohibited to claime by the heyre Female contrary to the lawe of God and man. Wherefore regarde well my soueraigne Lord your iust and true title to the realme of France, by Goddes lawe and mannes lawe to you lawfully deuoluted as very heire to Quene Isabell your great graundmother daughter to kyng Philip the faire and iuster and heir to iii. kynges disceasyng without any issue Whiche inheritance of the woman is declared to be iuste by the Mosaicall lawe and vsed and approued by the Gallican discent as I haue before declared. Therefore for Goddes sake leese not youre patrimony,



disherite not your heires, dishonour not your selfe, diminishe not your title, which your noble progenitors so highly haue esteined. Wherefore auaunce forth your banner, fight for your ryghte, conquere your inheritaunce, spae not swerde blud or fire, your warre is iuste, your cause is good, and your claim true. and therfore courageously set forward your warie against your enemies. And to the entent that we your louyng chapeins and obedient subiectes of the spiritualtie would shewe our selves willyng and desirring to aide you for the recovery of your auncient right and true title to the crowne of France, we haue in our spirituall conuocation graunted to your highnes suche a some of money as neuer by no spiritual persons was to any pryncce before your daies geuen or aduanced, beside our daily praters and continual precacions to God and his saintes for prosperus successe to ensue in your merciall exploite and roiall passage. When the Archebishop had finished his prepared puiPOSE, Raulfe Erle of Westmerland, a man of no lesse grauntie then experience, and of no more experience than stomack, whiche was then high Warden of the marches toward Scotland, and therfore thinking that yf the kyng shuld passe ouer into Fraunce with his whole puissaunce, that his power should be to weake to withstand the strength of Scotland if they shuld inuade duryng the kynges absence. Wherefore he rose vp, & makyng his obeysaunce to the kyng sayd.

The Oraciō  
of Raulfe  
erle of  
Westmer-  
land

SURELY sir, as my Lord Canterbury hath clerkely declared, the conquest of Fraunce is very honorable, and when it is gotten and obtayned very profitable and pleasant: But sayyng your graces reformation, I say and affirme that to conquere Scotland is moire necessary, more aparante easie, and more profitable to this realme then is the game of Fraunce. For althoughe I am not so well learned as my lord Archbishop is, nor haue not proceded to degre in the Vniuersitie, yet I haue red, and heard great clarkes say, that strengthe knute and combined together is of moire force and efficacie then when it is seuered and dispersed. As for an example, sprinkle a vessel of water and it moisteth not, but cast it out wholly together and it bothe washeth and nourisheth. This notable sayyng before this time hath encouraged Emperours, animated kynges and allured prynces to conquere realmes to them adioynyng, to vanquishe nacions to their dominions adiacent, and to subdewe people either necessary for their purpose, or beyng to them daily enemies or continuall aduersaries. For profe wheof, beholde what was the chefe cause and occasion why rulers and gouernois so sore laboured, thurst and coueted to bryng al regions to them adioynyng into one rule or Monarchy? Was it not done to this entent that the conquerors might haue the only power & entier gubernacion of all the landes and people within their climate, and gouerne the in time of peace and also haue their aide in time of war? Whiche monarchie was of that nature and estimation in the world, that no other forein pryncce or exterior potentate ether had audacie or was able to attempte any thyng within the territory or region of the monarchical prince and adourned kyng. Let the kyngdome of the assyriens be your example, and if that suffise not, then loke on the Persians, after on the Grekes and lastly on the Romaines, whiche euer desired and coueted more to haue the litel Isle of Scicile, the territory of the Numidians and the mean Citie of the Samnites beyng daierly within their kennyng and smell, rather then to obtain populous Gaule, plenteous Pannony, or manly Macedony lyng faire from sight and out of their circle or compasse. This desire semeth to rise of a great prudent and vigilante policy, for as a pryncce is of moire puissaunce when his countreis royne, so is he of moire strength when his power is at hande. And as men lackyng comfoite be moire releued by frendes whiche be presente, then by kinsfolke dwellyng in forein countreys and regions faire of. So prynces haue commonly coueted and euer desired to se and beholde their dominions lyng nere about them, rather then to heie by reporte from the countreis faire distant from them. If this hath bene the pollecy of conquerours, thappente of purchasers and the study of gouerners, why doth your grace desire Fraunce before Scotlande, or couet a countrey faire from your sight, before a realme vnder your nose? Do you not remember how the hole Isle of Britain was one entier Monarchy in the time of your noble auncetor Kyng Brute first kyng and ruler of your famous Empire and glorious region: whiche deuidyng his relme to his thre sonnes gaue to Lothryne his eldest sonne that part of Britain that  
your

your highnes now enioyeth, and to Albanact his second sonne he gaue the countrey of Albany nowe called Scotland, and to Camber his third sonne he gaue the countrey of Cambria nowe called Wales reseruyng alwaies to him & his heeres homage, lege and feaultie loiall for the same countreis and dominions. By this deuisiō, the glory of the monarchie of Britayne was clerely defaced, by this separacion the strength of the Britishe kynges was sore diminished, by this dispersion intestine war began, and Ciuil rebellion sprange first within this region. For while all was vnder one, no nācion durste either once invade or attempte warre against the Britons. but when the land was once deuided and the monarchie vndone, outward enemicke or foreyn hostilitie not halfe so muche infested, greued or troubled the valiaunt Brittons as their owne neighbours disceded of one parent, and come of one progeny For the Albanactes otherwise called the false fraudulēt Scottes, and the Cambers otherwise called the vnstable Welshemen, did not alonly withdrawe their fealtie, denie their homage, and refuse their allegiance due to the kynges of this realme, but also made continuall warre and destroyed their townes and slewe the people of their neyghbours and Brittons. For winche cause diuerse of your noble progenitours haue not onely made waire and subdued the Scottes for the denyng of their homage and stirring of rebellion, but also haue deposed their kynges & princes, and erected and set vp other in their estates and dignities Scater kyng of Scottes, for his rebellion was by Dunwallo Moluncius your noble predecessor slayn and extincted Kyng Arthure also the Glory of the Brittons erected Angosile to the scepter of Scotland and receaued of hym homage and fealtie Yf I shuld rehearse how many kynges of Scotland haue done homage to your auncient predecessors, or rehearse howe many Scottishe kynges they haue corrected and punished for their disobedience and denyng of homage, or declare what kynges they as superior lordes and high Emperours ouer the vnderkinges of Scotland, haue elected & made rulers, to thētent that all people might manifestly perceiue that it was more glorious, more honourable and more famous to a Kyng to make a Kyng then to be a kyng by natural descent, I assure you, your eares would be more very of heryng, then my tounge woulde be fatigate with open truth tellyng. Your noble progenitour kyng Edward the firste couetyng to be superior and to surmount in honour, or at the least to be equiuelent in fame with his noble ancestours and famous progenitors, daily studied and houely compassed howe to bryng the whole Isle of Briteygne whiche by Brute was deuided into thre partes into one monarchy and one dominion After longe studie and greate consultacion had, he subdued Wares, and tamed the wylde people and broughte that viruly parte to his olde home and aunciente degree, whiche thyng done he likewise inuaded Scotlande and conquered the countieye to the towne of Perche called Sancte Ihons towne standyng on the riuier of Tay, whiche he walled, ditched and fortified, rulyng that part with Englishe lawes, Englishe customes and by Englishe Iudges, and was almoste at a poynte thereof to haue made a perhighte conquēste and a complete Monarchie. But Oh Loude, hasty deathe whiche maketh an ende of all mortall creatures, so deynly berefte hym of his life and toke awaie his spirite, and so all thynges whiche he had deuised, whiche he had ymagined and seriously pretended, the small momente of an houre turned vpside doune and sodainly subuerted. Sith whose deathe your greate Graundfather, ye and your noble father haue attempted to bryng that runnegate region into his auncient course and former line, as a thyng both necessary, conueniente and mete to bee ioyned and vnitd to this realme, and so not only to reuiue the old empire and famous Monarchie, but also to vnite and cōbine that vertue and strēth which from the tyme of Brute was dispersed and seuered, in one body, in one hed and one corporacion Wherefore, it to your high wiselome it seemeth not necessary takyng this terme necessary for nedefull to conquire the realme of Scotlande as a thyng that nedes muste be doen, yet will I not flie from my first sayyng, but proue it necessary (as the logicall paraphrasian and Philosophical interpreters) do by a distinccon expounde this terme necessary to signifie a thyng conuenient That the conquest in Scotlande before the inuadyng of Fraunce is moste expedient, for experience teacheth and reason agreeth that euery persone entēdyng a purposed enterprise, or a determinate voyage



\* Lynx is a  
beast like  
to a wolfe,  
whose  
sighte doo-  
eth perce-  
ue thynges.

should not onely prouide and make preparacion for all thynges requisite and nedefull for his purpose or exployte, but also ought vigilantly to forsee with \* Lyncis eyes, and preuēt and study with the serpentyn pollicie how to aduoyde and refell all thynges whiche might ether bee an impediment to his progression and setting forward or occasion of his retuine and losse of his enterpryse, least he leuyng behynd hym an euill neighbour, a continuall aduersary & a secrete enemye, maie assone lse his owne propre realme, as conquere and gayne the dominion of another: wherfore the trite and common adage saith, leaue not the certain for the vncertain. Wherfore it is necessary that I enucleate and open to you certain articles contained in the old league and amitie betwene the realmes of Fraunce and Scotlande, wherof the wordes be these.

- 1 THE warre of iniurie moued or done by the Englishemen to one of the saied nacions, to be as a comen wrong to bothe
- 2 IF the Englishemen make warre on the Frenche nacion, then the Scottes at the costes and charges of the Frenche kyng, shall minister to them succours.
- 3 LIKEWYSE if the Scottes be molested by the English warres, the Frenche nacion hauyng their costes allowed, shall bee to them ayders and assisters.
- 4 AND that none of bothe the nacions shall ether contracte or make peace with the realme of England without the consente and agrement of the other.

AND to thentent that this league and amitie should be kept vniolate Robert le Bruse the vsurper of Scotland willed by his testament twoo thynges in especiall to be obserued, the one neuer to breake the treatie concluded with Fraunce the second neuer to kepe peace or promes with Englishmen longer than the keepyng therof were to them ether profitable or necessary. Yet Iohn Mayer and other Scottish writers colour this cause, sayyng that he would have no peace concluded with Englande about thre yeres. But whatsoeuer writers write or talkers saie, they bee to hym moste faithfull executors and haue neuer yet broken his testament but daily kepe his precept and commaundement. And for the performauce of this will and keepyng of this league, none of your auncetours euer inuaded Fraunce, but incontinent the Scottes troubled and vexed England. None of your progenitors euer passed the sea in iust quarell against the Frenche nacion, but the Scottishe people in their absence entered your realme spoyled your houses slewe your people and toke great praies innumerable, only to prouoke your auncestors for to returne frō the inuadyng of Fraūce. If I should declare to you their comen breaking of leagues, their craftie and subtilt dissimulaciō, their false faire promises often sworne and neuer kept, I doubt not but you would ten tymes more abhorre their doying, then I would bee ashamed of the tellyng. Therefore I saie still, and affirme it necessary and conuenient to forse, that you leaue no enemies behind at your backe when you go to conquere aduersaries before your face. Beside this, if you consider the daily chaiges, the inconstant chances that maie happen, I thinke, yea and litle doubt but Scotlande shalbee tamed before Fraunce shalbe framed. For if you will inuade Fraunce, accompt what number of shippes must transport your armie, recon what charge of ancors, what a multitude of Cables, and what innumerable thynges apperteigne to a nauie. When you be there, if your men decay by sickenes or by sworde, if vitall faile or if money waxe skante, if the wynde turne contrary or an hideous tempeste arise, you shall bee destitute of aide, prouisiō and treasure, which in a strange region are the cōfusiō & defacyng of an armie. On the other side if you inuade Scotlande, your men bee at hande, your vitall is nere, your aide is euē at your backe, so that in that voyage you shall haue haboundance in all thynges, and of nothyng you shall haue wante. See what an occasion fortune hath offered vnto you, is not then kyng your captiue and prisoner? Is not the realme in greate deuision for the crueltie of the duke of Albany, rather desirng to haue a forain gouernor, then a naturall tyraunt. Wherfore my counsaill is, firste to inuade Scotlande, and by Gods grace to conquere and ioine that region to youre Empire, and to restore the renoumed Monarchy of Britayne to her olde estate and preheminnence, and so beautified with realmes and furnished with people, to entree into Fraunce for the recoueryng of your righteous title and



true inheritaunce, in obseruyng the old auncient prouerbe vsed by our forefathers, whiche saeth, he that will Fraunce wyne, muste with Scotlande firste begynne

NO q<sup>d</sup> the Duke of Excester vnde to the kyng, (whiche was well learned, and sent into Italy by his father entending to haue been a prieste) he that will Scotlande win, let hym with Fraunce first begin For if you call to remembraunce the comon sayng of the wise and expert Phisicians, whiche bothe write and teache, that if you will heale a malady you must firste remoue the cause If you will cure a sore, you muste first take awaie the humor that fedeth the place If you will destroy a plante, plucke awaie his sap whiche is his nourishyng and life Then if Fraunce be the nourisher of Scotlande, if the Frenche pen-  
ciōs be the susteniers of the Scottishe nobilitie, if the education of Scottes in Fraunce be the cause of practise and pollicie in Scotlande, then plucke away Fraunce and the courage of the nobles of Scotland shal be sone daunted and appalled Take awaie Fraunce and the hertes of the comen people wil sone decaye and waxe faint Plucke away Fraunce and neuer looke that Scotlande will resist or withstande your power For when the hed is gone, the body sone falleth, and when the sap fayleth the tree sone withereth Let men reade the Chronicles and peruse our Englishe Chronographieis, & you shall sone finde that the Scottes haue seldō of their owne motion inuaded or vexed Englande, but onely for the obseruyng of the league in the whiche they bee bounde to Fraunce For the Scottes are the shaft and dart of the Frenchemen to shote and cast at their pleasure against the Englishe nacion And where they haue inuaded, as I cannot deny but they haue dooen, what glory or what profite succeeded of their entrepryce, I report nie to their peculier histories Kyng Malcolyn inuaded Englande, when kyng Williā the second was makyng warre in Normandy Dauid le Bruse also entered Englande, your greate graundfather kyng Edward the thud liyng at the siege of Caleis Was not Malcolyn slain beside Timmouth and Kyng Dauid taken beside Durham Let the gouernois of Scotlande, (for the kyng is sure ynough) entre into Englande on that price and se what he shall gayne thereby What notable acte wer Scottes euer able to do out of their owne countee and propie climate? Or when were they able to cōueigh an armie ouer the sea at their owne costes and expences? Rede their owne histories and you shall finde fewe or none Their nature and condicjon is to tary at home in idlenes, ready to defende their countree like brute beastes, thinkyng their rusticall fassjon to be high honestie, and their beggerly hayng to bee a welfare Beside this, what auncient winter, or autentike historiographier ether write of them honor or once nameth them, except sanct Iheroni, whiche saeth that when he was yong, he sawe in Fraunce certain Scottes of the isle of Britain cate the fleshe of men, and when they came into the woodes findyng there greate heaides of beastes and flockes of shepe, lefte the beastes and cut off the buttockes of the headmen and the pappes and brestes of the shepherdes women, extemyng this meate to be the greatest deinties And Sabellicus saeth that Scottes muche delighte and ieroysie in liyng You may now apparauntly perceiue what puissaunce Scotland is of it self, litle able to defende and lesse able to inuade like a nōne adiectiue that cannot stand without a substantiue If Fraunce be taken from them, of whom shall they seke aide? Denmarke will them refuse because the kyng is your brother in lawe Portyngall & Castel will not them regarde, bothe the kynges beeyng your cosyns germain and aunes sonnes Italy is to faile Germany and Hungary be with you in league So that of necessitie they in conclusion destitute of all ayde, deprived of all succoure, bereued of all frendship (if Fraunce be cōquered) must without warre or dent of sworde come vnder your subiection and due obeysance And yet I would not in this your conquest, Fraunce should bee so muche mynded, that Scotlande should be forgotten, nor that your entier power should be sent into Fraunce and no defence left against the inuasions of Scotlande For of that might ensue this mischief, that if your whole power wer vanquished in Fraunce, the Scottes beyng elated by the victory of their fiendes might do moie displeasure to your realme in one yeie then you should recover again in fye But sithe God hath sent you people, riches, municions of waire and all thynges necessary ether to inuade bothe, or to defende the one and penetrate the other. Passe the sea your self with an armie royall, and

An Oracion  
of the Duke  
of Excester.

and leue my lorde of Westmerlande and other graue capitaines of the Northe with a conuenient nombre to Defend the Marches if the subtill Scottes encouraged by the Frenchmen will any thyng attēpt duryng your voyage and absence. And this is to be remiēbred, if you get Scotlande you haue a countree barayne almoste of all pleasure and goodnes, you gayne people sauage, waueryng and inconstant, of riches you shall haue litle and of pouertie muche. But if you get Fraunce, you shall haue a countree fertile, pleasant and plentifull, you shall haue people, Ciuill, witty and of good oldre. You shall haue riche citees, beautiful townes innumerable Castles xxiiiij puyssaunt Duchies, lxxx. and odde populous Countrees, and an hūdred and thre famous bisshoprickes, a. M. and more fat Monastaries, and parishe Churches (as the Frenche writers affirme) x C. thousande and mo. This conquest is honorable, this gayne is profitable, this iourney is plesaute, and therfore nether to be left nor forslewed. Vitall you shall haue sufficient from Flaunders, aide of men you maie haue daily out of England, or els to leaue a competēte crewe in the Marches of Caleis to refreshe your armie and to furnishe still your nombre. Although the cost in transporting your mē be greate, yet your gayne shalbe greater, and therfore accordyng to the trite adage, he muste liberally spende that will plentifully gayne. And because my lorde of Westmerlāde hath alleged that the Romaines desired the dominion of suche as were vnder flight of their owne Egle, or whose possessions were a mote to their eye, as the Numidians & other whiche he hath wisely rehersed. Beholde the condicions of the counsailers and the desire of the mouers, what persones were they whiche coueted their poore neighbors rather then riche foreynes? Men effeminate, more mete for a Carpet then a Campe, men of a weake stomacke desiryng rather to walke in a pleasant garden then passe the sees in a tempesteous storme, what should I saie? Menne that would haue somewhat and yet take littell payne, menne that coueted thynges nothyng honourable nor yet greatly profitable. But I remember that the noble Cato the Censor which when it was alledged in the Senate at Rome that Affricke was farre of, and the sea brode, and the iourne perillous, caused certain newe figges to bee brought into the Senate whiche grewe in the territory of Carthage, and demanded of the Senators howe they liked the Figges? Some saied they were newe some saied they were swete and some saied they were pleasant. Oh quod Cato, if they be newe gathered, thē is not the region far of where they grewe (skant thre daies sailyng) and if it be of no longer distance then so nere to vs be oure enemies. If the figges be swete, then is the soile delicious and fertile. If the figges be pleasante, then is the cōtrei profitable. If you gaine the Scicilians, you shall be riche men in corne. If you get the Samnites you shall haue plenty of oyle. If you vanquishe the Numidians, you shall haue copie of beastes but subdēwe Carthage and conquere Affricke, you shall haue not onely Corne Oyle and beastes, but gold, purple, precious stones, Oliphantes and all thynges bothe necessary and pleasant. Therefore my counsell is rather to seke riches beyng farre distant then pouertie lyng at hand, for paine is forgotten euer where gaine foloweth. This noble sayng of sage Cato so encouraged and inflamed the haut hertes and lusty courages of the manly Romans, that they neuer desisted to persecute the people of Affricke tyll Carthage was vtterly destroyed and the whole countrey subdewed and brought vnder the Roman Empire. Iulius Cesar also desired rather to conquere the Brittons deuēded from the continent, ye and inhabitng almost in thende of the worlde, rather then to gayne the Pannonians adioynng to Italy, sayng, breke the strōger and the weaker will bowe: Subdue the riche and the pore wil yeld be lord of the lordes and the vassales must nedes be subiect, vanquish the Frenchemen and the Scottes be tamed. This counsaill of Cato, and this sayng of Cesar maketh me bothe to speke and thynke that if you get Fraunce, ye get two, and if you get Scotland you get but one. When the duke had said and sat doune, his opinion was minche noted and well digested with the kyng, but in especiall with his three brethren and diuerse other lordes beyng young and lusty, desirous to win honor and profite in the realme of Fraunce, ensuyng the courageous actes of their noble progenitors, whiche gat in that region bothe honor and renoune. So that now all men cried warre, warre, Fraunce, Fraunce, and the bill put into the parliament for desoluyng of religious houses was clerely forgotten and buried



buried, and nothyng thoughte on but onely the recouering of Fraunce accordyng to the title by the Archbishophe declared and set furth. And so vpon this poynt after a fewe Actes for the publike wealth of the realme condiscended and agreed, the parliamēt was proroged to Westminster.

THE kyng like a wise prince and politique gouernor, entending to obserue the auncient ordres of famous-kynges and renoumed potentates vsed aswel among Paynimes as Christians, whiche is, not to inuade another mannēs territory without open war and the cause of the same to hym published and declared, dispatched into Fraūce his vncke the duke of Excester and the erle of Dorcet, the loide Grey admuall of Englande, the Archbishop of Deuelin, the bishop of Norwiche with. v hundred horsse, whiche were lodged in the Temple hōus in Paris, keepyng suche triumphant cheie in their lodgyng, and such a solempne estate inuading through the citee, that the Parisians & all the Frenche men had no small meruell at their honorable fassions and lordly behaueours. The French kyng receiued them very honorably, and sumptuously banquetted them, shewing to them goodly iustes and marciall pastymes, by the space of three daies together, in the whiche iustes the kyng hymself to shew his courage and actiuitee to the Englishemen, manfully brake speres and lustely turneyed.

WHEN this great triumph and marciall disport was finished, the Englishe Ambassadors accordyng to their commission, required of the Frenche kyng to deliuer to the kyng of Englad the realme and crowne of Fraunce with the entier Duchies of Aquitain, Normandy and Aniowe, with the countrees of Poytieu and Mayne and diuerse other requestes, offryng that if the Fienche kyng would without warre or effusion of Christen blood rendre to the kyng their Master his uery righte and lawfull inheritaunce, that he would be content to take in marriage the lady Katheryn daughter to the Frenche kyng & to endewe her with all the duchie and countrees before rehersed. And if he entended not so to do, then the kyng of Englande did expresse and signifie to hym that with the ayd of God and help of his people he would recouer his right and inheritaunce wrongfully with holden with mortall warre and dent of sworde. The Frenchemen were much abashed at these demaundes thinkyng them very vnreasonable and farre excessiue, and yet not wilyng to make any determinate aunswer till they had farther brethed in so weighty a cause, praied thenglishe Ambassadors to saie to the kyng their master that thei now hauyng no opportunitie to cōclude in so hie a matter would shortly send Ambassadors into England whiche should certefy & declare to the kyng their whole mynde, purpose and aunswer.

THE Englishe Ambassadors nothyng content with this doyng departed into Englande making relacion of euery thyng that was said or done. Here I ouerpasse howe some writers saie that the Dolphyn thinkyng kyng Henry to be geuen still to such plaies and light folkes as he exercised & vsed before the tyme that he was exalted to the crowne sent to hym a tunne of tennis balles to plaie with, as who said that he could better skil of tennis then of warre, and was more expert in light games then marciall pollicy. Whether he wer moued with this vnwise presente, or espyng that the Frenchemen dailed and vaynely delayed his purpose and demaund, was moued and pricked forward I cannot iudge, but sure it is that after the retourne of his Ambassadors, he beeyng of a haute courage and bold stomacke, luyng now in the pleasantest tyme of his age, muche desiryng to enlarge and dilate his Empire and dominion, determined fully to make warre in Fraunce, cōceiuyng a good trust and a perfight hope in this poyacte whiche he had before experimented, whiche is, that victory for the moste part foloweth wher right leadeth, auanced forward by Iustice and sette furth by equitie. And because many Frenchemen wer promoted to Ecclesiastical dignitees, some to benefices, some to Abbeis and priores within his realme and sent daily innumerable somes of money into Fraunce for the relefe and aide of their naturall countremen and li-neall kyngsmen, he therfore for the publique wealth of his realme and subiectes, ordeigned that no straunger here after should bee promoted to any spirituall dignitee or degree within his realme without his especiallicence and royall consent, and that all they that should so be admitted, should find sufficient suretie not to disclose ſecretes of this realme to any fo-



rain or straunge person, nor also to minister to them any aide or succor with money or by any other meane. Beside this he assembled a great puissance & gathered a greate hoste through all his dominions, and for the more furniture of his nauie, he sent into Holand, Zeland and Frizeland to conduct and hire shippes for the transportyng and conueighing ouer his men and municions of warre, and finally prouided for armure, vitaille, money, attillary, carriages, tentes and other thinges necessary for so hie an enterprise. Whiche prouisions wei some blowen into Fraunce & quickly knowen in Paris. Wherefore the Dolphin who had taken on hym the gouernance of the realme, because his father was fallen again into his olde infirmite, sent for the dukes of Berry and Alaunson and all the counsell of Fraunce, to cōclude what should be done in so great a matter and so weightie a cause. After long cōsultacion, it was determined to assemble people through the whole realme of Fraunce, to resist & repulse the kyng of Englande and his puissance whensoever he would arrive or set foote in Fraunce, and also to fortifie their tounes & stuffe them with garrisons and men of warre, and farther by taxes & subsidies to leuy as muche money as by wit or pollicie could be deuised or imagined. Moreover to staie the kyng of England at home, it was polletiquely deuised to sende to him a solempne Ambassade to make to him some offers accordyng to the demaundes before rehersed. The charge of this Ambassade was cōmitted to the erle of Vandosme, to Master Wylliam Bouratier Archebishop of Bourgues and to Master Peter Freinel bishoppe of Lysieux and to the lorde of Yury and Braquemont and to Maister Gaultier Cole the kynges secretory and diuerse other. These ambassadours accompanied with CCC. and fifty horses passed the sea at Caley and lāded at Doner, before whose arriuall the kyng was departed from Wyndesor to Winchester, entendyng to haue gone to Hampton and to haue viewed his nauie, but hearyng of the Ambassadours approachyng, taried stil at Wynchester, where the sayd Frenche lordes shewed themselues very honorably before the kyng and the nobilitie. And in the bishoppes hal before the kyng, sittyng in his throne imperial & his lordes spiritual and temporal & a great multitude of the cōmons there for that entent assēbled, At a tyme prefixed, the Archebishop of Bourgesse made an eloquent and a long Oracion, dissuadyng warre, and praisyng peace, offering to the kyng of Englad a great some of money with diuerse base & pore countieis with the Lady Katherin in marriage, so that he would dissolue his armie & dismisse his souldiors whiche he had gathered and made ready.

When this Oracion was ended, the kyng caused the Ambassadors to be highly feasted, & set them at his owne table, And at a daie assigned in the foresayd hall, the Archebischoppe of Cauntorbury made to their Oracion a notable answer: theffecte wherof was, that if the Frenche kyng would not geue with his daughter in mariage, the duchies of Aquitain, Normandy, Aniove, & all other seignories & dominions sometime apperteynyng to the noble progenitors of the kyng of Englad, he would in no wise reire his armie nor breake his iorney but would with all diligence entre into the realme of Fraunce & destroy the people, depopulate the couñtry & subuert the tounes, with sword blud & fyre, & neuer cease till he had recovered his auncient right & lawtul patrimony. The kyng auowed the archbishops sayng, & in the word of a prince promised to performe it to the vttermost. The bishop of Bourgesse beyng inflamed with anger that his purpose toke none effect, desiryng licence & pardō of the kyng that he might speake: which once attained he verie rashly and vnreuerētly sayd. Thynkest thou to put doune and destroy wrongfully the most cristen kyng, our most redboubted souerain lord and most excellentest prince of all christianitie of blud and preheminece. Oh kyng, sauynge thine honour, thinkest thou that he hath offered or caused to be offered to the landes, goodes or other possessions with his owne daughter for feare of the or thy Englishe nacion, or thy friendes or well willers or fauours. No no? but of truthe he moued with pitie, as a louer of peace, to the entent that innocent blud should not bee dispersed abroad, and that christian people shoulde not bee afflicted with battail and destroyed with mortall warre, hath made to the this reasonable offers and this Godly mocion, puttyng his hole affiance in God most puissant accordyng to right and reason, trustyng in his quarell

to be ayded and supported by his beneuolente subiectes and fauourable well willers. And sith we be subiectes and seruauntes, we require the to cause vs safely and surely without damage to be conducted out of thy realme and dominions & that thou wilt write thyne answer wholly as thou hast geuen it, vnder thy seale and signe manuell.

THE Kyng of Englande nothing vexed nor yet moued with the presumtuos saynges and proude bragges of the vnnurtered and unmanerly byshop, but well remēbryng kyng Salomon in the. xxiii. of his prouerbes, whiche saithe, that with discretion warres muste be taken in hand, & where many can geue counsell, there is victory, coldly and soberly answered the bishop sayng. My lorde I littel esteeme your Frenche bragges, and lesse se by your power & strength, I know perfightly my right to your region, and excepte you will deny the apparant truthe so do you, and if you neither do nor will knowe yet God and the worlde knoweth it. The powre of your Mayster you see daily, but my puissaunce you haue not yet tasted, If your master haue louing frendes and faithfull subiectes, I am I thanke God not disgarnished nor vnprouided of the same. But this I say vnto you, that before one yere passe I trust to make the highest crowne of your countrey stoupe and the proudest Miter to kneele downe. and say this to the vsurper your Master that I within three monethes wyll enter into France not as into his land, but as into mine owne true and lawfull patrimonye entending to conquere it, not with braggynge wordes, flatterynge oracions or coloured persuasions, but with puissaunce of men and dent of sworde by the aide of God in whome is my whole trust and confidence. And as concernynge mine answer to be written, subscribed and sealed, I assure you that I would not speake that sentence the which I would not write and subscribe, nor subscribe that line to the whiche I would refuse to put my seale. Therefore your saue conduct shall be to you deliuered with mine answer, and then you may depart surely and safely I warrant you into your countrey, where I truste soner to visite you then you shall haue cause to salute or bid me welcome. With this answer the Ambassadors sore dismayed, but more displeased (although they were highly entertained & liberally rewarded, departed into their countrey, relatyng to the Dolphyn and the kynges council what they had done duryng the tyme of their Ambassade.

After the frenche Ambassadors were departed, the kyng as I sayd before hauing a great foresight and disposyng all thynges in an ordie forgettyng not the old pranckes and sodeyn trickes of the variable Scottishe nacion, appointed the earle of Westmerlande, the lorde Scrope, the Baron of Greystocke and sir Robert Vmfreule with diuers other hardye parsonages & valiant capitaynes to kepe the frontiers and Marches adioynng to Scotland, whiche sir Robert Vmfreule on the day of Maie Magdalene entred with the Scottes at the toune of Gederyng, hauing in his company only CCCC. Englishemen, where he after long conflict and doubtful battaileslewe of his enemies lx and odde, and toke captiues CCC. lx. and discomfited and put to flight a thousand and moe whom he followed in chase aboue. xii. miles, and so laded with praies and prisoners reculed agayne not vnhurt to the castle of Rokesbrough, of the whiche at that tyme he was chief capitayne and gouernour.

When the kyng had ordered all thynges for the tuicion and sauegarde of his realme and people, he leauyng behynd him for gouernor of the realme, the Quene his mother inlawe, departed to the toune of Southhampton, entending there to take ship, and so to transfrete into Fraunce. And to thentent he would steale on the Frenche kyng before he were ware of him, he dispatched Antelop his pursuiuant at Armes with lettres, the which the Frenche cronographers declare to be these

TO the right honorable prince Charles our cossyn of Fraunce & aduersary, Henry by the grace of God kyng of England & of Fraunce. &c To deliuer to every man his owne, is a woorke of inspiracion and a deede of sage counsell, for right noble prince our cosyn and aduersary, sometymes the noble realmes of England & of Fraunce were vnited, which nowe, be seperated and deuided, and as then they were accustomed to be exalted through the vniuersal worlde by their glorious victories, and it was to them a notable vertue to decore and beautifye the house of God, to the whiche appertained holynesse, and to set a concorde



in Christes religion And by their agreeable waies they brought fortunately the publike enemies to their subiection but alas this fraternal faith is perueited to fraternal occasion as Lot persecuted Abrahā by humayne impulsio, but now the glory of fraternal loue is deade, and the discent of auncient humane cōdicion is departed, and mother malice and Ire are resuscitate from death to life, but we call to wytnes the souereigne iudge in cōscience, whiche will not bow either for praier or for giftes, that we to our power for pure loue haue proceaded by all meanes to peace & amite. And sith we haue red in writyng and by cōcil haue learned the iust title of our inheritaunce from vs detained in preiudice of oure auncient linage, we be not of so small a courage but that we wyll fight to death to obteyne right and iustice but by the authoritie written in the boke of Deuteronomy, all men are taught whiche come to besiege or assaulte any cytie or fortesse, fyrst to offre peace. And albeit that violence the rauisher of iustice haue takē away of lōg time the noblenes of our crowne and oure iuste inheritaunce, yet we by charitie haue done what we might to recouer and bryng our old inheritaunce to the first degree and auncient estate, and therefore for faute of iustice, we may returne to armes. Wherefore, that our glorye may be wytnes of our conscience nowe and also by personal request, in the beginning of our iorney to the whiche we are toward for faute of iustice, we exhort you in the bowelles of our sauour Iesu Christ, whose euangelical doctrine willeth that you ought to render to all men that which you ought to do, and so to do to vs is the will of God oure souereigne lorde and creator. And to the intent that destruction of Christen people should be exchewed whiche are the images of God, we haue demaunded our right and restitution of the same from vs wrongfully withholdeu and detained, or at the least of suche thynges whiche we haue so often times by our Ambassadors and messengers required & instantly desyred, wherwith we haue offered to be pleased, satisfied and cōtented for the onely reuerence of almightie God & for the vtilitie of a vniuersall peace whiche we thought should haue ensued And therefore we for our part because of a marriage to be had and cōcluded betwene vs, wer determined to forsake & refuse the fiftie thousand crounes to vs last promysed and profered, preferring peace before riches, & chosyng rather our rightful patimony to vs by our noble progenitors lawfully deuoluted and disceded with oure cossyn your daughter the fayre lady Katherin, rather then for treasure and desire of money the multiplier of iniquitie, shamefully to dishonour our selfe and the crowne of oure realme whiche God forbid Youen vnder oure priuy seale at our Castel of Hampton on the sea side, the. v. day of August

WHEN the letter was presented to the French kyng & by his counsell well overlooked, he made answer to the officers of armes that he had well perceiued the content of the letters, wherevpon he would take aduice and prouide for the same in tyme and place conuenient, licensyng the messenger to depart at his pleasure.

### ¶ THE THIRD YERE.

The III.  
yere

THIS noble prince hauyng his navy furnished, and all thynges necessary for suche a royal voyage, perceuyng his freshe capitaines to complain that they had lost so many monethes of the yere in the whiche they might haue done diuerse haute enterprises in the lādes of their enemies, and that nothyng was to the more odious than prolongyng linyeryng of tyme; determined with all diligence to cause his souldiors to entre his shippes and so to depart.

SE the chaunce, the night before the day of departure appoynted, he was credibly informed that Richarde earle of Cambridge brother to Edward duke of Yorke and Henry lorde Scrope & syr Thomas Gray knight had cōpassed his death and finall destruction: wherefore he caused them to be apprehended lamentyng sore his chaunce that he should be compelled to loose such personages by whose valiantnes and puissance he should be more dreadful and feareful to his foes & enemies. When these pisoners were examined, they not onely confessed the cōspiracy, but also declared that for a great some of mony which they had receiued of the Frenche kyng, they intēded either to deliuer the kyng a hie into the hands

handes of his enemies, or els to murther him before that he should arriue in the duchy of Normady. When kyng Henry hard al thynges openēd whiche he soie desired, he caused all his nobilitie to assēble before his maiestie royal, before whom he caused to be brought the thre great offenders and to them sayd: If you haue conspired the deth and destruction of me whiche am the head of the realme and gouernour of the people, without doubt I must of necessitie thinke that you likewise haue compassed the confusion of all that be here with me and also the final destruction of your natiue countrey and natural region. And although some priuate Scorpion in your heartes, or some wild worme in your heades hath caused you to conspire my death and cōfusiōn, yet you shuld haue spared that deuclish enterprise as long as I was with mine army whiche cannot cōtinue without a capitaine, nor be directed without a guide, nor yet with the destruction of your owne bloud and naciōn you should haue pleased a foreign enemy and an auncient aduersary. Wherfore seying that you haue enterprised so greate a mischæfe, so abhominable a fact, to thentent that your fautors beyng in the armye may abhorre so detestable an offence by the punishment of you, hast you to receiue the payne that for your demerites you haue deserued, & that punishment that by the lawe for your offences is prouided.

WHEN these noble men were executed, the kyng sayd to his lordes, se you not the mad imagination of men whiche persecute me that dayely studye, and houly labour, to my great trauaile and vnquietnes for the aduancement of the publique wealth of this realme and region, and for that cause I spare no payne nor refuse no tyme, to thentent to do good to all men and to hurt no man, and thus to-do is my due & to this as I thinke am I borne. I pray to God that there be none among you that be infected with so much vntruth that had leuer se me destroyed and brought to confusion, rather then to se his cōntrey florishē increased with honor and empire. I assure you that I cōceiue no suche opinion in any of you, but put in you both trust & confidence and if I may haue your helpe to beautify my realme and to recouer againe the olde honor of myne auncestours by subduyng the Frenche naciōn, I for my self wyll forget all peril and paine and be your guide lodesman and conductor. And if you drawe backe and wyll not moue forward, beleue me, God wyll so dispose, that hereafter you shalbe deceiued and sore repent had I wist. When the kyng had finished his sayng, all the noble men kneled doune & promised faithfully to serue him and duely to obey him, and rather to dye then to suffer him to fall into the handes of his enemies.

THIS done, the kyng thought surely in his conceipte all sediciōn to be drowned & vtterly extincte. But if he had cast his eye to the fyre that was newly kindled, he should haue surely sene an horrible flame incēsed against the walles of his owne house and family, by the which in conclusion his line and stocke was cleane destroyed and consumed to ashes, whiche fyre at that verry tyme paraduenture might haue bene quenched and put out. For diuerse write that Richard earle of Cambridge did not conspire with the lorde Scrope and sir Thomas Graye to murther kyng Henry to please the Frenche kyng withal, but onely to thentent to exalte to the crowne his brotherinlawe Edmond earle of Marche as heyre to duke Lyonel. After whose death considering that the earle of Marche for diuerse secrete impediments was not hable to haue generaciōn, he was sime that the crowne should come to him by his wife, or to his children. And therefore it is to be thought that he rather cōfessed him selfe for nede of money to be corrupted by the Frēche kyng, then he would declare his inwarde mynd & open his very entent. For surely he sawe that if his purpose were espied, the earle of March should haue dronken of the same cup that he did, and what should haue come to his owne children he muche doubted. And therefore beyng destitute of comfort and in dyspayre of life, to saue his children he fayned that tale, desirying rather to saue his succession then him selfe, which he did in dede. For Richard duke of Yorke his sonne not priuely but openly claimed the crowne, and Edward his sonne both claimed & gained it as hereafter you shall heare, which thyng at this time if kyng Henry had foresene I doubt whether either euer that line should haue either claimed the garlande or gained the game.



WHEN the wynde was prosperous and pleasaunt for the nauye to set forward, they waied vp the Ankers and hoysed vp their sailes and set forward with. xv. C. shippes on the vigile of the Assumpcion of our Lady and toke land at Caux, comonly called Kyd Caux (where the riuier of Seine runneth into the sea) without resistence or bludsheddyng. The kyng was lodged on the shore in a small priory with the dukes of Clarce and Gloucester his biethelne the duke of Excetter and Yorke, the earles, Marshal, Oxforde, Suffolke, Warwick and other lordes were lodged not farre frō him. The next day after, he marched towarde the toun of Harflew standing on the riuier of Seyne betwene two hilles and besieged it on euery parte. The capitaine of the toun was the lorde Escouteuile with the lorde Blaynuile of Hacqueuile, the lordes of Harmanuile of Galarde Boyes, of Clere de Becton, of Adsanches, of Biau, of Gaucoit, of Lisleadam and many other.

THE Frenche kyng beyng aduertised of the kynges arriuall, sente in all the hast the lorde Delabreche constable of Fraunce and the lorde Bonciqualt Marshall of Fraunce, the Seneschal of Henaude, the lorde Ligny and diuerse other capitaines, whiche fortified tounes with men vitale and artillery on all the sea coaste. And beryng that the kyng of England had besieged Harflew at his first landyng, came to the castle of Cawdebec beyng not farre from Harflew, to thentent to succour their fiendes which wer besieged if thei might by any pollicy or inuencion, and if not, then they imagined how to sleye and hurte the Englisshemen when they went into the countree on foragyng for beastes and vitail and so trappe and destroye them, for thei cōstrued with themselves that thei vitale would some faile because of the ayre of the sea and smell of the water. But they were deceined, for notwithstanding the prouision and pollicy of the Frenchemen, the Englishmen forayed the countree, spoyled the villages and brought many a riche prae to the Campe before Harflew. Thenglishmen daily ceased not to assaile the toun, the duke of Gloucester to whō the ordre of the assaulte was comitted, made thre mynes vnder the ground & approached the walles with ordinaunce and engynes, and would not suffre them within to reste at any tyme. The kyng hyng on the hill side with his battail did not onely kepe the Frenchmen from succoryng of the toun, but also toke awaie from the tounes men all the hope and trust of their succor, aide and relief, and also al the gonnepowder that was sent by the Frenche kyng to them that wer beseged was taken by thenglishmen. The capitaines of the Frēch men within the toun perceived that they wer not able to resist the continuall inuasions and hourelly assaultes of the fierce Englisshemenne, and knowyng that their walles were vndermyned and shortely like to fal, & feryng that might happē of the chance if thei should fortune to be ouercome and takē by force, desired of the kyng of England only truce for thre daies, promisyng that if they were not reskewed within thesame tyme, then thei to yeld themselves and the toun then lues only sauēd. And to performe this, they deliuered into the kynges possession. xxx. of the beste capitaines and Marchauntes of the toun. The kyng of Englande accepted this offie, lest he entendyng greater exploites might lese his tyme in suche small matters. When this composicion was agreed, the lorde Hacqueuile was sent to the French kyng to declare the necessite of the toun and the shorte tyme of the truce. To whō the dolphin aunswered that the kynges power was not yet assembled in suche a nombe as was conuenient to raise so greate a siege. When the aunswer was reported to the capitaines, they seyng no hope nor similitude of aide and comfort to them commyng, after the third daie rendered to the kyng of Englād the toun, beyng the xxxvj daie after that it was besieged, whiche was the daie of saint Mawrice, to the greate abasement of all Normandy, for it was the souēraigne porte of al that countree. The souldiours wer ransomed and the toun was sacked to the greate gayne of the Englisshemen. The kyng of Englande ordeigned capitain of the toun of Harflew his vncl Thomas duke of Excester whiche established his leutenant there Ihon Fastolfe with. xv. C. men and. xxxv. knightes, whercof the Baron of Carew & sir Hugh Lutterell were two counsaillers. And because diuerse of his nobles hyng Harflew were sicke of the fixe and many wer ded, amongest whō therle of Stafford, the bishop of Norwich, the lordes Molins and

Burnell wei foure beside other. The kyng licensed the duke of Clarence his brother, Ihon erle Marshall and Ihon erle of Arundel beyng infected with that descease to returne into Englande

KYNG Henry not a litle reioysyng of his good lucke and fortunate successe in the begynnyng of his pretended conquest, determined withall diligence to set forward in performing his intended purpose and warrely enterprise, but because Wynter approached faster and more furiously then before that tyme had been accustomed, he was sore troubled and vexed. For the whiche cause he called together al the Cheuetaines and men of pollicy in his armie to consult vpo the procedyng forward and to be sure of waie and redy passage. After long debatyng and muche reasonyng, it was as a thyng bothe necessary and conueniente and fully agreed and determined to set forwarde withall diligence before the dedde tyme of Winter approached, toward the toun of Caleis. And because their goyng forward should be called of slaunderous tongues a runnyng or flyng awaie, it was decreed that the whole armie should passe the next waie by lande through the midst of their enemies, and yet that iourney was iudged perilous by reason that the numbres was muche minished by the flyxe and other feuers, which sore vexed and brought to death aboute .xv. C. persones, whiche was the very cause that the returne was soner concluded and appointed: but before his departyng he entered into the toun of Harflew and went on foote to the churche of saint Martynes and there offered. And all the men of warr which had not paid their raunsome, he sware them on the holy Euangelistes to yeld themselves prisoners at Caleis by the feast of S. Martyn in Nouember nexte, diuerse of the burgesses he highly raunsomed, and a greate part of the women and children he expelled the toun, geuyng to every poore creature five sowse. The priestes had licence to depart leuyng behinde them their substaunce. The goodes in the toun wer innumerable whiche wer al prais to the Englishemen, whiche sent the best into Englande as a remembraunce of good lucke. There were two strong toures standyng on the haven side, whiche lokyng for aid did not yelde ten daies after the toun was rendered.

WHEN the kyng had repaired the walles, fortified the bulwarkes refresshed the rampiers and furnished the toun with vitail and artillery, he remoued from Harflew toward Pountoyse, entendyng to pas the riuier of Some with his armie before the bridges were ether withdrawn or broken. The Frenche kyng hearyng that the toun of Harflewe was gotten and that the kyng of Englande was marchyng forward into the bowelles of the realme, sente out proclamacions and assembled people in euery quarter, comittyng the whole charge of his armie to his sonne the Dolphin & the duke of Aquitayn, whiche incontinent caused the brydges to be broken and all the passages to be defended, beside that they caused all corne and other vitail to be destroyed in all places where they coniectured that thenglishmen would repaire or passe through, to thentent that they might ether kepe the in a place certain without any passage or departure, and so to destroye them at their pleasures, or els to kepe them in a strait without vitales or comfort, and so by famyne ether cause them to dye or yelde.

THE kyng of Englande afflicted with all these incōmoditees at one tyme was nether dismayed nor discouraged, but keepyng furth his iorney approached to the riuier of Some, where he perceiued that all the bridges wer by his enemies broken and vnframed: wherfore he came to the passage called Blanchetaque where kyng Edwardes greate graundfather passed the riuier of Some before the battaill of Cressy. But the passage was so kepte that he could not passe without great daunger, consideryng that his enemies wer at his backe & before his face. Wherfore he passed forward to Arannes, burnyng villages & takyng greate booties and euery daie he sent his light horsemen abrode to spye and seke what perilles ther wer at hand, what embushments ther wer laid on the one side or thother, & to find out where he might most sauely pas the riuier. The espialles returned and declared for a truth that the cōtree swarmed with men of warre, wherof he beyng aduertised, set furth in good ordre, keepyng still his waie forward and so ordred his armie and placed his cariage, that hauyng



his enemies on both sides of him, he passed so terribly that his enemies wer afraid once to offre hym battail, and yet the lorde Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, the Marshall Boncequait, the erle of Vandosme greate Master of Fraunce and the lorde Dampier Admirall of Fraunce, the duke of Alanson and the erle of Richemonde withall the puyssance of the Dolphin laie at Abbeuile and durste not once touche his batailles, but euer kepte the passages and coasted alofe like a hauke that liketh not her prae. The kyng of Englande still kept on his iourney till he came to the bridge of sainte Maxence, where he founde aboue xxx.M. Frenchemen and there pitched his felde, lokyng surely to be set on and fought withal. Wherefore to encourage his capitaines the more, he dubbed certain of his hardy & valeant gentlemen knightes, as Ihō lord Ferreis of Groby, Reignold of Greistocke, Piers Tempest, Christopher Morisby, Thomas Piking, Williā Huddleston, Ihon Hosbalton, Henry Mortimer, Philip Halle & Williā his brother, & Iaques de Ormōd & diuerse other. But when he saw y the Frenchmen made no seinblance to fight, he departed in good ordre of battail by the tounne of Amiēce to a tounne nere to a castle called Bowes, and there laie two daies, euery houre looking for battail. And from thence he came nere to Corby where he was staid that night by reason that the comē people and peysants of the countiee assembled in greate nombre, and the men of Armes of the garrison of Corby skirmished with his armie in the mornyng, which tariyng was to hym bothe ioyous and profitable, for there he discomfited the crew of horsmen & diaue the rustical people euen to their gates, & also found there thesame daie a shalow forde betwene Corby & Peron, whiche neuer was espied before. At the whiche be, his armie & cariages the night ensuyng passed the great riuier of Some without let or daungier, the morowe after saint Luke's daie, determined withall diligence to passe to Caleis, and not to seke for battail except he wer therto constrained & compelled, because that his armie by sickenesse was sore minished and appaired, for he had onely two M. horsemen and. xiii.M. Archers, bill men and of all sortes. The Englishemen were afflicted in this iourney with an hundred discomodities, for their vitale was in maner all spent, and newe they could get none, for their enemies had destroyed all the corne before their comyng: Rest they could take none, for their enemies wer euer at hande, daily it reined and nightly it fresed, of fuell was skacenes and of fluxes was plenty, money they had ynough but comforte thei had none. And yet in this great necessitee the poore folkes wer not spoyled nor any thyng without payment was of the extoitied, nor great offence was doen except one, whiche was that a foolishhe souldier stole a pike out of a churche and vnreuerently did eate the holy hostes within thesame conteigned. For whiche cause he was apprehended, and the kyng would not once remoue till the vessel was restored & the offender strangled. The people of the countrees there aboute hearyng of his straight iustice & godly mynd, ministered to hym bothe vitales & other necessaries, although by open proclamaciō they wer therof prohibited.

THE Frenche kyng beyng at Roan, hearyng that the kyng of Englande was passed the water of Some, was not a little discontente, and assembled his counsaill to the nombre of. xxxv. to consult what should be doen, the chief whereof were the Dolphin his sonne whose name was Lewes, calling hymself kyng of Cicile, the dukes of Berry & Britayn theiſle of Pontieu the kynges youngest sonne and diuerse other, wherof xxx. agreed that the Englishmen should not departe vnfoughten with all, and fve wer of the contrary opinion, but the greater nombre ruled the matter. And so Mountioye kyng at Armes was sent to the kyng of Englande to defie hym as the enemye of Fraunce, and to tell hym that heshould shortly haue battail. Kyng Henry soberly aunswered. Sir myne entent and desire is none other, but to do as it pleaseth almighty God and as it hecometh me, for surely I will not seke your Master at this tyme, but if he or his seke me I wil willyngly fight with hym. And if any of your nacion attempt once to stoppe me in my iourney toward Caleis, at their ieopardy be it, and yet my desire is that none of you be so vnadvised or harebrained as to be the occasion that I in my defence shall colour and make redde your tawny grounde with the deathes

deathes of your selves and theffusion of Chrsten blood. When he had aunswered the harauld, he gaue to him a great rewaide & licēced him to depart.

WHEN the Lordes of Fraunce heard the kyng of Englandes aunswere, it was incontinēt proclaymed, that all men of warie should resorte to the Constable of Fraunce to fight with the kyng of Englande and his puissaunce. Wherupon all men accustomed to beare Armure and desirous to wyn honor through the realme of Fraunce drewe toward the feld. The Dolphyn sore desired to bee at that battaile, but he was prohibited by the kyng his father, likewise Philip erle of Charolous sonne to the Duke of Burgoyne would gladly haue been at that noble assemble if the duke his father would haue suffred hym, but many of his men stalle awaie and went to the Frenchemen.

THE Kyng of Englande informed by his espialles that the daie of battail was nerer then he loked for, dislodged from Botmyers & roade in good arraie through the faire plaine beside the toun of Blangy, where to the intent that his ainie should not bee included in a streight or driuen to a corner, he chose a place mete and conueniente for two armies to darraigne battail betwene the tounes of Blangy and Agincourt, where he pight his feld.

THE Constable of Fraunce, the Marshall, the Admirall, the Lorde Rambures Master of the Crossebowes and diuerse lordes and knightes pitched their banners nere to the banner royall of the Constable in the Countee of saint Paule within the territory of Agincourt, by the whiche waie the Englishemen muste nedes passe towaide Caleis. The Frenchemen made greates fies about their banners, and they were in nombre had. lx M. horsemen, as their owne historians and writers affirme, beside footemen pages and wagoners, and all that night made greates chere and were very mery. The Englishmen that night sounded their trompettes and diuerse instrumentes Musically with greates melody, and yet they were bothe hungry, very, sore traueled and much vexed with colde diseases: Howbeit they made peace with God, in confessyng their synnes, requiring hym of help, and receiuyng the holy sacramente, euery man encouragynge and determinynge clerely rather to die then either to yelde or fle.

NOW approached the fortunate faire daie to the Englishemen and the infest and vnlucky daie to the Frenche nobilitie, whiche was the five and twenty daie of October in the yere of our Lorde Iesu Christe a thousande foure hundred and fiftene, beeyng then Fridaie and the daie of Cuspin and Crispinian. On the whiche daie in the morning, the Frenche menne made thre battailes. In the Vaward wer eight thousande Healnes of Knightes and Esquiers and foure thousande Archers and fiftene hundred Crossebowes, which were gnyded by the Lord Delabiet Constable of Fraunce, hauynge with hym the dukes of Orleans and Burbone, therles of Ewe and Richmond the Marshall Bonciquart and the Master of the Crossebowes, the Lorde Dampier Admirall of Fraunce and other capitaines. And the erle of Vandosme and other the kynges officers with. xvj C. men of Armes wer ordied for a wyng to that battail. And the other wyng was guided by sir Guyshard Dolphyn and sir Clugnet of Brabant and sir Lewes of Burbon with. viij C. menne of Armes, of chosen and elect persones. And to breake the shot of the Englishemen wer appointed sir Gyllia of Sauēsen with Hector and Philip his brethren. Ferry of Maylle and Alen of Gaspanes with other. viij C. men of Armes. In the middle ward wer assigned as many persones or mo as wer in the formoste battail, and therof was the charge committed to the dukes of Bair and Alenson, therles of Neuers, Vandemont, Blamout, Salynges, Graūpree and of Roussy. And in the rereward were all the other men of Armes, gnyded by the erles of Maile, Dampmartyne, Fawquenberge and the Lorde of Loureyn Capitayne of Aide, who had with hym men of the Frontiers of Bolonys.

WHEN these battailes were thus ordied, it was a glorious sight to behold the, and surely they wer esteemed to be in nombre sixe times as many or more then was the whole compaigny of the Englishmen with wagoners pages and all. Thus the Frenchmen wer euery man vnder his banner only waitynge for the bloudy blast of the terrible trompet, and in this ordre they continued restyng themselves and reconciling euery one to other for all old rancors and hatredes whiche had been betwene them, till the houre betwene. ix. and. x. of the daie, Duryng  
K  
whiche

The battaile  
of Agincourt.



whiche season, the Constable of Fraunce saied openly to the capitaynes in effecte as followeth.

The oracion  
of the Cō-  
stable of  
Fraunce.

FRENDES and companions in armes, I cānot but bothe reioyce and lament the chances & fortunes of these two armies whiche I openly se and behold with myne eyes here presente. I reioyce for the victorie whiche I se at hand for our part, and I lamēt and sorow for the misery and calamitee whiche I perceiue to approche to the otherside: For wee cannot but be victours and triūphant conquerors, for who saw euer so florisschyng an armie within any christian region, or suche a multitude of valiaunt persones in one compaignie? Is not here the flower of the Fienche nacion on barded horssees with sharpe speares and dedly weapons? Are not here the bold Britons with fiery handgōnes and sharpe swerdes? Se you not present the practised Pickardes with strong and weightie Crossebowes? Beside these, we haue the fierce Biabanders & strong Almaines with long pykes and cuttyng slaughtmesses. And on the otherside is a smal handfull of pore Englishmen whiche are entred into this region in hope of some gain or desire of proffite, whiche by reson that their vitail is cōsumed & spent, are by daily famyn sore weakened, consumed & almost without sprites. for their foice is cleily abated and their strength vtterly decaied, so ȳ or the battailes shall ioynē they shalbe for very feblenes vāquished & ouercom, & in stede of men ye shal fight with shadowes. For you must vnderstand, ȳ kepe an Englishmā onc moneth from his warme bed, fat befe and stale drynke, and let him that season tast colde and suffre hunge, you then shall se his courage abated, his bodye waxe leane and bare, and euer desirous to retorne into his owne countrey. Experience now declareth this to be true, for if famine had not pinched them, or colde wether had not nipped them surely they would haue made their progresse farther into Fraunce, and not by so many perilous passages retired towarde Calays. Suche courage is in Englishmen when fayre weather and vitale folow them, and suche weaknes they haue when famine and cold vexē and trouble them. Therefore nowē it is no mastery to vanquishe and overthrowe them, beyng both wery & weake, for by reason of feblenes and faintnes their weaponēs shal fal out of their handes when they profer to strike, so that ye may no easilier kyll a poore shepe then destroye them beyng alredy sicke & hungerstaruen. But imagin that they wer lusty, strong and couragious, and then ponder wisely the cause of their cōmyng hither, and the meanyng of their enterpryce: Fyrst their king a yong striplyng (more mete for a tenice playe then a warlike campe), claimeth the croune, scepter and souereignatie of the very substance of the Frenche nacion by battaile: then he and his entende to occupy this countrey, inhabite this land, destroy our wiues and children, extinguishe our blud and put our names in the blacke boke of obliuion. Wherefore remembre wel, in what quarel can you better fight then for the tuiciō of your natural countrey, the honor of your prince, the surety of your children and the sauegard of your land and lues. If these causes do not encourage you to fight, beholde before your eyes the tētes of your enemies, with treasure, plate & iewels wel stuffed and richely furnished, which pray is surely yours if euery mā strike but one stroke, besyde the great raunsomes whiche shalbe paid for riche capitaines and welthy prisoners, whiche as surely shall be yours as you now had them in your possession. Yet this thyng I charge you withal, that in nowise the kyng him selfe be killed, but by force or otherwise to be apprehēded & taken to the entent that with glorie & triumphē we may conuey him openly through the noble cytie of Paris to oure kyng and dolphyne as a testimony of our victory & witnes of our noble act. And of this thyng you be sure, that fly they cannot, and to yelde to our fight of necessitie they shalbe compelled. Therefore good felowes take courage to you, the victory is yours, the gainē is yours & the honor is yours without great labourē or muchē losse.

KYNG Henry also like a leader & not like one led, like a souereigne and not like a souldior ordred his men for his most advantage like an expert capitaine and a couragious warrier. And fyst he sent priuely CC. archers into a low medowe which was nere to the forward of his enemies, but separate with a great dicke, and were there commaunded to kepe them selucs close tyl they had a token to them geuen to shote at their aduersaries. Beside  
this

this he appointed a vaward, of the which he made capitayne Edward duke of Yorke whiche of a haute courage had of the kyng requered and obtained that office: and with him were the lordes Beaumont, Wylloughby and Fanhope, and this battaile was all archers. The middle ward was gouerned by the kyng him self with his brother the duke of Gloucester, & the eyles Marshal, Oxford and Suffolke, in the which wer al the strong bilmen, The duke of Exceter vnle to the kyng led the rereward, whiche was mixed both with archers & bilmen. The horsemen like winges went on euery side of the battaile. When the kyng had thus ordied his battaile, like a puissaunt cōqueror without feare of his enemies, yet cōsidering the multitude of them faire to excede the smal nombre of his people, doubtyng that the Frenchemen would compasse and beset him aboute, and so fight with him on euery side, to thentent to vāquish the power of the French hoisemen whiche might breake the ordre and arraye of his Archers, in whom the whole force of the battaile did consist and in maner remaine he caused stakes bound with yron sharpe at both endes of the length of vi. or vii. fote to be pitched before the Archers and of euery side the fote men like an edge to the entent that if the barde hoises ranne rashely vpō them, they might shortly be gored and destroyed, & appointed certeine persons to remoue the stakes when the Archers moued, and as tyme required so that the fotemen were hedged about with the stakes, and the horsemen stode like a bulweike betwene thē and their enemies without the stakes. This deuice of fortifyng an armye was at this tyme fyrst inuented, but sence that tyme, they haue imagined caltiappes, harowes and other newe trickes to defende the force of the horsemen so that if the enemies at auenture runne against their engines, either sodeinly their horses be wounded with the stakes, or their feete hurt with the other engines, so that of very necessitie for paine, the sely pore beastes are compelled to fal and tumble to the ground. When he had ordied thus his batailes, he left a smal company to kepe his campe & baggage, and then calling his capitaines and soldiours about him, he made to them an heartie Oracion in effect as foloweth, sayng.

WELBELOUED fiendes and countrymen, I exhort you heartely to thinke and conceue in yourselues that this daye shalbe to vs all a day of ioy, a day of good lucke and a day of victory. For truly if you well note and wisely conside all thynges, almighty God vnder whose protection we be come hither, hath appointed a place so mete and apt for our purpose as we our selves could neither haue deuised nor wished whiche as it is apt and conuenient for our smal nombre and litle army so is it vnpromisable and vnmete for a great multitude to fight or geue battaile in: and in especial for suche men in whom is neither constant faith nor securitie of promise, whiche persons be of God neither fauored nor regarded, nor he is not accustomed to ayde and succoure suche people whiche by force and strength contrary to right & reason detain and kepe from other their iust patrimony and laful inheritaunce, with whiche blote and spotte the Frenche nacion is apparantly defyled and distained so that God of his iustice wyll scourge and afflicte them for their manifest iniuries and open wronges to vs and our realme dayly committed and done. Therefore puttyng your onely trust in him, let not their multitude feare youre heartes, nor their great nombre abate your courage for surely old warlike fathers haue both said and written that the more people that an army is, the lesse knowledge the multitude hath of material feates or politike practises, whiche rude rustical and ignorant persons shalbe in the feld vnto hardy capitaines and lusty men of warie a great let and sore impediment. And though they al were of like pollicy, like audacitie and of one vniforme experience in marciall affayres, yet we ought neither to feare them nor once to shrinke for them consideryng that we come in the right, whiche euer of God is fauored, set furth and auansed, in whiche good and iust quarel al good persons shal rather set bothe theyr feete forward, then once to turne theyr one heale backward. For if you aduenture your liues in so iust a battaile & so good a cause, whiche way soeuer fortune turne her whele, you shalbe sure of fame, glory and renoune. If you be victors and overcome your enemies, your strength and vertue shalbe spred and dispersed through the whole world: If you ouerpressed with so great a multitude shal happē to be

The oracion  
of kyng  
Henry the  
fift



slaine or taken yet neither reproche can be to you ascribed, either yet iufamy of you reported, considering that Hercules alone was not equiuolent vnto ii. men, nor a smal handfull is not equal to a great nombre, for victory is the gift of God and consisteth not in the puiſſaunce of men. Wherefore manfully set on your enemies at theyr fyrst encountre, strike with a hardy courage on the false hearted Frenchemen, whom youre noble auncestours haue so often ouercome and vanquished. For surely they be not so strong to geue the onset vpo you, but they be much weaker to abide your strēth in a long fight and tyred battaile. As for me I assure you al, that England for my person shall neuer paye raun<sup>s</sup> some, nor neuer Frencheman shall triumph ouer me as his capitain, for this day by famous death or glorious victory I wyl wynde honor and obtaine fame. Therefore now ioyously prepare your selues to the battaile and courageously fight with your enemies, for at this very tyme all the realme of Englande prayeth for our good lucke and prosperous successe.

WHILE the kyng was thus speakyng, eche armye so maligned & grudged at the other beyng in open sight and euident apparence, that every man cried furth, furth, forward forward. The dukes of Clarēce Gloucester and Yorke were of the same opinion, thinkyng it most conuenient to marche toward theyr enemies with al spede & celeritie, least in prolongyng of tyme and arguyng of opinions, the Frenche armye might more and more increace & hourly multiply. Howbeit the kyng tailed a while least any ieopardy were not forsene, or any hazard not puenient.

THE Frenchemen in the meane season litle or nothyng regardyng the small nombre of thenglishe nacion, were of suche haute courage and proud stomackes that they took no thought for the battaile, as who saye they were victours and overcomers before any stroke was stricken, and laughed at the Englishmen, and for very prid thought the selues lifted into heauen iestyng and boastyng that they had thenglish men inclosed in a straight and had ouercome and takē them without any resistance. The capitaines determined howe to deuide the spoyle the souldiors played the Englishmen at dice the noble men deuised a chariot how they might triumphantly conueigh kyng Henrie beyng captiue to the cytie of Paris, cryng to theyr souldiors, hast you selues to obtaine spoile, glory and honor, to thentent that we may study howe to geue you thanks for the great giftes and rewairdes which we hope to receiue of your great liberalitie. The folishe folye of this vaine solace brake out so farre, that messengers were sent to the cyties and townes adioyning, willyng them to make open playes and triumphes, (as though that the victory were to them certaine & no resistance could appeare) and also to geue God thanks for their prosperous act and notable dede, not remembryng that the whirlewynd shortly with a puffe blew away al their folishe ioy and phantastical braggyng.

Of this doying you may gather, that it is asmuche madness to make a determinate iudgement of thinges to come, as it is wisdom to doubt what wyll folowe of thinges begūne. I may not forget how the Frēche men beyng in this pleasaunt pastyme, sent a herault to kyng Henry to inquyre what raunsome he wold offre, and how he answered that within ii. or. iii. houres he hoped that it should so happen that the Frenchemen should cōmen rather with thenglishmen how to be redemed, then the Englishmen should take thought how to pay any raunsome or money for theyr deliuerance. asserteinnyng them for him selfe that his dead carion should rather be their pray, then his liuyng body should pay any raunsome. When the messenger was departed, the Frenchmen put on theyr healmettes and set the in ordre vnder theyr banners, richely armed and gorgeously trapped and caused theyr trumpettes to blowe to the battaile.

THE Englishmen perceuyng that, sette a lytle forwarde, before whom there went an old knight called syr Thomas of Herpingham, a man of great experience in warre, with a warder in his hand, and when he cast vp his warder, al the army shouted, at the which the Frenchmen muche marueiled, but that was a sign to the Archers in the meadowe, which knowing the token, shot wholly altogether at the vaward of the Frenchemen. When they  
perceued

perceiued the archers in the meadow, whō they saw not before, and sawe they could not come to them for a dicke, they with al hast set on kyng Henries forward, but on they ioyned, the archers in the forfront and the archers on the side whiche stode in the meadow, so wounded the fotemen, so galled the horses and so combed the men of armes that the fotemen durst not go forward, the horsemen rāne in plumpes without ordie, some ouerthrew his fellow, and horses ouerthrew their maisters. So at the fyrst ioynynge, as the Frenchemen wei clearely discouraged, so the Englishmen were muche cheied. When the Frencheward was thus discomfited, the English archers cast away theyr bowes & toke into theyr handes axes, mallets and swordes, billes and other weapons, and therewith slewe the Frenchmen tyll they came to the middeward. Then the kyng approched and encouraged his souldiours, that shortly the second battaile was ouerthrowen and dispersed not without great slaughter of men. howbeit diuers beyng wounded wer releued by their variettes and conueighed out of the felde, for the Englishmen so sore labored with fightyng and slaying, and wei so busy in takyng of prisoners that they folowed no chace, nor would once breaake out of the battaile. The Frenchmen strongly wstode the feaices of Thenglishmen when thei came to hady strokes, so that the fight was very doubtful & perilous. And when one part of the French-horse men thought to haue entred into the kynges battaile, they were with the stakes ouerturned; and either slain or taken.

THUS this battaile continued in long houres, some strake, some defēded, some foyned, some trauersed some kyllled, some toke prisoners noman was idle, euery man fought either in hope of victory or glad to saue him selfe. The kyng that day shewed him selfe like a valaunt knight, whiche notwithstanding that he was almost felled with the duke of Alaunson, yet with plain strength he slew. ii. of the dukes company and felled the duke. but when the duke would haue yelded him, the kynges gaide cōtrary to the kynges minde outrageously slewe him. And in conclusion, mindyng to make an ende of that daies iorney, caused his horsmen to fetch a compasse about & to ioync with him against the reward of France in the whiche battaile were the greatest nombre of people. When the Frenchmen perceiued his entent, they wer sodenly amased and ranne away like shepe without aray or ordre.

When the kyng perceiued the banners cast doune & the aray was cleirely broken, he encouraged his souldiours and folowed so quickly that the Frenchmen turnyng to flight, ranne hither and thither not knowyng whiche way to take, castyng away their armure and on theyr knees desired to haue theyr liues saued. In the meane season while the battaile thus continued and that the Englishmen had taken a great nōbre of prisoners, certain Frenchmen on horsbacke wherof were captaines Robinet of Borneuile, Riffart of Clamas and Isambert of Agincourt and other men of Armes to the nombre of. vi. C. horsemen. whiche fled fyrst from the felde at theyr fyrst commyng and hearyng that the Englishe tentes and paulions were farre from the army without any great nōbre of kepers or persons mete and cōuenient for defence, partly moued and styrred with coueteous desire of spoyle and pray, and partly entendyng by some notable act to reuenge the damage and displeasure done to them & theirs in battail the same day, entred into the kynges campe beyng voide of men and fortified with variettes & lackeys, and ther spoyled hales, robbed tentes, brake vp chestes and caried away caskettes and slewe suche seruantes, as they could fynd in the tentes and paulions. For the whiche act thei wer long imprisoned and sore punished and like to haue lost their liues if the Dolphyn had longer liued.

WHEN the kyng by a feareful messenger was of this euil acte sodainly aduertised, and when the outcry of the lackeys and boyes whiche rāne away for feare of the robbers was heard into the felde, sayyng that the Frenchmen had robbed all the tentes and lodgynges of the Englishmen, he fearyng least his enemies heyng dispersed and scattered abroad should gather together againe and beginne a new felde and doubtyng farther that the prisoners would either be an aide to his enemies or very enemies to him if he should suffre them to lue, contrary to his accustomed gentlenes and pitie he cōmaunded by the sounde of a ompet that euery man vpon paine of death should incōtinently sleigh his prisoner. When  
this



this dolorous decre & pitiful proclamaciō was pronounced, pitie it was to se and lothisome it was to behold how some Frenchmen wei sodainly stucked with dāggers, some wer brained with polaxes, some wei slain with malles, othei had theyr throtes cut and some their bellies paunched so that in effecte hauyng respecte to the greate nombre, few prisoners or none were sauēd

WHEN this lamentable manslaughter was finished, thenglishemen forgettyng their woundes and hutes and not remembring what paine they had sustained all day in fightyng with their enemies, as men that wei freshe and lusty, ranged them selues again in aray both prest and redy to abide a newe felde, and also to inuade and newly to set on theyr enemies, and so courageously they set on the earles of Marle and Fauconbrige and the lordes of Lourey & of Thyne, whiche with vi. C. mēu of armes had all day kept together and slew them out of hand.

When the kyng had passed through the felde & saw neither resistance nor apparaunce of any Frenchmen sauynge the dead corsses, he caused the retrayte to be blowen and brought al his armes together about iij. of the clocke at after noone. And fyrst to geue thankes to almightie God geuer & tributor of this glorious victory, he caused his prelates & chapelaines fyrst to sing this psalme *In exitu Israel de Egipto &c. cominaundyng euery man to knele doune on the ground at this verse* Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomine tuo da gloriam, whiche is to say in Eglishe, Not to vs lord, not to vs, but to thy name let the glory be geuen. whiche done he caused *Te deum* with certeine anthemes to be song geuyng laudes and praisynge to God, and not boasting nor braggyng of him selfe nor his humane power.

THAT night he toke refreshyng of suche as he found in the Fiēche campe, and in the mornyng Mountoy kyng at armes and iij. Heraultes came to him to know the nombre of prisoners and to desire buttall for them whiche were slaine. Before he could make any answer to the Heraultes he remembryng that it is more honorable to bee praised of his enemies then to be extolled of his frendes: and he that praiseth him self lacketh louyng neighbors: wherfore he demaunded of thē why they made to hym that request, considiyng that he knew not certainly whether the praise & the victory wer mete to be attributed to him or to their nacion. Oh lorde q<sup>a</sup> Mountoy kyng at armes, thinke you vs officers of armes to be rude and bestial persones? If we for the affection that we beare to our naturall countrey, would ether for fauor or mede hide or deny your glorious victory. The foules of the aire, the wormes of the ground fedyng on the multitude of the ded carions, by your onely puyssauncē destroyed and confounded, will beare witness against vs, ye and muche more the captiues whiche be liuyng and in your possessiō with their wiues and litle infauntes will saie wee bee open liars and vntue taletellers. Wherfore accordyng to the duty of our office whiche is or should bee alwaies indifferently to write and truly to iudge, we saie, determine and affirme that the victory is yours, the honour is yours and yours is the glory, admysyng you, as you haue manfully gotten it, so polletikely to vse it. Well saied the kyng, seeyng this is your determinacion, I willyngly accept the same, dearyng you to know the name of the castle nere adioynyng. When they had answered that it was called Agyncourt, he said that this conflict should be called the battaill of Agyncourt, whiche victory hath not been obtayned by vs nor our power, but only by the suffiaunce of GOD for iniury and vntiuth that we haue receiued at the handes of your Prince and his nacion. That daie he feasted the French officers of Armes and graunted to them their request, whiche busily sougth through the felde for such as wer slain, but the Englishmen suffred them not to go alone for they searched with them and found many hurt but not in ieopardy of their life, whom they toke prisoners and brought them into their tentes.

WHEN the kyng of Englande had well refreshed hymself and his souldiours and had taken the spoyle of suche as were slain, he with his prisoners in good ordie returned to his toune of Calais. When tidynges of this notable victory was blowen into Englande, solemne processions and other praisynge to almightie GOD, with benefices and dances wer

ordained in euery toune, citee and borough, and the Maire and the citizens of the citee of London went the morowe after the daie of saint Simon and Iude from the Church of Saint Paule to the church of S. Peter at Westminster in deuoute manner, rendryng to God their moste humble and heartie thanks for his haboundant grace and fortunate lucke geuen and sent to the kyng their soueieigne lorde

WHEN the kyng of Englande was departed the sondaie toward Caleis, diuerse Frenchmen repaired to the plain where the battaill was and removed againe the ded bodies, some to finde their lordes and masters and them to conueigh into their countrees there to bee buried, some to spoyle and take the reliques whiche the Englishemen had left behinde. For thei toke nothing but gold, siluer, iuelles, riche apparell and costly armure. But the ploughmen and peysantes spoyled the ded carkasses, leuyng them nether shurte nor cloute, and so thei laye stauke naked till Wednesdaie. On the whiche daie diuerse of the noble men wer conueighed into their countrees and the remnant were by Philip erle Charoloy (sore lamentyng the chaunce and moued with pitee) at his cost and charge buried in a square plot of xv C. yardes, in the which he caused to be made thre pittes, wherein wer buried by accompt v M. and viii. C. persons beside them that wer caried awaie by their frendes and seruauntes, and other whiche beyng wounded to death died in Hospitalles and other places, whiche groue after was made a churche yarde, and for feare of Wolues enclosed with a high walle.

AFTER this dolorous iorney and piteous slaughter, diuerse clerckes of Paris made many lamentable Veises, complainyng that the kyng reigned by will, and that counsaillers wer perciall, affirmyng that the noble men fled against nature, and that the commons were destroyed by their prodigalite, declaryng also that the clergy wer dombe and durst not saie the truth, and that the humble comons duely obeyed and yet euer suffred pounishment. For whiche cause by persecucion deuine, the lesse nombre vanquished, and the great was overcome. Wherefore thei concluded that all thynges were out of ordre, and yet there was no man that studied to bryng the unruly to frame. And no meruel though this battaill were dolorous and lamentable to the Frenche nacion, for in it were taken and slayn the flower of all the nobilite of Fraunce, for there wer taken prisoners.

Charles duke of Orleance nephew to the Frenche kyng.

Ihon duke of Burbone.

Ihon of Craon lord of Dommart.

The Lorde of Fosseux.

The Lorde of Humyers

The Lorde of Roie.

The Lorde of Cauny.

Su Borsqueret lorde of Hâcourt.

The lorde of Noell called the whit knight  
and Bado his sonne.

Lorde Boncequall Marshall of Fraunce  
whiche died in Englād.

The young Lorde of Dynchy.

Sir Ihon of Vawcort.

Sir Arthure Biemyer.

Sir Ienet of Poys.

The sōne & heire of the lord Ligny.

Su Gylbert de lawney.

The Lorde Dancobe in Ternoyes and diuerse othei to the nombre of fiftene hundred knyghtes and Esquiers besyde the common people.

There wer slam of nobles and gentlemen.

Charles lorde Delabreth hie Constable  
of Fraunce.

Jaques of Chastilon lorde of Dāprier  
Admirall of Fraunce

The Lorde Rambures Master of the  
Crossebowes

Sir Guyshard Dolphyn greate Master of  
Fraunce.

Ihon duke of Alaunson

Anthony duke of Brabant brother to  
the duke of Burgoyne.

Edward duke of Barre

Therle Neuers brother to y duke of Burgoyn

Su Robert Barle erle of Marle.

The erle of Vāndemont.

The erle of Bawmont.

The erle of Graundpre.

The



The erle of Roussy.  
 The erle of Fauconberge.  
 The erle of Foys.  
 The erle of Lestrake  
 The lorde Boys of Buibon.  
 The Vidane of Amias.  
 The lord of Croye.  
 The lord Belly  
 The lord Dauxey.  
 The lord of Brenew.  
 The lord of Paix standard berar.  
 The lord of Crecquay.  
 The lord of Lowrey.  
 The Bailly of Amience & his sonne.  
 The lord of Raynuaie.

The lord of Lōgualle his brother.  
 The lord of Mawley & his sonne.  
 The lord of Duirie.  
 The lord of Newfile.  
 The lord of Galigny.  
 The lord of Roheguiche.  
 The Vicedane of Lamoys  
 The lord de Laligier.  
 The lord of Baffremont.  
 The lord saint Bris.  
 The lord of Contes and his sonne.  
 The lord of Nannes & his brother.  
 The lord of Ront  
 The lord of Applincort.  
 The lord Delariuer

with diuerse other whiche I leaue out for tediousnes But surely by the relation of the Heraultes and declaraciō of other notable persons worthy of credite, as Engueriant writeth, there were slain on the Frenche parte aboue ten thousande persones wherof wer princes and nobles bearyng banners Cxxvi. and all the remnant sauyng xvi. C. wer knightes esquiers and gentlemen so of noble men and gentlemen were slain. viii. M. iii. C. of the whiche v. C. wer dubbed knightes the night before the battaill Fro the felde escaped on liue, the erle Dampmartyn, the lorde Delariuer, Clunet of Brabaute, sir Lewes of Burbon, sir Galhot of Gaules, sir Ihon Dengermeres and fewe other men of name.

OF Englishemen at this battaill wer slain Edward duke of Yorke therle of Suffolk, sir Richard Kikely & Dauygāme esquire, & of al other not aboue. xxv. if you wil geue credite to such as write miracles but othei writers whom I soner beleue, affirme that there was slain aboue v. or vj. C. persons, whiche is not vnlike, considryng y the battail was earnestly and furiously fought by the space of three long houres wherfore it is not incredible nor yet vnpossible but moie Englishmen then fife and twenty were slain and destroyed

THIS battail maie be a mirror and glasse to al Christian princes to beholde and folowe, for kyng Henry nether trusted in the puissance of his people, nor in the fortitude of his champions, nor in the strength of his barded horses nor yet in his owne policy, but he putte in GOD (whiche is the corner stone and immouable rocke) his whole cōfidence hope & trust. And he which neuer leaueth them destitute that put their confidence in hym, sent to hym this glorious victory, whiche victory is almoste incredible if we had not recide in the boke of kynges that God likewise had defended and aided them that onely put their trust in him and committed them selves wholly to his gouernaunce

AFTER that the kyng of Englande had refreshed hymself and his souldiours in the toun of Caleis, and that suche prisoners as he had left at Harffew (as you haue heard) wer come to hym to Caleis the vi. daie of Nouembre he with all his prisoners toke shipping at Caleis, and thesame daie landed at Douer, hauyng with hym the ded bodies of the duke of Yorke and the erle of Suffolke, and caused the duke to bee buried at his colledge of Fodynghey, and therle at Ewelme In this passage the seas were so rough and troubleous that two shippes laden with souldiers apperteignyng to sir Ihon Cornewal lorde Fanhope, wer driuen into zelande, howbeit nothyng was lost nor no person was perished. The kyng by soft ioineies with al his prisoners cam to London and so to Westminster, where he rested hymself a conueniēt tyme to deliuer his prisoners to their kepers, and to se them all in saue custody Here I might declare vnto you if I would bee tedious and prolix, how the Mayre of London and the Senate appareled in oriet grayned Skaillet, how. iij. C. comoners clad in beautiful Muirey wel mounted and gorgeously horsed with riche collers and greate chaynes met the kyng at Blackhethe, reioysyng at his victorious returne How the cleigie  
of

of London with riche crosses, sūptuous copes & massy cēseis receiued hym at. s Thomas of Wateryng with solēpne procession laudyng and praisyng God for the high honor and victory to hym geuen & graunted. but all these thynges I omit and returne to the very matter

WHEN the dolorus tidynges of this bloody battail was declared to the Frenche kyng beyng then at Roan, and with hym the Dolphyn, the dukes of Berry and Briteyne and his second sonne therle of Ponthew, if he lamented this chaunce and cursed that euill date in the whiche he lost so many noble men, no man haue maruail And yet the dolor was not onely his, for the ladies souned for the deathes of their husebandes, the Ophalmes wept and rent their heares for the losse of their parentes, the faire damoselles dehed that day in the whiche they had lost their paramors, the seruātes waxed mad for destiucciō of their masters, and finally, every frend for his frend, every cosyn for his alye, eue y neighbor for his neighbor, was sorry, displeased & greued. Wherefore the Frenche kyng and his counsaill perceuyng that the war was but newly begon, and that towarde them wth euill spede, determined to provide for chanches that might folowe, and to foisee thynges or ther solaimly happened And first he elected his chief officer for the warres called the Constable, whiche was therle of Arminack, a wise and a polittique capitain and an auncient enemy to the Englyshmen, and sir Ihon of Corsey was made Alastel of the Crosbowes, and then they touched tounes & furnished garrisons. While these thynges were thus in woikyng, ether for Malencoly that he had for the losse at Agincourt or by some sodem disease, Ihon Dolphyn of Vienoys heire appaunte to Charles the Frenche kyng departed out of this natural life without issue, whiche was an happy chaunce for Robynet of Bournouile and his compaignions as you haue heard before, for his death was their life, and his life would haue been their death.

#### ¶ THE FOURTH YERE.

After this notable victory obtayned by the Englyshemen and that kyng Henry was departed into England, and the Frenche kyng had made newe officers in hope to re'ueue and sette vp again the olde estate of his realme and couētrie. Thomas duke of Exccster capitain of Harflew accompaigned with thie. M. Englyshmen made a great roade into Normandy, almoste to the citee of Roan In whiche iorney he gat great habundance bothe of riches and prisoners But in his returne therle of Arminacke newly made Conestable of Fraunce, entending in his first iorney to wynne his spurres, and in his compaignie aboue. v M. hoissemen, encountred with hym The skirmishe was sore and the fight fierce, but because the Englyshemen wer not able to resist the force of the Frenche horsemen, the duke to saue his men was compelled to retire, as politiquely as he could deuise But for all that he could do, he loste almoste. ccc. of his fotemen The Frenchemen not contēt with this good lucke folowed them almoste to the Barriers of Harflew. When the Englyshemen within the toun espied the chace, they issued out in good ordre and met with their enemies, and not onely slew and toke a greate numbere of them, but also chased them aboue eighte mles toward the citee of Roan.

ABOVTE this season Sigismond Emperoi of Almayn whiche had married Barbara daughter to therle of zilie cosyn germain remoued to kyng Henry (as by the pedigree set out in the end of this boke you shall plainly perceue) a man of greate vertue and fidelitie, whiche had not onely long labored to set an vnitte and cōcoid in Christes church and christian religiō, but also he sent diuerse Ambassadors aswel to y Fienche kyng as to the kyng of Englande, because he was farre distaunt from their countries and regions to encrease perfight peace and reasonable vnitie Wherefore, seyng that his Ambassade brought nothing to conclusion, he in person came fiō the farthest part of Ilūgary into Fraūce and after into England, ihtending to knit together all christen princes in one line and amitte, and so beyng frendes together, to make war and reuenge their quarelles against the Turke the persecutor of Christes faith and enemye to all christendome With this noble Emperoi came



the Archebishop of Reynes and diuise other noble men, as Ambassadors sið the Frenche kyng into England. The kyng of England for old amitee betwene the hous of Englande and Beame, withall his nobiltee hym receiued on Blacketh the vu daie of Maie, & brought him through London to Westminster with greate triumphe, where Iustes, tournayes and other marciall feates wer to hym with all ioye and pleasure shewed and set furth. Duryng whiche tyme there came into Englande Albeit duke of hollande, whiche also was frendly entreteigned. And these two princes were by the kyng conueiged to Wynsore to. S. Georges feast, and elected compaignions of the noble ordre of the Garter, and had the color and habite of the same to them deliuered, and satte in their stalles all the solempnitee of the feast by the whiche ordre thei knowledged themselves highly honored and muche exalted. After this solempne feast finished, the duke of Holland well feasted and greatly rewarded, returned into his countrie. But the Emperior taried stil, neuer ceasyng to declare & perswade what vtilitee, what goodnes and what ioye might ensue if bothe the realmes of Englande and Fraunce wer brought to a finall concord and perfight vnitee. But the euill chaunce of the Frenche nacion was to his purpose a barre and a lette, because thei were predestinate to suffre yet more plagues and detrimetes of thenglishe people then befoire thei had tasted. For when concorde was at hand and peace was enterying into the gates, a newe cause of more discord and dissencion sodainly brake out and came to the kynges knowledge for he beyng informed of the losse of his mē at the conflict late had in the territory of Roan (as you haue heard) was so displeased and vnquieted that he would heare of no treaty, nor haue once this word peace named.

THE Emperior like a wise prince, seying then the aspect of the planet reigned contrary to his purpose, ceased to talke of that matter any more till another daie when the coniunction should be in more meker signes sturyng to peace. And so when a mete & conueniēt tyme came, he broched again the vessell of cōcord and amitee, & put it in so faire a cup and presented it with suche pleasant wordes, that surely the kyng had tasted it sufficiently if y Frenchmē had not sodainly prepared a new army. For therle of Arminacke puffed vp with, his last victory, although the honor wer small and the gaine lesse, determined clerely to get again the toune of Harflewe, wherfore as closely as he could, he gathered together men in euery part, and appointed them all to mete at Harflew at a daie assigned. The appointment was kept and the toune was besieged bothe by water & land before the capitaines of the toune knewe perfightly the first mocion. For Ihon Vicount Narbon Viceadmirall of Fraunce had brought the whole navy to the riuage and shore adioynyng to the toune, entending priuely to haue entered into the toune on the water side or he had been perceiued. But his subtile ymaginacion toke no place, for thei which kept the watch toure, sodainly perceiuyng their enemies to approche, rang the alarum bell. The duke of Excēster incontinent caused all his men to repaire to the walles, and fortified the gates, and dispatched a swift Barke to kyng Henry with letters, requiryng hym of aide and succor. Although the Frenchemen perceiued that their wyly enterprise was knowen, and that the toune could not be taken and sodenly stollen as they had deuised, yet they cōtinued their siege both by water and by land, and made diuers assaultes, at the whiche if they nothyng gained, yet euer somewhat they lost. When these newes were come to the eares of kyng Henry, and that he knew that his people were in great reopaidye excepte great diligence were vsed for their relief and deliuerance, he without delay apparelled a great navy & intended in person to minister succors to his subiectes so besieged. The emperor Sigismond sagely disuaded him and wisely counsailed him not to aduentre him selfe in that iorney, but only to send some valiant captain whiche shortly might appeace that furious storme & quickly to quenche that blasying flame. aduertisyng hym that it was neither necessary nor honorable for a prince in whom the whole waight and charge of the cōmon welth consisteth, to aduenture & hazard him selfe in euery peril and doubtful chaunce. The kyng beyng perswaded with the reasonable and louyng aduertisment of his frende the emperor, appointed the duke of Bedforde his brother, accompanied with therles of Marche, Marshal, Oxford, Hunt-

Huntyngdon, Warwicke, Arundel, Salisbury, Devonshire, and diuers Barons with. CC. sayle to passe into Normandy for reskow of the toun of Harflew. Whiche makyng good expedition shipped at Rye, and with a prosperous wind and a freshe gale came to the mouth of the riuer of Seyn on the day of the Assumpcion of our Lady. When the vicount Narbon perceived the Englishe navy to approche, he geuyng a token to all his company, coragiously set toward his enemies & gate the possession of the mouth of the haven. When the duke of Bedford perceived the navy of his enemies to come forward so siersly, he set before certain strong and well made shippes, whiche at the fyrst encountre vanquished and toke two Frenche shippes (wherof the capitaines were rashe and somewhat to bold) withal their souldiours and tackelyng. The duke folowed incōtinently with all his puissance and like a valiant capitaine with great courage and audacitee, set on his enemies: the fight was long but not so long as perilous, nor so perilous as terrible, for batailles of the sea be euer desperate, for neither the assailauntes nor defendantes loke for any refuge, nor know any backdore how to skape out. After long fight the victory fel to the Englishemen, and they toke and sonke almost all the whole navy of Fraunce, in the whiche were many shippes, hulkes and cankes to the nombre of five hundred, of the whiche in great carrikes were sent into England. In the same conflict were slaine of the Frenchemen no small nombre, as it appeared by their bodies which swarmed every day about the englishe shippes.

AFTER this victory fortunately obtained, the duke of Bedforde sailed by water vp to the very toun of Harflew, and without let or impediment landed and refreshed it both with vitale and money. Which succours if they were welcome to the duke of Excetter his vncke, I reporte me to them that haue bene in necessitie and would haue gladly bene refreshed.

WHEN the earle of Armynacke heard that the puissant nauye of Fraunce was vanquished & taken, he raised his siege before the toun and returned with smal ioy to Paris, as he that had no hope nor sawe any likelyhod or meane to recover again the toun of Harflew for whiche he so sore thirsted.

AFTER this discomfiture and great losse, the fortitude & strēth of the Frenchmen began to decay, & their braggyng beautie began to fade. For nowe the princes & robes of the realme fel into diuision & discord among them selues, as who say, that the nobilitie studyng howe to reuenge their olde iniuries and displeasures, refused to take payne for thaduaancement of the publike wealth and saueguard of their countrey. And for priuy displeasure coueit or hatred, their power began to waxe so slender, & their libertie was brought into suche a malicious diuersitie and doubtful difference, that as herafter shalbe shewed, it was merueil that their countrey was not brought to a perpetual bondage whiche thing no doubt had folowed if kyng Henry had lenger liued in this mutable worlde. For notwithstanding that the duke of Orleans the capitaine and head of the one faction was at that time captiue and prisoner in England, yet there grewe so muche priuy displeasure and cankerd hatred betwene Charles the Dolphyn and Ihon duke of Burgoyne, that while the one studied, compassed and deuised how to ouercome the other with armie or with pollicy, with dissimulation or crafty cōveyaunce, every iorneiman of their faction, & euery noble mā partaker with the one or the other, put all their whole study and diligence to auance forward their sect and part, and not one of them would take hede howe to resist and reuell the present leopordye whiche was commyng out of Englād. And as one incōuenience suffred many to folow so was it in Fraūce at this tyme, for the French kyng was not of good memory, the war that was toward, semed both doubtful and perilous, the princes were vntrusty and at discord, and an hundreth mo thinges which might bryng the realme to extreme misery and vtter destructiō as after you shal heare.

WHEN the duke of Bedford had acheued his enterprise and performed his cōmission, bothe in raisyng the siege of Harflew and vitaylyng of the toun, he with no smal nombre of prisoners and great haboundance of pray aswell in shippes as prouision for the sea, returned



## THE V. YERE OF

into England with great triumph and glory. For that victory he was not so muche thāked of the kyng his brother, as lauded and praised by the Emperor Sigismond beyng to him a straunger, whiche sayd openly happy are those subiectes whiche haue suche a kyng, but more happy is the kyng that hath suche subiectes

WHEN the Emperoure perceiued, that to moue farther a peace, was but a vayne request, and to tarye lenger in Englande to procure an amitie was but losse of tyme, because he sawe the Englishemens myndes sore offended with the last siege of Harflew, with whiche facte, he himselfe was not wel cōtent but greatly moued. Therefore leauyng all treaty and persuasion, he entred into a league and amitie with the kyng of England. Whiche confederacy least it shuld be broken, euery of the contractors studied & deuised all waies & meanes possible howe to obserue it vniolated and preserue it vnbroken. whiche plain meanyng & true dealyng was to thē both after, not only muche honor but great cōmoditie. When the Emperor had thus cōcluded a league with the kyng of England and had done al thinges in England accordyng as was thought necessary, he toke his iorney homeward into Germany, and the kyng partely to shewe him pleasure, and partely because of his owne affaires, associated him to his toune of Caleys. During whiche tyme the Duke of Burgoyne offerd to come to Caleys to speake with the Emperor and the kyng because he heard speake of the league and confederacy that was concluded betwene them. The kyng sent to the water of Grauelyng the duke of Gloucester his brother, and the earle of Marche to be hostages for the duke of Burgoyne, and sent also the earle of Warwicke with a noble company to cōduct him to his presēce. At Grauelyng tooide the dukes met, and after salutations done, the duke of Burgoyne was conueighed to Caleys, where of the Emperoi & of the kyng he was highly feasted and welcommed. Duryng whiche tyme a peace was concluded betwene the kyng of England & the duke of Burgoyne for a certain space, cōcerning onely the counties of Flaunders and Anthoys, for the whiche cause the Frenche kyng and his sōne were highly displeased. The duke of Gloucester also was receiued at Grauelyng by the earle Charoloys sonne to the duke of Burgoyne, & by him honorably conueighed to S Omers & there lodged that night. The next day the earle Charoloys came with diuers noblemen to visite the duke of Gloucester in his lodging, and when he entred into the chambie the dukes backe was towarde him, talkyng with some of his seruantes, and did not se nor welcome the earle Charoloys at the fyrst entrey. but after he sayd to hym shortly without any great reuerence or cōmyng towarde him, you be welcome fayre cosyn, and so passed furth his tale with his seruātes. The earle Charoloys for al his youth was not wel content, but suffied for that tyme.

WHEN the duke of Burgoyne had done al thinges at Caleys that he came for he after the ix. day returned to Grauelyng, where the duke of Gloucester and he met againe, and louyngly departed the one to Caleys and the other to saint Omers. for the whiche voiage the duke of Burgoyne was suspected to be enemy to the crowne of Fraunce. After the dukes departing the Emperor was highly feasted and rewarded, and at his pleasure sailed into Holand, and so roade into Beame. The kyng likewise toke ship and returned into England on saint Lukes euen, the yere of our Lord M. CCCC. xviij.

## ¶ THE FIFT YERE.

The v.  
yere

IN this yere the kyng assembled together his high courte of Parliament and there in open audience made to them a shorte and pithy Oracion, declaryng vnto them the iniuries lately doone and committed by the Frenche nacion, he shewyng also the iust and lafull occasion of his warres, signifying furthermore the great discord and ciuile dissencion whiche reigned amongst the nobilitie of Fraunce, reheryng many thynges for the whiche it were very necessary and nedeful to repress & ouercome them withal their power & puissance, that without deferryng or prolongyng of tyme, desiryng thē to prouide for money & treasure

treasure out of hand for the conduct & wages of souldiors, to thentent that nothing should lacke when they shuld be ready to set on their enemies. His causes wer so iust and his demaundes so reasonable, that he had no soner spoken but it was assented, and he had no soner demaunded but it was graunted. And for to geue men a courage for to go furth, money was fyrst gathered to make prouision for al thinges necessary for such a royal voyage: for surely there was no creature whiche with that war was either discōtented or displeased, for it semed to al men no lesse profitable then honorable, nor no lesse honorable then conuenient.

IN this Parliamēt also Ihon duke of Bedford was made gouernour or regent of the realme and head of the publique welth which office he shuld enjoy as long as the kyng was makyng warre on the French nacion. The kyng before he would take his voyage, sent the earle of Huntynghdon to serche and skoure the seas, leaſt any Frenchmen lyng in waite for him, might attrappe him sodenly or he had any knowledge of their setting forward. This lusty earle called Ihon Holand, sōne to the duke of Excetter behedded at Circiter in the tyme of Kyng Henry the fourth and cosyn to the kyng with a great nombre of shippes searched the sea from the one coast to the other. And in conclusion he encoūtered with ix great carickes of Ieane (whiche Lord Iaques the bastard of Bourbon had reteneid to serue the French kyng) & set on thē sharply, the conflict was great & the fight long, but in conclusion the Frenchmen wer ouercome and fled, and iij. of the greatest carickes with their patrones, and Monsire Iaques de Bourbon their Admūal wer taken with asmuche money as should haue payed the souldiors of the whole flete for halfe a yere, and. iij. other carickes wer bouged and sent to the botome of the sea.

THE kyng hearyng of this good chaunce, about the ende of Iuly toke his ship at Portemouth, accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester brethren to the sayd kyng, the earles of Huntynghdon, Marshal, Warwike, Deuonshyre, Salisbury, Suffolke and Somersset The Lordes Rosse, Wylloughby, Fitzburgh, Clynton, Scrope, Matriueis, Bouchier, Ferreys of Groby and Ferreys of Chartley, Fanhope, Gray of Codnore, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile, sir Gilbert Talbot & diuers other and so hauyng wynde and wether to his desire, he laded in Normādy nere a castle called Touque, wher he cōsulted with his capitaines what way was best to be taken cōcerning their high enterprise.

THE Normans hearyng of the kynges arriual wer sodenly stricken with a deadly feare and wer almost distracted frō then senses for dred, wherfore like mad men in desperacion they ranne out of then houses, tounes and villages with wiues and children bag and baggage, into the walled tounes and fortified garisons, caryng with them corne, wyne and vitaille necessary for their sustinance and huyng, preparyng swordes, hatchettes, crosbowes and al other weapons mete to set back and resist their enemies, sent woide to Charles the French kyng, requiryng him to defend and preserue his louyng subiectes against their cruel and fierse enemies. The men of warre whiche were left in every place to skoure the countrey, went into walled tounes with the rural cōminattee, to thentent to aide and assist the tounes men, for well they knewe that they were not able to resist their enemies beyng abroad in the felde. So were al the walled tounes and castles in Normandy and Mayne wel furnished with men and vitaille. The names of the French capitaines were tedious to reherse, and therefore I ouerpasse them.

WHEN kyng Henry had taken counsel, he layde siege to the castle of Touque beyng very wel fortified both with nature and mans arte and began to assault it & although that they within valiantly defended it, yet by fine force he ouercame it, & toke it, and them within to mercy & made therof capitaines sir Robert Kerkeley knight, and after determined to besiege the strong toun of Caen, remembryng according to the dutie of a good capitaine, that the Frenchemen would come to healepe their frendes beyng in nede and extreme necessitie: whiche thyng he most desired & wished. And vpo that purpose he set furth toward Caen after the warlikest fashion, depopulatyng the cōtrey, & destroyng the villages on euery part as he passed. The toun of Caen standeth in a plaine fertile cōtrey, no stronger walled then depe ditched, well vitayled and replenished with people.

For



## THE V YERE OF

For the citizens fearyng the kynges cōmyng had prouided for all thinges necessary & defensible And assone as the kyng was come, he cast a depe trenche with a high mount to prohibite them within the toune to haue any egresse or outwaide passage: and that done, began herself to assault the toune. But the men of the toune were nothyng abashed and stode manly to their defence, abidyng all chaunces which might ensue. The fight was fierce and every mā toke hede to his charge. The Englishmen studied all the waies possible to damage their enemies, some shot arrowes, some cast stones and other shot gonnes: some brake the walles with engynes and other vndermined. some set skalyng ladders to the wal, and other cast in wyldre fyre, euery man laboured to come to handstrokes, whiche was their desyre, On the other side, the Normans threwe doune great stones, baries of yron, dartes hote pitche and burning brimstone and boyleng lead. Diuers daies this assault cōtmued, not to the lytle losse of the Englishmen, whiche toke more haime of the defēders then they gat hurt of the assailantes. When kyng Henry perceived that the dice rāne not to his purpose, he abstained from the assault, & determined by vndermyng to subuert and ouerthrowe the walles and towers of the toune. Wherefore withal diligence the pyoneis cast trenches & the laborers brought tymber, so that within a fewē daies the walles stode only vpō postes to fal when fyre should be put to it. The kyng caused his people to approche the walles and to kepe the citizens occupied, least either they shuld make a cōtremyne or be an impediment to his workemen and laborers. Wherefore he caused thassault to be cried agayne. then euery man ranne to the walles, some with skalyng ladders, some with hokes and some with cordes and plommetes, euery man desiryng to get vpō the walles and with hand to hand to grapple with his enemy: The citezens man fully defended. While the fight was quicke and fierse on both partes, the Englishmen in diuers places perced and brake through the walles, and diuers ouertures and holes were made vnder the foundation by the pyoneis, by the whiche the Englishmen might easely entre into the toune. The kyng hauyng cōpassion on the tounes men, desiryng rather to haue them saued then destroyed if they wold humbly submyt thē selues to his grace, & fearyng that if the toune by fine force should be spoyled and taken, that he should be compelled to geue it as a pray to his men of warre to be sacked and destroyed, sent them worde by an Herault that yet was tyme of mercy and clemency if they would incontinently rendre them selues & the toune. But they obstnatly hoppyng of succour, answered that they would stand at their defence. Then the Englishmen again skaled the walles and enterprised to enter through the trenches. The fight was sore by the space of an houre, the Englishmen coragiously enforced to enter, and the Normans manfully defended, but inconclusion the Englishmen obtained.

WHEN the kyng was possessed of the toune, he incontinently cōmaunded all harneys and weapons to be brought into one place, whiche with all diligence was done without any resistance. Then the miserable people knelyng on their knees, holding vp their handes, cried mercy, mercy, to whom the kyng gaue certayne comfortable wordes & bad them stand vp. And then as he was euer accustomed to do, he went on foote to the chief church in the toune and rendred to God his most heartie thanks for his prosperous successe and fortunate chaūce. And yet that same night he would not slepe, but cōmaunded al his armye to watche in aray, either least his men of warre in the night tyme might fal to spoyle & sacke, or els the citizens fearyng the sequele that might ensue would priuely steale and conueigh them selues away.

IN the mornyng he called all the magistrates and gouernours into the Senate house, where some for their stony stubbernes and mad obstinacy were adjudged to dye, other were sore fined and highly raunsomed. Then he callyng together his souldiors and men of war, bothe gaue to the high laudes and praises for their manly doynges, and also distributed to euery man accordyng to his desert the spoyle & gaue taken of the toune & the tounesmen, chiefly because at that assault he had tied to his honor their valiant corages and vnfeareful hertes.

IT is to be imagined that kyng Henry in this conflict would principally shewe aswell his  
owne

owne force as the puissance and experience in warres of his nacion, ether to the intent that the Frenchemen should know that they mette with suche an enemy as both was able to inuade then countrie and defende their strength & malice, or els not obliuous that in making of waite euery prince muste study to obtaine fame and renoune. and as the old prouerbe saith, of a thyng well begone, succedeth a prosperous ende and a happy conclusion

ALTHOUGH the towne were wonne, yet the castle whiche was strong and well fortified bothe with men and all thynges necessary for the defence, was yet in the Frenchmens possession. The capitaine where of, to thentent to shewe hymself valiant and not wyllyng to breake his othe, nether to wauer from his allegiance, bosted that he would rather dye in the defence then frely yeld the castle. Kyng Henry was not minded to subuert the Castle (without whiche waie it was not easy to bee wonne) because it was beautifull and necessary, both to kepe the towne fīō goyng backe, and also to defend the same when opportunitie should serue. Whiche Castle if he destroyed, he of very necessitee must againe build and reedifie, or els another in the place. Wherefore he sent worde to the lorde Mountayne beyng capitaine, that if he would yelde the castle by a daie, he should depart without damage, And if he would be foolish and obstinate, all clemency and fauor should be from hym sequestred. When the capitaine and his companions had well digested his message, beyng in dispaire of cōfort, vpon the condicion offred, rendred the castle and yelded themselves. And so kyng Henry obtaigned bothe the towne and castle of Caen

WHILE the Kyng of England was besieging this towne, the Frenchmen had nether a conuenient hoste to resist their power, nor wei ready or able to releue then frendes in this miserable necessitee, because they had such diuision and dissencion enongest themselves, and a good cause why: for kyng Charles was of so small wit by reason of his sicknes, that he could not rule, and so he was spoyled both of his treasure and of his kyngdome, and euery man spented and wasted the common treasure. Charles the Dolphin being of the age of. xvi. or. xvij. yeres onely lamented and bewailed the ruine and decaye of his countrie. He onely studied thaduancement of the comon wealth, and he onely deuised how to resist his enemies but hauyng nether menne nor money, he was greatly troubled and vnquieted. And in conclusion, by the counsaill of therle of Armysacke Constable of Fraunce he founde a meane to get all the treasure and riches whiche quene Isabell his mother had gotten and horded in diuerse secrete places and for the comon vtilite of his countrie he spented it wisely in wagyng of souldiors and preparyng of thynges necessary for the war. The quene forgettyng the great perel that the realme then stode in, but remēbryng ſ displeasure to her by this act dooen, declared her sonne and the Constable to be her mortall enemies, & promised that they should be persecuted to the vttermoste. And euen for very womanly malice, she set in the highest authorite aboute the kyng her husband, Ihon duke of Burgoyne geuyng hym the regiment and direccion of the kyng and his realme with all prehemynence and soueraintie. The duke of Burgoyne hauyng now the sworde of authoritie, for the whiche he so sore longed and glad to be reuenged of his old iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin. and when he had once tamed and framed to his purpose this young unbrideled gentleman, then he determined as he might to refell and withstande the comē enemies of the realme. The same or like reason moued the Dolphin, for he myndyng first to repress and extingue the ciuill dissencion at home, before he would inuade forain enemies, prepared warre to subdew and destroy duke. Ihō of Burgoyne as the chief hed & leader of that wicked and great mischief. Whereby the realme was much vnquieted & more decayed, and in maner brought to a final ruine and vtter destruccion. So Fraunce was inflamed and in euery part troubled with warr and deuision, and yet no man would ether prouide in so great a danger, nor once put furth their finger to hynder the mischief.

KYNG Henry not myndyng to lye still in Normandy, nor to leaue his enterpryse vnperformed, sent the duke of Clarence to the sea coast, whiche with great difficulty gate the towne



## THE. V. YERE OF

toune of Bayeux. The duke of Glocestre also with small assault and lesse defence toke the citee of Liscaux. In the meane ceason Kyng Henry taried still at Caen fortefying the toune and the castle, and put out of the toune xv. C. women and impotent persons, and replenished the toune with English people. While the kyng sojourned at Caen, he kepte there a solempne feast and made many knightes, and beside that, he shewed there an example of greate pitee & more deuocion. For in searchyng the castle he found there innumerable substance of plate and money belonging to the citezens, wherof he would not suffre one peny to be touched or conueighed away, but restored the goodes to the owneis and deliuered to euery mā his owne. When the fame of gettyng of Caen was blown through Normandy, the Normans wer so sore afraied & so muche abashed that you should not onely haue seen men, women & children runnyng in euery waie by great plōpes frō toune to toune, not knowyng whether to fle but also the rurall persones and huseband men draue the beastes out of the villages into suche places where they hoped of refuge or defence. so that a man would haue thought that Normandy had sodainly been left desolate and voyde of people and catell. But when the rumor was spred abroade of his clemencie shewed to captiues and of his mercy graunted to suche as submitted themselves to his grace, all the capitaines of the tounes adioynnyng came willingly to his presēce, offryng to hym them selves, their tounes and their goodes. Wherupon he made proclamacion that all men whiche had or would become his subiectes and swere to hym allegiance should enioy their goodes and liberties in as large or more ample maner then they did before. Which gentle entreteynyng and fauorable hādlyng of the stubburne Normans, was the very cause why they wer not only content, but also glad to remoue and turne from the Frenche part and become subiectes to the crowne of Englande.

WHEN kyng Henry had set Caen in a good ordre, he left there, for capitaines, the one of the toune and the other of the Castle, sir Gilbert Vmfreule erle of Kyne, and sir Gilbert Talbot and made bailife ther sir Ihon Pophane, and so departed frō Caen to Argenton whiche was shortly rēdred to hym. Then all these tounes folowyng without stroke stricken yelded to hym, in whom he made capitaines these persons whose names ensue.

At Creuly, sir Henry Tanclux an Almaine.

At Thoirigny, sir Ihon Popham to whom the toune was geuē.

At Boyeux, the lorde Matrauerse.

At Argenton, the lorde Grey Codner.

At Chamboy, the lorde Fizghugh, and made him lord of the same.

At Vernoyle in Perche, sir Ihon Neuell.

At Alāso the duke of Gloucester & his leutenāt sir Raufe Lētal.

At Essay, sir William Hoddelston bayhf of Alanson.

At Faloy, sir Henry Fitzhugh.

At Cruly, sir Loys Robset.

At Conde Norean, sir Ihon Fastolffe.

Diuerse tounes likewise yelded to the duke of Clarence wherein he putte these

## Capitaynes

At y cite of Lisieux, sir Ihō Kikley

At Cowiton, Ihon Awbyn.

At Barney, William Houghton.

At Chambroys, Iames Neuell.

At Becheluyne, therle Marshall.

At Harecoit, Richard Woduile esquier.

At Fangernon, Ihon saint Albon.

At Cieuenier, sir Ihon Kerby to whom it was geuen.

At Annilliers, Robert Horneby.

At Ragles, sir Ihon Arthure.

At Fresheney le Vicount, sir Robert Brent.

Likewise diuerse tounes in the country of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke of Gloucester, where he appoynted these capitaines.

At Caution, the lorde Botraux.

At Saint Clow, Reignold West.

At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh.

At Chiergurg, the lord Grey Codner and after his decease, sir water Hungerford

At

At Pont Done, Daui Howel.  
At the Hay Dupayes, sir Ihon Aston  
Bayly of Constantine.  
At Cōstāces, the lord of Burgainy  
At Seint Saluor le Vicount, sir Ihon  
Robset.  
At Pontorsō, sir Robert Gargrane.

At Hambery the erle of Suffolke, Iorde  
of the same place by gift.  
At Briqueuile, thesared Erle by gift also.  
At Anranches, sir Philip Halle, Bayly of  
Alanson.  
At Viue the Iorde Matrauers  
At Sainct Iames de Bewron, the same  
Iordé

WHEN the Kyng of Englande wanne thus in Normandy, his nauy lost nothing on the sea, but so skōwred the stremes that nether Frencheman nor Briton durst once appere, howbeit one day there arose so hideous a tempest and so terrible a storme, that nether cable held nor anker preuailed, so that if the erles of Marche and Huntynghdon had not taken the hauē of Southamptō, the whole nauie had perished and the people had been destroyed, and yet the sauegard was straunge For in the same haven two Balyngers and two great Carickes laden with marchaundise wer drowned, and the broken Maste of another Caricke was blowen ouer the wall of Hāpton (as diuerse writers affirme) such is the power of the wynd, and suche is the rigoure of the tempest. Whē the fury of the wynd was asswaged and the sea waxed calme, therles of Maiche and Huntynghdon passed ouer the sea with all their compaignie and landed in Normandy marchyng towarde the kyng, before whom the Normans fled as fast as the fearfull hare dooth before the gredy Greyhounde, or the sely Partridge before the Sparrowhauke And so they passed through the cōuntry destroyng of villages and takyng painces till thei came to the kyng goyng towarde Roan. Duryng this marciall feactes and greate conquestes in Norinandy, sir Ihon Oldecastle lord Cobham whiche was as you haue heard before was conuicted of heresy, and proclaimed a rebell, and vpon the same outlawed and brake out of the toure, was now as his fortune chauned apprehended in the Marches of Wales by the Lorde Powes, and so restored to his olde lodgyng in the toure, where his kepers loked more narrowly to hym then thei did before. After whiche takyng, he was drawen from the toure on a hardell to Sainct Gilesfelde, and there hanged in chaynes and after consumed with fire. Well now leauyng the matters of Englande let vs returne to the affaires in Normandy.

¶ THE SIXT YERE

AFTER kyng Henry had thus victoriously obtained so many tounes and so many fortresses from the possession of his enemies, and that his great fame and litle personage was the whole terror and feare of the Freneche nacion, he ymagined with hymself that he had nothing doen nor any thyng gotten excepte he brought the famous citee of Roan beyng the Empery and diademe of the Duchy of Normandy into his possession & dominion, to the whiche out of euery parte the Normans had conueighed their money Jewelles and household stuffe. And whiche citee siue his firste arriuall thei had not onely walled and fortiessed with many rampiers & strong bulwarkes, but also with valiant capitaines and hardy souldiours to no small nombre Wherefore he set forward his army toward the toune called Pontlachie standyng vpon the Ruer of Seyne. viij. mile from Roan betwene Paris and Roan. When When the Frenchemen whiche kepte the passage heard of the kynges approchyng, thei gathered together a great nombre of men of warre redy to defend and prohibite the passage, appointyng another a band of men if thei failed to kepe the farther side of the bridge and to watche and hourelly attend that he nether by bote nor by vessel should eskafe any maner of waye. When he came to the toune, first he sette forwarde towarde the bridge, whiche when he sawe it so well defended that it would not without greate losse be obtaigned, sodainly he blewe the retraite and reculed almoste a myle backward, where in a pleasant place by the ruiers side he pitched his Campe and in the night season, what with botes and barges, what with hoggshedes and pipes he conueighed over the brode ruer of Seyne a greate compaignie of his armie without any resistance of his enemies. For thei whiche wer on the hetherside of

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Seyne, thynkyng that thenglishmen had gone to conquare some other place folowed the not but studied how to defed their toune (whiche was ynough for them to do) When the kyng saw that his men wer on the otherside of the water, he the next day earely returned to the toune and assauted it on bothe the sides When thinhabitantes perceiued that contrary to their expectaciō they wer cōpassed & beset by their enemies and sawe no hope of ietuge or succoi, with humble hert and no great ioy rendeied vp the toune. And so the kyng hauyng nō let or impediment determined to besiege and assault the citee and castle of Roan for the whiche he had taken diuerse long and tedious iornayes, and sent before hym his vnclē the lorde Thomas duke of Excester with a great compaignie of horssemen and Archers, whiche with banner displayed came before the toune and sent to the capitaines Wyndsore a he-raulte at armes, willing them to deliuer the toune to the kyng his Master, or els he would persecute them with fire, blood and sworde To whō they proudly answered, that none thei receiued of hym, nor none thei would deliuer, except by fyne force thei wer theiunto cō-pelled And to declare thēselfes valiant capitaines & hardy men of war, there issued out of the toune a great band of men of armes & encoūtrede fiercely with thēglish men, whiche like men nether afraied nor astonied manfully them receiued & with fyne foice draue them into the toune again, leuyng with the Englyshmen. xxx. of their compaignie prisoners and ded persons. The duke with this good spede and proude aunswē of the Frenche capi-taines, returned to the kyng to whom was rendred alitle before y<sup>e</sup> toune of Louiers, whiche he gaue to his said brother the duke of Clarence, whiche made there his deputie sir Ihon Godard knight The duke of Excester also had newly taken the citee of Emieux and made captain thei sir Gilbert Halsall knight. When the duke of Excester was returned to Pont-larchas you haue heard, the capitaines of Roan set fire on the suburbs, bet doune Chnrches, cut doune trees, shrede the bussbes, destroyed the vines round about the citee, to thentent that thenglishmen should haue no relief nor comfort ether of lodgyng or fewell

The citee of  
Roan besie-  
ged.

WHEN the kyng heard of their dispitefull doynge, he with his whole army remoued from Pontlarche, and the last daie of Iuly came before the citee of Roan and compassed it rounde aboute with a strong siege and a fearfull assaute. The kyng laie with a greate puissaunce at the hous of Charitee on the East side of the citee, & the duke of Clarence lodged before the port of Caux on the West part of the citee The duke of Excester toke his place on the Northside at the porte Denise betwene the dukes of Excester and Clarence was appoynted the erle Marshall euen before the gate of the castle, to whom wer ioyned theile of Ormond and the Loides of Haryngton and Talbot And from the duke of Excester toward the kyng were encamped the lordes of Rosse, Willoughby, Fitzhugh and sir William Porter with a great band of Northrenmē euen before the port saint Hillarij. Therles of Mortant and Salsbery wer assigned about the abbey of saint Katherine. Sir Ihon Grey was lodged directly against the Chapel called Mount S Mighell, sir Philip Leche treasurer of the warres kept the hil next the Abbey, & the Baron of Carew kept the passage on the riuier of Sayne, and to hym was ioyned a valiaunt esquie called Ienico, whiche twoo capitaines valiauntly kept the riuage of the water of Sayne. On the farther side of the riuier wer lodged therles of Warren and Huntynghdon, the lordes Neuell and Ferrers, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile with a well furnished company of warlik souldiours directly before the gate called port du Pont And to the intent that no aide should passe by the riuier toward the citee, a greate chaine of yron was deuised at Pōtlarche and sette on piles from the one side of the water to the other, and beside that chayne he set vp a new forced bridge, sufficient bothe for cariage and passage At whiche therle of Warwicke whiche had gotten Dampfiōt was sent to the toune of Cawdebeck standyng on the riuerside betwene the sea and the citee of Roan, whiche toune he so hardly assaulted, that the capitaines offerd to suffire the Englyshe navy to passe by their toune without huite or detriment to the citee of Roan And also if Roan yelded, they promised to rendre their toune without any fayle or farther delaiē And this composi-cion they sealed, and for performaunce of the same thei deliuered pledges. This appoynt-ment the Englyshe navy to the numbre of. C. sailes passed by Cawdebeck and came be-

fore Roan and besieged it on the water side To this siege came the duke of Gloucester with therle of Suffolke and the loude of Burgauny whiche had taken the tounne of Chierburgh and wer lodged before the porte of Saint Hillarij nerer their enemies by fortie roddes then any other persones of the armie

DVRYNG this siege arrived at Harflew the lord of Kylmaine in Ireland with a band of xvi hundred Irishmen armed in mayle with daies and skaynes after the maner of their countrey, all talle, quicke and deluei persons, which came and presented them selues before the kyng hyng styl at the siege of whom they were not onely gentely entertained, but also (because that the kyng was informed that the Frenche kyng and the duke of Burgoyne would shortly come; and either rayse the siege or vitaille of mā the tounne at the North gate) they wer appointed to kepe the Northsyde of the army, and in especial the way that cometh from the forest of Lyons Whiche charge the lord of Kylmaine & his company ioyfully accepted & did so their deuoyre, that no men wer more praised nor did more damage to their enemies then they did for surely their quicknes and swiftnes did more preiudice to their enemies, then their great bairded horses did hurt or damage the nimble Irishmen

THIS was the fayre cytie of Roan compassed about with enemies besieged by princes, and beset about both by water and lande, hauyng neither comfort nor aide of kyng nor dolphyn And although the army were strong without, yet within there lacked neither hardy capytaynes nor manful souldiors And as for people, they had more then ynowe, for as it was written by him that knew the nombre and had no occasiō to erre from the truth, there were at the tyme of the siege within the cite, of christen people CC and ten thousand persons Dayly wer issues made out of the cytie at diuers portes, sometye thenghlishmen gat, at anothei tyme the Frenchmen saued, sometye neither of both either got or saued for surely the capytaynes and men of waire within the tounne setting more by honor then by life, preferring fame before worldly riches, dispysyng pleasure & vilependyng fearfull heartes, sware eche to other neuer to render or deluei the tounne while they might either hold sworde in hand or put spere in rest The kyng of England beyng aduertised of then haute courages and high stomackes, determined to conquere them by famyne whiche would not be tamed by weapon. Wherefore he stopped all the passages both by water and land that no vitaille could be coueighed to the cytie, he cast trenches rounde about the walles and set them fil of stakes and defended the with archers, so that they within could haue no way out ether to invade their enemies (or if they could) to depart and relinquishe then fortress and cytie. One day tidynges wer fayned that the Frenche kyng approached with al his power to raise the siege & reskew the cytie. Wherefore kyng Hēry comaunded al men to lye in their haireys lest they might by some subtil cautel be surprised vnware and taken vnprovidēd But the Frenche kyng neither came nor sent, to the great wonder of thenghlishmen. This siege thus continuyng from Laminas almost to Christinas, diuers enterpryses were attempted and diuers polices were deuised how every part might darage and hurte his aduersary and enemy, but no part muche reioysed of their gaine Duryng whiche tyme, vitaille began sore to faile within the tounne, so that only vineger & water serued for drinke. If I should rehearse accordyng to the writyng of diuers authois, not onely howe deare dogges, rattes, myse and cattes wer solde within the tounne but how greedely they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and also howe the people died dayly for faute of tooode, and how yong infātes lay suckyng in the stretes on their mothers biestes hyng dead, staruen for hunger, you would more abhorre the lothsome doynge then reioyse at their miserable mischācc The riche men within the tounne put out at the gates the pore and indigent creatures whiche were by thenghlishmen that kept the trenches beaten & driuen backe againe to the gates of the tounne, whiche against them were closed and barred. So this miserable people vncomfortably forsaken & vnnaturally despised of their owne nacion and household felowes, betwene the walles of their cytie and the trenches of their enemies lay styl cryyng for helpe and relief, for lacke wherof innumerable sely solles dayly died and hourly starued. Yet kyng Henry moued with pitie & stirred with cōpassion in the honor of



of Christes natuine on Christmas day refreshed all the poore people with vitayle to their great comfort & relief. for the whiche act they not only thanked, lauded and praised the kyng of England, but also prayed to God for his preseruacion and futherance, and for the hynderance and euil successe of their vnkynd citezens & vncharitable country men. This miserable famyne dayly more and more encieasyng so daunted the heartes of the bold capitaynes, & so abated the courages of the riche burgesses, and so turmeted the bodies of the poore citezens, that the stout souldiour for faintnes could skase welde his weapon, nor the riche marchaunt for money could not bye a sheuel of bread: so that the cōminalte cried to the capitaines, and the nedy people besought the lordes to haue compassion on them, and to inuent some way for their succor and comfort. The gouernours of the toune, after long consultacion had, considering the great necessitie that they were in, and seying none apparence of succour or relief, determined it both necessary and conuenient to treate with the kyng of England. And so vpō Newyeres euen ther came to the walles at the gate of the bridge diuers cōmissioners appoiñcted by the capitaines, whiche made a signe to the englishemen liyng without to speake with some gentleman or other person of authoritie. The earle of Huntingdon whiche kept that part sent to them sir Gilbert Vmfreule, to whō they declared that if they might haue a guyde or a safeconduite they would gladly speake with the kyng. Syr Gilbert promised not onely to do theyr message, but also to certifie thē of the kynges pleasure & purpose. Whiche cōmunicacion ended, he repaired to the duke of Clarence and other of the kynges counsaill, aduertisyng thē of the request of the citezens, whiche incōtinent assembled theselues in the kynges lodgyng, where sir Gilbert Vmfreule wysely and soberly declared to the kyng the myndes and intentes of the citezens. The kyng like a graue prince considering that a thyng gotten without effusion of Christen blood is both honorable and profitable, and sawe that the haute corages of the braggynge Frenchemen wer now by his hard besiegyng sore abated and almost tamed, thought it conuenient to heare their lowly peticion and humble request, and so willed sir Gilbert to aduertise them that he was content to heare. xii. of them whiche should be safely cōueighed to his presence. With this answeire sir Gilbert departed and made relacion therof to the capitaynes standyng at the gate. Whiche on the next day in the mornyng appointed. iiii. knightes. iiii. lerned men and. iiii. sage burgesses al clothed in blacke to go to the kyng of Englad. These. xii. persons were receiued at the port sanct Hillarij by sir Gilbert Vmfreule accompanied with diuers gentlemen and yomen of the kynges houshold, comonly called yomen of the cloune, and conueighed to the kynges lodgyng, whō they found at Masse. When the deuine service was finished king Heniy gorgeously apparelled and sumptuously adourned came out of his trauers, fiersely and princely beholdyng the Frenche messēgers and passed by them into his chambie. After him incontnently the. xii. ambassadours wer conueighed, amongst whō one leained in the ciuile law, more arrogant then learned & yet not so arogant as vndiscrete sayd these wordes. Right high and mightie prince, right noble and puissant kyng, if you wyl with your selfe diligently cōsider wherein consisteth the glory of victoie and the triumph of a conquerour, you shall plainly perceiue, that the type of honor is in the tamyng of proud men, ouercōmyng of valiant souldiours and subduyng of strong cyties and populus regions, and not in slayng christen people by hunger thirst and famine, in whiche consisteth neither manhod, wit nor policy. Alas, regard you your honor, and se yonder great multitude of miserable people cryng for meat and wepyng for drinke and dyng for lacke of succour and relief. What glory shall you obtayne in killyng of wretches by famyne, whiche death of all deathes is most to be despised and abhorred. If you wyl shew your selfe chauntable before God, or merciful before men, let al our poore people whiche wyl depart out of our cytie passe through your campe to get their liuyng in other places, and then manfully assaut our cytie, & by force (if you dare) subdue and conquer it. And if your enterprise succede fortunately (as a thing that is very doubtful) in this doyng you shall not onely obtaine worldly glory and terrestrial victory for ouercōmyng the strong and puissant men of armes and the riche cytie, but also merite much before God  
for

for deliueying and hauyng compassion of the poore nedey and indigent peisons When this Orator had sayd, the kyng, whiche no request lesse suspected then that whiche was thus desired, began a while to muse: And when he had wel perceiued the crafty cautel and fraudulent inuencion of the Frenche messengers, he with a fierser countenance and a bold spirit made to them this answer sayng: Thynke you O fāstastical Frenchmen that I am so ignorant and so brutal that I cannot perceiue your double dealing and crafty conueighaunce Iudge you me so simple that I know not wherein the glory of a cōqueror cōsisteth. Esteeme you me so ignoraunt that I perceiue not what craftes and warlike pollices by strong enemies are to be subdued and brought to subiection yes, yes, I am not so loitering a truaund as to forgette so good a lesson. And if these thynges be to you blynd and obscure I wyl declare and open them to you. The goddesse of warre called *Bellona* (whiche is the correctrice of princes for right withholdyng or inuene doying, and the plage of God for euil liuyng and vntrue demeanor amongst subiectes) hath these iii. handmaides euer of necessite attending on her, blood, tyre, and famine, whiche thre damosels be of that force & strength that every one of them alone is able and sufficient to torment and afflict a proude prince. and they all ioyned together are of püssance to destroy the most populous countrey and most richest region of the world. If I by assaultyng of your toune should seke your blood (although I gained as I doubt not but I should) yet my game wer not cleare without some losse of my people. If I set your cytie on fyre, and so consume it and you also, then haue I lost that precious iewel for the whiche I haue so sore longed and so long laboured. Therfore to saue myne owne people (which is one point of glory in a capitaine) and to preserue the toune whiche is my laful and iust inheritaunce: And to saue as many of you as wil not willyngly be destroyed, I haue appointed the mekest maide of the thre damosels to afflict and plage you tyll you be bridled and brought to reason, which shalbe when it shal please me and not at your appointment. And therfore I say and affirme that the gayne of a capitaine by any of these thre handmaides is bothe glorious, honoiable and triumphant, but of all thre the yongest maide is in all thynges most profitable and cōmodious. Now to answer to your demaundes, as touching the pore people liyng in the ditches, I assure you I more lament your lacke of charite toward your christen brethre ye and your owne nacion of one language and one countrey, then I reioyce at the vndoing of so many creatures and castyng away of so many enemies. You like tirantes put the out of the toune to thetent that I should slay them, and yet I haue sated them lues. You would neither geue them meat nor drinke, and yet I beyng their mortal enemy haue succoured and releued them: so that if any vncharitie be, it is in you, if any shame or reproche be taken, receiue it your selfe, for you be the doers. If I haue done them good let God rewarde me, for I loke of them no thanks, if you haue done them euil so shal you be done to. And as to suffre your pore people to passe out of the cytie through my campe, no, no, I wyl not so accomlishe your cloked request, but you shall kepe them styl to helpe to spend your vitales: And as to assault your toune, I wil you know it that I am thereto both able and willyng as I se tyme & occasion: but seyng the choice is in my hand to tame you either with blood, fyre, or famyne, or with all, I wyl take the choice at my pleasure & not at yours. And with that the kyng with a frownyng countenaunce departed frō them to his chambre and cōmaunded them to dine with his officers.

*Bellona, the  
Goddess of  
bataile*

WHEN he was departed, the Frenchmen began to maruel at his excellent wit, and to muse at the hautes of his courage, and after they had dined and consulted together, they required once againe to haue acesse to his royal presence, whiche when it was to them graūted, they humblyng them selues on their knees besought him to take a truce for viii. daies, in the whiche they might by their commissioners take some ende and good conclusion with him and his counsaile. The kyng like a piteous prince rather couetyng the preseruacion of the people, then their distruction, after good deliberacion taken, graūted to them their askyng, with the whiche answere they ioyously returned.

AFTER their departure were appointed and set vp. iii. riche tentes, the one for the lordes  
of



## THE. VI. YERE OF

of England to consult together, the second for the commissioners of the cytie, and y third for both partes to argue and debate the matter. The cōmissioners for the Englishe part wer the erles of Warwike & Salsbury, the lord Fitzhugh, sir water Hungerford, sir Gilbert Vmffreule, sir Ihon Robsert & Ihon de Vasques de Almada. And for the French part wer appointed sir Guy de Buttelei &. vi. other.

DVRYNG this truce, euery day the cōmissioners met, the Englishmen accused, and the Frenchmen excused, the Englishmen demaunded muche, and the Frenchmen profered lytle. Thus with arguyng & reasonyng the. viii. day came and nothyng was done, nor one article concluded. Wherefore the Englishmen toke doune the tentes & the Frenchmen toke their leauc, but at their departyng, they remembryng them selues requied the Englishe lordes for the loue of God that the truce might continue tyl the sunne risyng the next day, to the whiche the lordes sone assented. When the Frenchmen wer returned to Roan, suddenly in al the tounne sprong a rumour that the truce was expired and nothyng determined. Then the poore people ranne about the stretes like frantike persons, shoutyng and cryyng and callyng the capitaines and gouernois murthereis and manquellers, sayyng that for their pride & styffe stomacke al this misery was happened in the tounne, threatenynge to slay them if they would not agre to the kyng of Englādes demaund and request. The Magistrates beyng amased with the fury of the people, called al the tounne together to knowe their myndes and opimons. The whole voice of the cōmons was to yeld, yeld, rather than starue. Then the Frenchmen in the euenyng came to the tent of sir Ihon Robsert, requirynge him of gētlenes to moue the kyng that the truce might be prolonged for. iiii. daies. The kyng therunto agreed and appointed tharchbishop of Cantorbury and the other. vii. before named for his part, and the citezens appoincted an egal number for them. So the tentes wer againe set vp, dayly was assemblies and muche treaty on both parties, and on the fourth day by the helpe of God, the treaty was concluded and finished to the great reioysyng of the poore citezens, the copy wherof foloweth worde by worde.

¶ The appointmentes of the yeldyng vp of the cytie and castle of Roan,

- 1 FIRST it is accorded that Guy de Botellier capitaine of the Cytie and castle of Roan with the consent of the noble citezens & other dwellyng and beyng in the sayd cytie and castell shall yelde and deliuer into the handes of the ful excellent kyng of England or other what so he be by him deputed, the cytie & castle aboue sayd without fraude or male engine, what tyme after the middes of the. xix. day of this present moneth of Ianuary our sayd lord the kyng wyll the cytie and the castel to be deliuered vnder maner and fōme within written.
- 2 ALSO it is accorded that the day & houre the sayd nobles and citezens & other what so they be dwellyng & beyng in the sayd cytie & castel shal submit them in al thinges to the grace of our sayd lorde the kyng.
- 3 ALSO it is accorded that from this houre vnto real & effectual yeldyng of the sayd cytie & castle, none of the sayd nobles or other beyng in the sayd cytie or castle shal not go out of the foresayd cytie and castle without special grace of our sayd lord the kyng.
- 4 ALSO it is accorded that from this houre vnto the deliuerance of the cytie, euery of the parties shall abstaine from all deedes of warre to make againe that other partie of them.
- 5 ALSO it is accorded that the foresayd nobles, citezens and other beyng in the sayd cytie & castle shall pay to our foresayd lorde the kyng CCC thousand scutes of golde, wherof alwayes two halbe worth an Englishe noble, or in the stead of euery scute, xxx. great blankes whyte or. xv. grotes. Of whiche CCC. thousand scutes, the one halfe shalbe payde to our sayd lord the kyng or to his deputies within the cytie of Roan beforesayd the xxii. day of this present moneth of Ianuary, and that other halfe shalbe payde to our sayd lord the kyng or to his deputies in the feast of saint Mathew the Apostle next cōmyng that shalbe the xxiiii. day of February next, without any vtter delay.
- 6 ALSO it is accorded that all and euery horse, harneys, armures, artilleries for shot and all other habilimentes of warre longyng to souldiours or other straungers beyng in the sayd cytie and

and castle, shalbe put together by them in two houses by our sayd lord the kyng to be assigned, & they shalbe deliuered by the capitaine of the sayd cytie to our forsayd lord the kyng after the middes of the xix day of Ianuary therupon to be required

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery armour, artilleries and all habilimentes of war of 7 the sayd castle shalbe put together in one house within the same castle, and they shalbe deliuered to oure sayd lorde the kyng or to his deputies in that partie, the day that the same castle shalbe fallen to be deliuered to our sayd lord the kyng

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery armures, artilleries & other habilimentes of warre 8 of thesaid citee or of al maner of citezens and of al other dwellyng therein, by them shalbe brought and put together in one hous or mo houses there by them to be deliuered to our Lord the kyng, & by the capitain of the same citee shalbe deliuered to our forsayd Lorde the kyng or to his depute in what tyme the said capitain by the partie of our moste doubtful lorde the kyng, after the middaie of this present moneth of Ianuary therupon be required, out take the armures that belong to Marchauntes which were wont for to sell them ceassyng fraude and maleengine. And if it besal any marchauntes any suche armores that be not theirs, vnder colour of theirs to colouren or hidē in any maner, tho armures so hid and coloured and al other what that thei been that didn, to our Lorde the kyng shal been forfeited, and the body of thesame marchant to been punished at the kynges will

ALSO it is accorded that in no maner shalbe made, biennyng, hynderyng, harmyng or 9 appairyng, vastyng or destroyng of horsse, of armures, of artilleries or of any other habilimentes of warre within the forsayd citee and Castle beyng, but that all and euery without fraude or maleengine shalbee kept whole and unhurt to our Lorde the kyng as it is beforesaid to be deliuered

ALSO it is accorded that al & euery chayne that wer wont to be layed ouerthwart the 10 stretes and lanes of thesaid citee, shall bee put into an hous to be turned to the profite of the citezens of thesame citee.

ALSO it is accorded that our forsayd lord the king shal haue place and space of lande, 11 of the frewil of his highnesse to bee chosen to hym a paleis to be made within thesaid citee or within the walles of the same citee where it shal seme moste behouefull So neuerthelesse that if it fall within thesaid place or space to be included any hous or edifice or place of ground longyng to any of thesaid citezens or dwellers of thesame citee, or sayed lorde the kyng to hym whom that suche maner of houses, edifices or places of ground longeth or apperteineth shal satisfie, & of other houses & edifices or places congruely shal recōpence.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery subiectes of our said lord the kyng that now be or 12 wer prisoners to any persone beyng in the said cite or castle and their pledges, shalbee vitterly free as aneyntz their persones and the somes that thei are bounde in at the date of this presente date and accorde.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery souldier and strāger beyng in thesaid citee and 13 castle shall swere on the Euangelies of God befoie their departyng, that thei shall not beare armes against our lorde the kyng or his, vnto the first daie of Ianuary next to come, for no maner of commaundemēt that to them or to any of them of any maner of persone in contrary mare be doen and enioyned.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery reliques & other goodes longyng to the Abby of 14 sanct Katheryn within thesaid citee and castle beyng all holy, shalbeen deliuered to hym whom the kyng shall depute them to receiue the deliuerance of thesaid citee.

ALSO it is accorded that the forsayd nobles, citezēs & other within thesaid citee and 15 Castle beyng, shall cause thesame citee and Castle before thesaid. xix daie of this present moneth of Ianuary sufficiently and honestly to be made cleane, and also diligently and honestly all the ded bodies now ded and to be ded vnto that date of deliuerance of the said citee honestly and diligently shall do to be buried

ALSO it is accorded that the forsayd nobles citizens & all beyng in thesaid citee and castle 16 furthwith shall receiue and suffie to entre into thesame citee all and euery poore persone beyng



ying in the diches or aboute the diches of thesame cite, whiche for penury did go out of thesame cite whom they shalbee bounde to succor vnto the. xix. daie of Iannarij aboue saied, as they will aunswere to God and to the kyng, and els thei shall receiue none other person into thesame citee or castle vnto the foisaid day without speciall licence of our saied Lorde the kyng, but if it happē any messenger or herauld of the party aduersary of the kyng to come to the gates or diches of thesaid castle or citee.

17. **WHICHE** articles and apointmētes as it is beforesaid, all & euery in maner as it is accorded, the forsaid capitain, nobles, citezēs & other within thesaid castle and citee beyng, wel and truly without fraude or malengine to hold, obserue and kepe they behoten, and tho to be kept & fulfilled they bynden them. So but if it befall our forsaid moste doubtfull lorde the kyng that God forbid, to be ouercome in battail to hym ymade by Charles his aduersary of Fraunce or the duke of Burgoyne or any other to come, the siege of our lord the kyng to remoue from the foisaid citee, that neither theforsaid capitain ne none of the nobles, citezens, souldiors or other beyng within theforsaid cite and Castle shall gone out, ne no maner help thei shal deliuer, nor leane to them so again our lorde the kyng commyng in no maner wise.
18. **ALSO** that all these appoyntinentes, couenauntes and accordes and euery of them as it is beforesaid well and truly and vnbroken bee kepte, and for the more suretie of thesame couenauntes and accordes, theforsaid capitain nobles and citezens and other abouessaid shalbe taken at the tyme ymediatly into the handes of our lorde the kyng lxxx. notable pledges wherof. xx. shalbe knightes and esquires and the remnant citezens of thesame citee, at their owne costes to be sustained.
19. **ALSO** for the partie sothly of our moste doubtfull lorde the Kyng aforesaid, graciously and beningly cōsidryng the inke submytting and yeldyng of the same citee and Castle abouesaid, hath graunted that all and euery person of what estate or degiee or condicion, that he be with in thesaid citee and Castle being, except certain persons within expressed that will become lieges and subiectes of our lord the kyng, and frō hencefurth will dwell vnder his obedience, shall haue their heritages and goodes, moueables and vnmouables within the dutchy of Normandy constitute, and whiche before the date of these present letters by our forsaid lord the kyng to other persons haue not been graunted, except armurs & artillaries abouesaid, making and doing for their heritages and their vnmouable goodes to our forsaid lorde the kyng the seruce therof accustomed, or to other to whom suche maner seruices of the graunt of our lorde the kyng owen to long.
20. **ALSO** it is graunted on our lorde the kynges behalfe that all the citezens and dwellers of the citee of Roan that now been or in tyme to come shall been, shall haue all and euery franchises, liberties and priuileges which of worthy mynd the progenitors of our lorde the the kyng kynges of Englande & dukes of Normandy, to thē and to the said citee were graunted in possession wherof they weren the first day that our foisaid lorde the kyng came before theforsaid citee. And also of our large grace of his benygntie hath graunted, that the self citezens and dwellers of the citee shall haue al their liberties fraunchises and priuileges wherof they wer in possession thefoisaid first daie of the comyng of our loide the kyng before the citee, of the graunt of any of his progenitors kynges of Fraunce whiche were before the tyme of Philip de Valoys aduersary to our said lorde the kyng & daily warryng vpō his realme.
21. **ALSO** it is graunted and accorded on our loide the kynges behalf that all the straungiers souldiours and other in theforsaid citee and castle beyng at this tyme, not willyng to become lieges of our lord the kyng, theforsaid citee and castle so yeldyng as it is beforesaid, frely to departen, leauyng to our saied lord the kyng all their armures, horsse artillaries and other thynges and harnes and goodes, except the Normans will not be lieges of our lorde the kyng, whiche all & euery shall abide prisoners to our lorde the kyng, and except Luca Italico, which also shalbe prisoner of our lorde the kyng, and also other whose names be not set in this boke, for it longeth not to clerkes to intermete of thē.

ALSO it is graunted on our lord the kynges behalf that the waite and also shewed speches 22. that duryng this siege the folke aboue mencioned of what condicion that they been against his royall person haue done, or with defained lippes haue spoken against our moste dercest forde the kyng, cōsidrryng the daie of piue mekely shalbe forgeuen, out take the prisoners that abouen in speciall be excepted.

ALSO it is accorded on our lorde the kynges behalfe teat theforsaid souldiors and 23. straungers by the forme of this present treatie and accorde willyng for to départen, our Lorde the kyng shall ordain and make a sauconduite in forme accustomed.

¶ And so theforsaid citee was yelden to our souereigne lorde the kyng vpon s Wolstones daie beyng the. xix. daie of Ianuarij. and then afterward he gat many strong townes and Castles, as Depe, Caudebec, Torney & many mo as it shalbe after written

WHEN the daie of apointment came, which was the daie of S Wolston, sir Guy de Butteler and the Burgesses of the toun in good ordre came to the kynges lodgyng, and there deliuered to hym the keyes of the citee and castle, besechyng hym of tauor and cōpassion. The kyng thcontinent appoynted the duke of Excester with a greate compaignie to take possession of the toun, whiche like a valiaunt capitain mounted on a goodly courser and entred into the toun and so into the castle, and appoynted watche and waid in euery toure, bulwarke and fortresse, and garnished the walles with banners, standers and penōs of the kynges armes, badges and deuises. The nexte daie beyng Frydaie the kyng in greate triumphe like a conqueror, accōpaignied with iii. Dukes, x. Erles viii. Bishoppes, xvi. Barones and a greate multitude of knightes, esquires and men of warre entred into Roan where he was receiued by the Clergie with. xlii. Crosses which sang diuerse swete sōges, outwardly reioysyng whatsover inwardly they thought. Then met him the Senate and the burgesses of the toun, offering to hym diuerse faue & costly presentes. In this maner he passed through the citee to our Lady Church, where with al solempnitie he was receiued by the bishop and Cannons, and after he had said his Orisons, he caused his chapelaynes to syng this Antheme *Quis est magnus dominus*. Who is so greate a Lorde as is our God &c. And that done he came to the Castle where he continued a good space after, receiuyng homages and fealties of the burgesses and townes men, setting ordres emōgest them and reedefied diuerse fortresses and toures. Duryng which time he made proclamacion that all men whiche would become his subiectes should emoye their goodes, landes and offices, whiche proclamacion caused many townes to yeld, and many men become English. At whiche ceason the duke of Britain seyng that the power of Fraunce began to decaye, came to the kyng to Roan and concluded with hym a league of his owne mere mocion Fearyng that ether he should afterwaie be compelled therunto, or els if he offed to late it would not be accepted.

WHEN the renderyng of Roan was blown through Normandy and the kynges proclamacion diuulged through the countrie, it is in maner incredible to heare how many townes yelded not once desired, and how many fortresses gaue vp without contradicion, wherof I wil shewe you a small nombre and the names of them who were appoynted capitaines of thesame.

AT Caudebec, sir Loys Robsert.

At Depe, William lorde Burcher erle of Ewe.

At Ewe, thesame erle.

At Aubemeile, therle of Warwick and his deputie there sir Willm Mountford.

At Bell Encomber, Sir Thomas Rampston lorde by gift.

At Lōgeuile, the capitain of Beffe erle therof by gift.

At the Roche Guyon, sir Guy Butteler

late capitain of Roan, and by the kyng lorde of the same.

At Danuile, sir Christopher Bourden.

At Couches, sir Robert Marbury.

At Chierburgh, sir Ihō Geddyng.

At Bacquuile, the lord Rosse, lord therof by gift.

At Gaylard, the same lorde.

At Dangew, Richarde Wooduile.

At Arques, sir Iames Fines bayly of Caux.



## THE VII. YERE OF

At Newcastle, sir Philip Leche.  
 At Montreux, the same sir Philip  
 At Gourney, sir Gilbert Vmfeuille.  
 At Estripagny, Richard Abraham esquire.  
 At Seuciere Surgette, Willyam Basset.  
 At Nanfle, therle of Worcester.  
 At Gysors, the said erle.  
 At Maunt, therle of Marche.

At Boncouilliers, Ihon Aburgh Bayliffe  
 of Gysors.  
 At Vernon, sir William Porter  
 At Melans, sir Thomas Rampsō after hym.  
 sir Ihon Fastolffe.  
 At Homflews, therle of Salisbury and af-  
 ter the duke of Clarence by gift.  
 At Bretnell, sir Henry Mortimer bayliffe  
 of Homflews.

If I should here reherse what townes wer conquered, what fortresses were yelded, and who wer made capitaines of thesame, this Pamphlet would turne to a volume more tedious, then pleasaunt, and therefore I ouer passyng small names and muche doying, will returne again to the principall thynges touchyng the sequelle of this historye. And who so desireth to know all the circumstances of the deliuey, lette hym ouerloke the Frenche writers, whiche to aduoyde shaine confesse and write the veritee.

## ¶ THE SEUENTH YERE.

The vii.  
 yere.

WHEN the gettingyng of Roan and the deliuey of the othe townes wer blased and blowen through the whole realme of Fraunce, wonder it is to tell and more to beleue howe the bertes of the Frenchmen wer sodainly heuy, and then courages sone coled, mournyng and lamentyng the iminent mischief whiche they sawe by the diuision of the nobilitie like shortly to fal on their heddes. and the more sorowyng their euil chance because they sawe no remedy prepared, nor yet none help at hand thought on. But whosoever kicked of wyched at this matter, Ihon duke of Burgoyne, raged and swelled, ye and so muche freated that he wist not what to saie and lesse to dooe. And no mernaill, for he was vexed and troubled with a doble disease at one only tyme. For he only ruled both kyng Charles and his, and did all thynges at his will whether reason agreed or no, and for that cause he knewe that he was neither free from disdaim nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice. And therefore he imagined that all mischietes and calamities, whiche chaunced in the common wealth should be imputed and assigned to his vapoltike doying or to his negligent permission: wherfore he ymagined it profitable to the realme and to hymself moste auaylable, if he by any meanes possible could deuise, practise or inuent any waie or meane by the which he might reconcile and ioine in amitie the two great and mightie kynges of Englande and of Fraunce. Whiche thyng once obtayned and beyng deliuered from all feare of exterior hostilitie, he determined first to reuenge his quarell against Charles the Dolphyn, and after to repress all causes of grudge or disdaim, and to recouer again both the fauor of the commonalte and also to put awaie all causes of suspicion or imagined infamy against hym and his procedynges. And intedyng to buyld vpon this fraile foundation, sent letters and Ambassadors to the kyng of Englande, aduertisyng hym that if he would personally come to a communicacion to bee had betwene hym and Charles the Frenche kyng, he doubted not but by his onely meanes, peace should be induced and bloudy battail clerely exiled.

KYNG Henry heard gently the Ambassadors and agreed to their request and desire, and so came to Maunte, where at the feast of Pentecost he kept a liberall hon to all comers, and sat hymself in greate estate. On which daie ether for good seruice before by them done, or for good expectation of thynges to come, he created Gascon de Foys a valiaunt Gascoyn erle of Longeulle, and sir Ihon Grey was likewise made erle of Tankerulle, and the Lorde Burshier Erle of Ewe. After this solempne feastende l, the place of the enteruiewe and metyng was apoynted to be beside Melans on the riuer of Seyne, in a faire playne euery parte was hy comissioners appoynted to their gounde. The Frenchmen ditched, trenched, and paled their lodgynges for feare of afterclappes: But the Englishmen had their parte only barred and ported. The kyng of Englande had a large tent of blew velvet

veluēt and grene richely embrodered with two deuises, the one was an Antlop drawyng in an horse mill, the other was an Antlop sitting in an high stage with a braunche of Olife in his mouthe And the teute was replenished and decked with this poysie. After *busie labour commeth victorious reste*, and on the top and heigh of thesame was set a greate Fgle of golde, whose yes were of suche orient Diamondes that they glistered and shone ouer the whole felde.

THE Frenche kyng likewise had in his parke a faire paviilion of blew veluet richely embrodered with flower deluse, on the toppe of the same was set a white Harte flyng, made all of fyne siluer with winges enameled. Betwene these two Campes or enclosors was apoynted a tent of purple veluet for the cōsailers to mete in and euery part had an egall nombre to watch on the night and to se good ordre on the day

WIEN the day of appoinctment approched, the kyng of England accompaigned with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren, and the duke of Excester his vncl, and Henry Beauford Clerke his othēr vncl which after was bishop of Winchester and Cardinall and the earles of Marche, Salisbury and other to the numbere of a thousand men of waire, entered into his parke and toke his lodging. Likewise for the Frenche part, thether came Isabell the Frenche quene because the kyng her husband was fallen into his old trenaticall disease hauyng in her compaigny the duke of Burgoyne and therle of Saint Paule, and she had attendyng on her the faire lady Katheryn her daughter and. xxvi ladies and damoselles, and had also for her furniture a thousande men of warre.

AFTER these estates had reposed themselves one night in their tentes, the next day all such as were appointed repaired toward the paviilion ordained for the consultacion Where the kyng of England, like a prince of great stomacke and no lesse good behauior receiued humbly the Frenche quene and her daughter and them honorably embraced & familiarly kissed The duke of Burgoyne made lowe curtesy and bowed to the kyng, whom the kyng louyngly toke by the hand and honorably entertained After salutations and embrasynges finished, they fel to counsel within the paviilion assigned, whiche was kept with a garde appointed by both the parties that none but cōmissioners shuld once attempt to enter After the kynges requestes made & his demaundes declared, the French quene and her company toke leaue louyngly of the kyng of England and returned to Ponthoyse to certifie her husband of her demaundes and claymes And kyng Henry returned to Mante. The next day after they assembled againe, & the Frenche part brought with them the lady Katherin, only to thentent that the king of England seyng and beholding so fayre a lady and so minion a damosel, should so be inflamed and rapte in loue, that he to obtayne so beautiful an espouse, should the soner agie to a gentle peace & louyng composicion. This company met together. viij seuerall tynes, sometye the one party was more and sometye the other, And notwithstanding that the Englishmen and Frenchmen were lodged no great distance asunder, yet was there neuer fraye nor occasion of tumulte or riot prouoked or stirred of any of both the parties, whiche (bothe their natures considered) is somewhat to be marueiled at.

IN this assemble many wordes were spent and no dedes doue, many thinges requined and few offered, many argumentes made and no cōclusion taken Some authors write that the dolphyn to let this treatie sent to the duke of Burgoyne sir Tauegny du Chastel, declaryng to him that if he would let this agiement, he would cōmon with him and take suche an ordre, that not only they but the whole realme of Fraunce should therof be glad and reioyce But what was the very cause of the breche, no man certainly declareth. When no effect ensued of this long consultacion, both parties after a pyncey fashion departed, the Englishmen to Mantes and the Frenchmen to Ponthoyse.

THE kyng of England was nothing pleased nor yet contented that this cōmunicacion came to none ende, wherfore he mistrustyng the duke of Burgoyne to the very let and stop of his desires and requestes, sayd vnto him before his departyng fayre cousin,



we wil haue your Lynges daughter and al thinges that we demaund with her or we wil driue your kyng & you out of his realme. Well sayd the duke of Burgoyne, before you driue the kyng and me out of his realme, you shalbe wel werned, and therof we doubt lytle.

AFTER this departure, the duke of Burgoyne beyng nobly accompanied, roade to the toune of Melune wher the dolphyn then sojourned where in the plaine felde they. ii. like frendes cōmoned together & cōcluded apparantly an open amitie & sure friendship, which was written by notaries and signed with their handes and sealed with their great seales and armes, but as the sequele sheweth, heart thought not that tong talked, nor mind meant not that hand wrote. This treaty was concluded the. vi. day of Iuly in the yere of our lord 1419 and was proclaimed in Paris, Amience and Ponthoyse.

THIS newe alience notified shortly to the kyng of England liyng at Maunt, which therewith was sore displeased, and not without cause For he perceiued that the force of these two princes were much stronger now beyng vnitid in one, then they were before beyng sepeiated & deuided. Yet notwithstanding this great sworne and sealed amitie, he nothing more minded then to set forward his intended enterprise with the ayde of God to performe his conquest maugre and euil wyll and puissance of his enemies. Wherefore he sent the capitayne of Bueffe brother to the earle of Foys newly created earle of Longuile with xv. C. men secretly to the toune of Ponthoyse, whiche on Trinitie sonday erly in the mornnyng came to the toune, and so sodainly and so shortely set vp their skalyng ladders to the wall, that they were entid into the toune or the wathe perceiued them, cryyng saint George, saint George the lord Lisleadam capitain of the toune perceiuyng the walles skaled and the market place gained, opened the gate toward Paris, at the whiche he withal his retinue and diuers of the tounes men to the nombre of viij. thousand fled. For the Englishmen durst not because their nombre was smal ones deuide them selues or fal to pilferyng, til about prime the duke of Clarence came to their ayde with. v. thousand men, and by the way he encōutred diuers burgesses of the toune flyng with al their substance toward Beauuoyes whō he toke prisoners & brought them againe to their olde dwellyng place. When the duke was come to Ponthoyse, he muche praised the valiantnes of the assailantes and gaue to them the chief spoyle of the toune and marchauntes of the which they had great plenty and foyson. Then the duke with a great puissance came before Paris and lay before the cytie two daies and two nightes without any profic either of issue by his enemies or of defēce if he had the same assauted, whiche he could not wel do because it was long and ample, and his nōbre small, and for so great an enterprise not furnished. Wherefore seyng that his enemies durst not ones loke on him, he returned againe to Ponthoyse, for the taking of whiche toune, the countrey of Finance, & in especial the Parisiens were sore dismayed and astonied, for there was no fortresse hable to resist or withstand. In so much the Irishmen ouercame al the Isle of Fraunce and did to the Frenchmen dammages innumerable (as their writters affirme) and brought dayly praies to the Englishe armye. And beside that, they would robbe houses and lay beddes on the backes of the kine and ride vpon them, and cary yong children before them and sell them to the Englishmen for slaues. whiche straung doynges so feared the Frenchmen within the territory of Paris and the cōtrey about, that the rude persons fled out of the villages withal their stuffe to the cytie of Paris.

THE French kyng and the duke of Burgoyne liyng at S. Denise hearyng of all these doynges, departed in all the hast with the quene and her daughter to Troys in Charapaigne, there takyng great deliberacion what was best to be done, leauyng at Paris the earle of S. Paul and the lord Lisleadam with a great puissance to defende the cytie. At the same tyme the duke of Clarence toke the strong toune of Gysors, & after that was taken the toune of Gayllard: and all the tounes of Normandy shortly after were either taken by force or rendered, except the Mount saint Michel, which because the gayne therof was very lytle and  
the

the losse in assautyng semed to be very mache, and also it could do small harne or none to the cuntry adioynyng, was neither assaulted nor besieged.

AND thus as you haue heard, was the duchy of Normandy reduced agayne into the right line and restored to the possession of the right heyre, which had bene frō the tyme of kyng Henry the third, in the yere of our lord 1255 wrongfully detained from the kynges of England.

THE wisemen of Fraunce sore lamentyng the chaunce of their cōtrey and the misery of their people sawe and perceued that they had puissance ynough to defende their enemies if they were at a perfite cōcord amongst themselves. For they apparantly sawe that although there wer a peace openly concluded betwene the dolphyn and the duke of Burgoyne, yet they imagined that no good fruit succeeded of the same for the duke either for secret displeasure that he bare to the dolphyn, or for the doubt that he had of thenglishmē, neuer assailed by him self the army of kyng Henry, nor neuer sent ayde or succours to the Dolphyn. Wherefore by meanes of frendes a new cōmunicacion was appointed to thentent that the corrupt dregges of their olde malice and inwarde grudges might be clearly cast out and extinct. The place of this metyng was appointed at the toune of Monstrel fault Yonne, so called because a small brooke called Yonne runneth there to the river of Sein ouer which ruuer was made a bridge, with diuers barres ouerthwart so that the princes openyng the barres might eche embrace and touche othei, and kepyng the barres shut, eche might se & common with other at their pleasure. The day was appointed when these ii. great princes should mete on this bridge, to thentent that all ciuile discord should by this cōmunicacion be cleare foigotten, or at the least should be suspended tyl the enemies were vanquished and druen out of their cōtries and confines. But this mocion worse succeeded then the entreators deuised, for while euery man was fulfilled with hope of peace and concord, crafty imaginacion crepte out of cancaid displeasure had almost brought all thynges from libertie into bondage.

WHEN the day and place of the solempne enteruiew was agreed & assigned, Tauagny du Chastel, a mā prompt and prone to all mischief, called to his remembraunce the shameful murder of Lewes duke of Orleance (vnder whōm he had long bene a capitaine) done and committed by this duke of Burgoyne as before you haue heard, determined with him self to reuenge the death of his olde Maister and lorde. Some say that he was therto stirred & provoked by the dolphyn (and not vnlike) for the dolphyn whiche bare a continual hatred to the duke of Burgoyne, imagined paraduenture by this meanes to represse and subdue the whole power and high pride of this duke, without any suspicion of fraude or reproche of vntunth or vilany. Wel the day came, which was the. xii. day of August, and euery prince with his nombre appointed came to this bridge. The duke of Burgoyne beyng warned by his frendes to kepe his closure and the barres on his side shut, lytle regarded his frēdes monicion as a mā that could not auoide the stroke for him prouided, and so opened the barres and closure and came to the dolphyns presence, whiche was cleane armed, and kneled doune on the one kne, shewyng to him great reuerence and humilitie. The dolphyn shewed him no louyng countenance, but reproued him, layyng to his charge muche vntruth and great dishonor. The duke againe boldly defended his cause. Nowe the duke duryng this cōmunicacion kneled styl and his sworde was at his backe with often turnyng and mouyng in answeryng the dolphyn and his counsel, and so he put his hād backe to plucke his sworde forwarde what quod sir Robert de Loyer, wyll you drawe your sworde against my lorde the dolphyn? when Tauagny du Chastel apperceued that an occasion was geuen to perfoime his enterprise, incontinent he strake him with a hatchet on the head so that he could not speake, other standyng by shortly dispatched him of his life. Diuers of his part, thinkyng him not dead, began to draw weapon, amongst whom the lord Nouale was slaine, and the other taken. For this murther were condemned (but not apprehended) by Parliament the president of Prouynce, the vicount of Narbone, Gylliam Battelier, Tauagny du Chastel, Robert Loyre and. iij. other. This was the ende of Ihon called the proude duke of Burgoyne, whiche



## THE. VIII. YERE OF

whiche more regarded ciuile warre and intestine dissencion, then his owne life & welfare. And this soden death as I thinke came to him not without desert for shamefully murtheryng Lewes duke of Orleance the French kings brother. Such is the iustice of God, that bloud for the most parte is recompensed with bloud, & vnnatural homicide is requited with shameful death or soden destruction.

AFTER this heynous murder, thus committed, I might reherse how the dolphyns seruantes despoyled the duke of all his garmentes to his sherte, and couered his face with his hosen. I could declare how the dolphyn sent his lettres to Paris and other cites and townes, publishing vntuely diuers opprobious wordes spoken, & diuers great and outrageous offences done by the duke against the kyng and the whole realme. I could further declare howe the wisemen of Fraunce detested and abhorred this abhominable act, perceiuyng the ende that was like to ensue, and how the contrary side, whiche was the linage of Orleance reioysed and laughed at this miserable chaunce and sodain fall. but because the English nacion was partie neither to the facte nor to the counsel, I wyll declare what the kyng of Englande did after this notorious dede done and committed.

## ¶ THE. VIII. YERE.

The viii.  
yere

When Philip erle Charoloys sōne and heyre to this duke Ihon, and now by this murder and death of his father duke of Burgoyne and erle of Flaunders was enformed liyng at Gaunt of this misfortune and final ende of his noble parent and louyng father, he toke the matter as he had cause, greuously and heauily, insomuche that no mā of his cōsel durst ones speake to him, and in especial the lady Michel his wife, syster to the dolphyn and daughter to the kyng, was in great feare to be forsaken and cast out of his house and fauoure: But as all thinges ende, so sorow asswageth. When his doloure was somewhat mitigate he fyrst by thaduse of his counsell receiued to his fauor and company the fayre duchesse his louyng wife, and after sent diuers notable ambassadours to the kyng of England liyng at Roan to treate and conclude a peace betwene them both for a certain space: To which request in hope of a better chaunce kyng Henry agreed. After that knot knit, he kept a solempne obsequy for his father at saint Vaas in Arras wher were. xxiii. prelates with crosses. Duryng which tyme the earle of saint Paule and the Parisiens sent to hym ambassadours to know what they should do, and how they should defend them selues against the Englishmen. He gently answered the messengers, that he trusted shortly by the ayde of God and licence of the kyng to conclude a peace and perpetual amitie to their great comfort & relief. When these ambassadors were departed to make relacion to the Magistrates and gouernors of the cytie of Paris, he after long cōsultacion had aswel with men of the spiritualtie as temporal and lay persons, sent the bishop of Arras and two notable persons to the kyng of England with certayne articles and clauses which the duke of Burgoyne offred to him for very loue as he said. The kyng of England considering with him selfe that the duke of Burgoyne was a cōuenient organ and a necessary instrument to conueigh his desires to his purpose, louyngly receiued & honorably entertained the dukes ambassadours, declaryng vnto them that he would without prolongyng of tyme send to hym his Ambassadours, whiche should open his lawfull requestes & reasonable desires. With this answer, the dukes messengers departed towarde Arras and incontinent after their departure, kyng Henry sent the erle of Warwike and the bishop of Rochestre with many knightes & esquiers to the duke of Burgoyne, whiche to hym declared the effect and purpose of their ambassade and cōmyng he gently heard their requestes, and some he alowed and some he augmented, and some he altered and disallowed, but in cōclusion, by often sendyng betwene the kyng & the duke they were agreed, so the kyng and his cōmons would assent. Now was the Frenche kyng and the quene and his daughter Katherine at Troys in Champaigne, gouerned and ordered by them whiche would rather. x. tymes spurre forward the purpose & ententes of the duke of Burgoyne

Burgoyn then once with a bridle to pul backe any one iote preferred by him. What should I say, a truce triperituted betwene the. ii. kynges and the duke and their countreys was determined, so that the kyng of Englād should send in the cōpany of the duke of Burgoyn his Ambassadors to Troy in Chāpaigne sufficiently authorised to cōclud so great a matter. The kyng of England beyng in good hope that all his affaires should prosperously succede and go forward, sent to the duke of Burgoyn his vnclē the duke of Exceter, the erle of Salisbury, the bishop of Ely, the lord Fanhope and lord Fitzhugh, sir Ihon Robsert and sir Philip Hal with diuers doctors to the nombre of CCCCC. horse, whiche in the cōpany of the duke of Burgoyn came to the cytie of Troys the. xxi. daye of Marche. The kyng, the quene and the lady Katherin them receiued and heartely welcōined, shewyng great signes and tokens of loue and amitie. After a fewē daies they fel to counsel, in the whiche it was cōcludēd that kyng Henry of England should come to Troys and marry the lady Katherin, and the kyng should make him heyre of his realme, crowne and dignitie after his death and departure out of this naturall life with many other articles whiche hereafter in a place more conuenient you shal heare rehersed.

WHEN all these thynges were done and concludēd, the Ambassadors of England departed toward then kyng leauyng behynde them sir Ihon Robsert to geue his attendaunce on the lady Katherin. When kyng Henry had heard his Ambassadors reherse the articles and pointes of the treatie and amitie concludēd, he condescended & agreed with all diligence to set toward Troys, lōgyng for the sight of his darlyng the fayre lady Katherin. And althoughe he reioysed that all thynges succeded more luckely to his purpose then he before imagined, yet he trusted not so much to the glosyng wordes and golden promises of the Frenche nation beyng his aunient enemies, that he would rashely aduenture his person without a perfite serch and diligent inquirie of the doynge and attemptes of his doubtful and newe reconciled frendes, beyng warned and admonished by the late mischance of Ihon duke of Burgoyn yet recent in euery mans eye. But when he sawe the sunne shyne and ayre clere on euery syde, he accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren, the earles of Warwike, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Ewe, Tankerulle and Lōguile and xv thousand men of warre, departed from Roan to Ponthoyse and from thence to saint Denis two leagues from Paris, and from thence to Pontcharenton where he left a garrison of menne to kepe the passage, and from thence by Prouynce, he came toward Troys, where the duke of Burgoyn accompaniēd with many noble men receiued hym two leagues without the toune and cōueighed hym to his lodgyng and his pynces with hym, and all his armie was lodged in small villages theraboutē. And after he had reposed himself, he went to visete the kyng, the quene and the lady Katherin, whom he founde in Saint Peters Church, where was a ioyous metyng, honorable receiuyng and a louyng embrasyng on bothe partes, whiche was the twenty daie of Maie. And then wer the kyng and the lady Katherin made sure together before the high Altare, and on the thrid daie of Iune nexte folowyng, they were with all solempnite espoused and married in the same Church. At whiche mariage the Englishmen made suche triumphes, pompes and pagiauntes as though the kyng of all the worlde had been present. In so muche (as three Frenche writers affirme) that the nobles of Fraunce more merueled at the honor and glory of the Englishmen, then they disdained or maligned at their owne fortune.

AND when these solempne ceremonies wer honorably finished and the mariage consummate, the two kynges and their counsaill assembled together diuerse daies, wherein the former league and treatie was in diuerse poyntes alied and brought to a certaintie by the deuice of the kyng of Englaunde and his brethren. When this great matter was finished, the kynges sware for their part to obserue this agreement and league in all poyntes. Likewise sware the duke of Burgoyn and a great nombre of princes and nobles whiche wer presente, and that the soner because they marueiled before at his noble Actes dooen by kyng Henry, of whom they had knowledge only by report, and now they more marueled when they sawe and beheld the honor, estate & wisdom of his person. But whether they sware with outwarde



warde countenaunce and inwardly thought the contrary, let them whiche knowe the Frenche constancy iudge and tell truthe. But assuredly thei perceiued hym to bee prudent bothe in askyng and geuyng counsaill. Thei sawe hym expert and apt to marciall feates, and nymble in all thynges apperteignyng to warre. Thei thought hym strong against all perelles and imagined hym fortunate in all chaunces and doynges, wherfore as I saied, thei muche maruelled at hym, and more regarded his persone. Then was he named and proclaimed heire & Regent of Fraunce. And as the French kyng sent the copie of this treaty to euery toun in Fraunce, so the kyng of Englande sent the same in Englishe to euery citee and market toun to be published and deuulged, the very copie whereof as it was then writen, woorde by woorde ensueth.

¶ The Articles and appoyntmentes of the peace betwene the realmes of Englande and Fraunce.

HENRY by the grace of God kyng of Englande, heire and Regent of Fraunce, lorde of Ielande, to perpetuall mind to Christen people and all tho that be vnder our obeisance we notefie and declare that though there hath been here aforne diuerse treaties betwene the moste excellent Prince Charles our father of Fraunce and his progenitors for the peace to he had betwene the twoo realmes of Fraunce and Englande the whiche here before haue borne no fruite: We considering the greate harmes the whiche hath not onely fallen betwene these twoo realmes for the great deuision that hath been betwene thē, but to all holy churchē. We haue taken a treaty with our saied fatier, in whiche treaty betwixt our saied father and vs, it is concluded and accorded in the forme after the maner that foloweth.

- 1 FIRST it is accorded betwixt oure father and vs, that forasmuche as by the bond of Matrimony made for the good of the peace betwene vs and our most dere beloued Katheryn daughter of our saied father and of our moste dere mother Isabell his wife, thesame Charles and Isabell been made father and mother, therfore them as our father and mother we shall haue and worship as it sitteth and semeth so a worthy prince and princessse to be worshipped principally before all other temporell persones of the world.
- 2 ALSO we shall not distroble, disseason or letten our father aforesaid, but that he holde and possede as long as he lueth as he holdeth and possessedeth at this tyme the croune and the dignitee royall of Fraunce, and rentes and profittes for thesame of the sustenance of his estate and charges of the realme. And our forsaid mother also hold aslong as she lueth thestate & dignitee of Queue, after the maner of the same realme with conuenable conuenience part of the said rentes and profittes.
- 3 ALSO that the forsaid lady Katherin shall take and haue dower in our realme of Englande as Quenes of England here afore wer wont for to take and haue, that is to say, to the some of xl. M. Scutes, of the whiche two algate shalbe worth a noble Englishe.
- 4 ALSO that by the waies maners and meanes that we make without transgression or offence of other made by vs, for to kepe the lawes, customes, vsages and rightes of our saied realme of Englande shall doen our labor and pursute that thesaid Katheryn also sone as it may be doen, be made sure to take and for to haue in our said realme of Englande from the tyme of our death thesaid dower of. xl. M. scutes yerely, of the whiche twayne algate be worth a noble Englishe.
- 5 ALSO if it hap the said Katheryn to ouerlue vs, she shall take and haue the realme of Fraunce ymediately, from the tyme of our death, dower to the some of. xx. M. Fiankes yerely of and vpon the landes, places and lordshippes that held and had Blaunch somtyme wife of Philp Bossele to our saied father.
- 6 ALSO that after the death of our father aforesaid, and from thence forwards, the croune and the realme of Fraunce with all the rightes and appurtenaunces shall remain and abide to vs and becn of vs and of our heires for euermore.
- 7 ALSO forasmuche as our saied father is witholden with diuise sickness, in suche maner

as he maie not intende in his owne persone for to dispose for the nedes of theforsaid realme of Fraunce: therefore duryng the life of our saied father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernance and disposicion of the publike and common proffite of the saied realme of Fraunce with counsaill and nobles and wise men of the same realme of Fraunce shalbe and abide to vs. So that from thencefurthe we maie gouerne the same realme by vs. And also to admit to oure counsaill and assistance of thesaid nobles suche as we shall thynke mete the which faculties and exercise of gouernance thus being toward vs, we shall labor and purpose vs spedefully, diligently and truly to that that maie be and ought for to be to the worship of God and our saied father and mother, and also to the common good of thesaid realme, and that realme with the counsaill and help of the worthy and great nobles of thesame realme for to be defended, peased and gouerned after right and equite

ALSO that we of our owne power shall do the courte of the Parliament of Fraunce to be kept & observed in his autorite and soueraignte and in all that is doen to it in all maner of places that now or in tyme commyng is or shalbe subiect to our saied father. 8

ALSO wee to oure power shall defende and helpe all and euery of the Peres, nobles, citees, townes, commonalties and syngular persons now or in tyme commyng subiectes to our father in their rightes, customes, priueleges, fredome and fraunchises longyng or dewe to them in all maner of places now or in tyme commyng subiect to our father. 9

ALSO we diligently and truly shall trauaile to our power and do that iustice be administered and doen in the same realme of Fraunce after the lawes, customes and rightes of thesame realme, without personaix excepcion. And that we shall kepe and holde the subiectes of the same realme in tranquillite and peace, and to our power we shall defend them against all maner of violence and oppression. 10

ALSO we to our power shall prouide, and do to our power that able persones and profitable been taken to the offices aswell of iustices and other offices longyng to the gouernance of the demaynes and of other offices of the said realme of Fraunce for the good, right and peaceable Iustice of the same, and for thadministration that shalbe comitted vnto them and that they be suche persons that after the lawes and rightes of the same realme and for the vtiltee and proffite of our saied father shall minister, and that the forsaid realme shall bee taken and deputed to thesame offices 11

ALSO that wee of our power so sone as it maie commodiously bee doen, shall trauaile for to put into the obedience of our saied father, all maner of citees, townes and Castles, places, countrees and persones within the realme of Fraunce disobedient and rebelles to our saied father, holdyng with them whiche been called the Dolphin or Armynack. 12

ALSO that we might the more comodiously, surely and frely doen exercise and fulfill these thynges aforesaid. It is accorded that all worthy nobles and estates of the same realme of Fraunce aswel spirituals as temporalles, and also citees notables and commonalties, and citezens, burgers, of townes of the realme of Fraunce, that been obeysaunt at this tyme to our saied father shall make these othes that folowen 13

FIRST to vs hauyng the facultie, exercise, disposicion and gouernance of the forsaid common proffite to our hestes and commaundementes thei shall mekely and obediently obeye and intende in all maner of thyng concernyng the exercise of gouernance of thesame realme. 14

ALSO that the worthy greate nobles and estates of the saied realme aswell spirituals as temporalles and also citees and notable commonalties and Cittezens and Burgeses of the same realme in all maner of thynges well and truly shall kepe and to their power shall do to be kept of so muche as to them belongeth or to any of them all, those thynges that been apoynted and accorded betwene our forsaid father and mother and vs, with the counsaill of them whom vs lust to calle to vs. 15

ALSO that conuually from the death and after the death of our saied father Charles, they shalbe our true hegemē and our heires, and they shall receiue and admit vs for their hege and soureigne and verie kyng of Fraunce, and for suche to obeye vs without opposiciō, contradiccion or difficultee, as they been to our forsaid father duryng his life, neuer after 16



after this realme of Fraunce shall obey to man as kyng or regent of Fraunce, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsaill helpe or assente that we lese life or lynme, or be take with euill takyng, or that we suffre harme or diminucion in person, estate, worship or goodes, but if thei knowe any suche thyng for to be cast or ymagined against vs, thei shall let it to their power, and they shall doen vs to weten theroof as hastily as thei maie by themselves, by message or by letters

17 ALSO that all maner of conquestes that should bee made by vs in Fraunce vpon the saied inobedientes out of the Duchie of Noimandy shalbe doen to the profite of our saied father, and that to our power we shall do that al maner of landes and lordshipes that been in the places so for to be conquered longyng to persones obeyng to our saied father, whiche shall sweare for to kepe this presente accord shalbee restored to thesame persones to whom they long to

18 ALSO that all maner of persones of holy Church beneficed in the Duchy of Normandy or any other places in the realme of Fraunce subiect to our father and fauouryng the partie of the dukes of Burgoyne whiche shall sweare to kepe this present accord, shall reioyce peaceably their benefices of holy Church in the Duchy of Normandy, or in any other places next aforsaid

19 ALSO likewise all maner persones of holy Church obedient to vs and beneficed in the realme of Fraunce and places subiect to our father that shall swere to kepe this presente accord, shall enioye peaceably their benefices of holy Church in places next abouesaid.

20 ALSO that all maner of Churches, Vniuersitees and studies generall, and all Colleges of studies and other Colleges of holy Church beyng in places now or in tyme commyng subiecte to our father, or in the Duchy of Normady, or other places in the realme of Fraunce subiect to vs, shall enioye their rightes and possessions, rentes, prerogatiues liberties and fraunchises longyng or dewe to them in any maner of wise in the said realme of Fraunce, sauuyng the right of the croune of Fraunce and euery other persone.

21 ALSO by Goddes help, when it happeneth vs to come to the croune of Fraunce, the Duchy of Normandy and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of Fraunce shall bowe vnder the commaundement obeysaunce and Monarchy of the croune of Fraunce.

22 ALSO that we shall enforce vs and dooe to our power that recompence bee made by our saied father without diminucion of the croune of Fraunce, to persones obeyng to hym and fauoryng to that partie that is said Burgoyne, to whom longeth landes, lordshippes, rentes, or possessions in the said Duchy of Normandy or other places in the realme of Fraunce conquered by vs hethertoward, geuen by vs in places, and landes gotten or to be gotten and ouercome in the name of our saied father vpon rebelles and inobedientes to hym. And if it so bee that suche maner of recompence bee not made to the saied persones by the life of our saied father, we shall make that recompence in suche maner of places and goodes when it happeneth by Goddes grace to the croune of Fraunce. And if so be that the landes, lordshippes, rentes or possessions the whiche longeth to suche maner of persones in the saied Duchy and places be not geuen by vs, thesame persones shalbee restored to them without any delaye.

23 ALSO duryng the life of our father in all places nowe or in tyme commyng subiect to him, letters of common iustice and also grauntes of offices and giftes, pardōs or remissions and priuileges shalbe writen and procede vnder the name and seale of our saied father. And forasmuche as some syngular cace maie fall that maye not bee forseen by mannes witte, in the whiche it might be necessary and behouefull that we do write our letters, in suche maner cace if any hap for the good and surety of our saied father and for the gouernaunce that longeth to vs as is beforsaid, and for to eschewen perilles that otherwise might fall to the preiudice of our saied father to write oure letters, by the whiche we shall commaunde, charge and defende after the nature and qualite of the nede in our fathers behalfe and oures as Regent of Fraunce.

24 ALSO that duryng oure fathers life wee shall not calle ne write vs kyng of Fraunce, but vtterly we shall absteine vs from that name as long as our father liueth.

ALSO that our said father during his life shall nempne, call, and write vs in French in this maner *Nostre treschier filz Henry Roy Dengleterre heretere de Fraunce*, and in latyn in this maner *Precharissimus filius noster Henricus Rex Angliæ & heres Franciæ*. 25

ALSO that we shall put none imposicions or exacciōs, or do charge the subiectes of our said father without cause resonable and necessary, ne otherwise then for common good of the realme of Fraunce, and after the sayng and askyng of the lawes and customes reasonable, approued of thesame realme 26

ALSO that we shall trauaile to our power to the effect and intent, that by thassent of the three estates of either of the realmes of Fraunce and Englande, that all maner of obstacles maie be doen awaie, and in this partie that it be ordeigned and provided that frō the tyme that we or any of our heires come to the croune of Fraunce, bothe the crounes that is to saie of Fraunce and England perpetually be together in one and in thesame persone, that is to saie from our fathes life to vs, and from the terme of our lite thence forward in the persones of our heires that shalbee one after another. And that bothe realmes shalbee gouerned fro that wee or any of our heires come to thesame, not seuerally vnder diuerse kynges in one tyme, but vnder that same person whiche for the tyme shalbe kyng of bothe the realmes and souereigne lorde as it is beforesaid, keepyng neuerthesse in all maner of othei thynges to ether of ſ same realmes their rightes, liberties customes, vsages and lawes, not makyng subiecte in any maner of wise one of thesame realmes to the rightes, lawes or vsages of that other. 27

ALSO that henceforwarde, perpetually shalbee still reste, and that in all maner of wise, discencions, hates, rancoures, enuies, and warres betwene thesame realmes of Fraunce and England, and the people of thesame realmes, drawyng to accorde of thesame peace maie cease and bee broken. 28

ALSO that there shalbe fro hence forwarde for euermore peace and tranquillitee and good accord and common affection and stable frendship betwene thesame realmes and their subiectes beforesaid. the same realmes shall kepe theselves with their counsaill helpes and comon assistance against all maner of men that enforce them for to doen or to ymagine wronges, harmes, displeasours or greuaunce to them or to ether of them And thei shalbe conuersaunt and Marchandisen fiely and surely together payng the custome dew and accustomed. And thei shalbe conuersaunt also, that al the confederates and ahes of our said father and the realme of Fraunce afoisaid, and also our confederates, of the realme of Englande aforesaid, shall in viij monethes from the tyme of this accord of peace as it is notified to the, declare by thei letters that they wolle draw to this accord and woll be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sayng neuerthesse ether of the same Crounes, and also all maner accions rightes and reuenues that longen to our sayd father and his subiectes and to vs and to our subiectes againe such maner of allies and confederacies 29

ALSO neither our father neither our brother the duke of Burgoyne shall begynne ne make with Charles clepyng himselfe the dolphyn of Vyennes any treaty or peace or accorde but by counsel and assent of all and eche of vs thre or of othei thre estates of either of the sayd realmes aboue named 30

Also that we with assent of our sayd brother of Burgoyne & othei of the nobles of the realmes of Fraunce the whiche therto owen to be called shal ordaine for the gouernance of our sayd father sekily, lowyngly and honestly after the askyng of his royal estate and dignite by the maner that shalbe to the worship of God and of our father and of the realme of Fraunce. 31

ALSO all maner of persons that shalbe about our father to do him personal seruice, not onely in office but in all other seruices aswell the nobles and gentles as other shalbe suche as hath bene borne in the realme of Fraunce or in places longyng to Fraunce, good, wise, true and able to that foresayd seruice And our sayd father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience and nowhere els. Wherefore we charge & cōmaunde our sayd hege subiectes and other 32



other beyng vnder our obedience that they kepe and do to be kept in all that longeth to them this accord and peace after the forme and maner as it is accorded. And that they attempte in no maner wyse any thyng that may be preiudice or cōtrary to the same accorde and peace vpon paine of life and lymme and all that they may forsaite against vs. Youen at Troys the xxx day of May 1420 and proclaimed in London the xx day of Iune

33 ALSO that we for the thinges aforesayd and euery one of thē shall geue our assent by our letters patentes sealed with our seale vnto oure sayd fater with all approbacion & confirmation of vs and all other of our bloud royal and all other of the cities and townes to vs obedient sealed with their scales accustomed. And further oure sayd fater beside his letters patentes sealed vnder his great seale shall make or cause to be made letters approbatory and confirmacions of the peres of his realme and of the lordes, citezens and burgesses of the same vnder his obedience, all which articles we haue sworne to kepe vpon the holy Euangelistes.

HERE I ought not to forget howe. ii. men named learned in bothe the lawes, the one called master Ihon Bouchet the Aquitanical writer & Archedeason of Terbe, & the other Master de Prato a solempne prothonotary his pratyng gloser wrote of this treaty and composition, and make therof so a great matter as by the making of this peace it shuld appeare that England had no right to Fraunce, nor by this graunt nothyng to England was geuen. Fyrst Ihon Bouchet saeth that this treaty was the worst cōtract that euer was made for the kynges of England, for by this saith he it is apparant that the kyng of Englād hath neither tyle nor right to the crowne of Fraunce but by this cōposicion, for if they had right, why did they take it by cōposicion? vpon this text Master gloser saeth, that this composition geueth a new right, and if there wer any old it taketh it away and geueth a new, whiche new gift was of litle value and lesse efficacie in the law because the issue female may not enherite accordyng to the lawe Salique, & therefore he cannot make his doughter heyre to the crowne of Fraunce. If I might be so bold I wold axe Maister Ihon Bouchet this question: if a mā wrongfully kepe me out of the possession of my true and lawful inheritance (with whom I am neither able with purse neither with power to prosecute my cause before a competent iudge by proces of the lawe) wyl of his owne mere mocion (moued peraduenture with conscience) render to me my right, so I wyl suffre him to enioy my lande duryng his life, or that I wyl mary his daughter, haue I this land by his gift or as a thyng to me iustly by law and equitie rendred and receiued. Likewise if a riche man owe to a poore man an hundred poundes, whiche is not able in substance or for feare of displeasure dare not attempt any suyte or quarel against his detter, if he wyl offer to pay his money at dayes, to the whiche request the poore man agreeth, is this a newe gift of the money or a payment of the det. In the fyrst question if the demaūdant had no tyle, how could he graunt to him the accion of the land duryng his life, and in the second, if the plaintiffe had none interest how could he geue him daies of payment and yet in both the cases if the one part had no right why would the other make an offre or cōpound, for all cōposicions haue respect to a right precedent. But in this matter, who would iudge that a kyng of so great & puissant a realme with the assēt of his own counsel would dishenere his onely sonne & surrendre his tyle without an apparant right and open tyle knowen and shewed by the parties, for the olde prouerbe sayeth, long sufferance is no acquittance, nor prolongyng of tyme derogacion to right, also restitution is no graūt, nor payment of duetie is no gift. Doctors write and clerkes afferme that these treaties, arbitrementes and composicions be bothe godly, charitable and honest, both to restore the one partie to his auncient right (whether it be in landes or goodes) and to dispence & releue the other with the takyng of the profites of the land and vsyng in marchandies the occupacion of the money. Now to Master gloser whiche affirmeth that a composition taketh away an old right & geueth a new and that this cōposicion is of no value surely Master Ihon de Prato I wold haue suche a peuyse proctor retained against me for you say that euery cōposicion geueth a new right and taketh away the aunciēt tyle, yet you sayd before y this cōposicion neither geueth nor can geue any right, whiche cōclusion is manifestly repngnant to the antecedent therefore you must be answered thus, if  
nothing

nothing be geuen nothing is taken away, & so consequently no cōposicion, & if there be no cōposicion then remaneth styl the olde and auncient tytyle in the state that it was. Paraduementure Master glosce wyl say and allege the tytyle of England to be abrogated because the house of Valoys may lawfully prescribe against the kynges of England and haue had the possession fōrtie yeres and more, & so by this meane kyng Hēry had no tytyle to clayme or chalenge any part of the realme of Fraunce. Then I pray you remembre the yeres & accomplissh the doynges and you shall evidently perceiue that kyng Edward the thirde the very indubitate heyre general to the croune of Fraunce kyng Richard the second, kyng Henry the fourth and this noble kyng Henry the fift neuer desisted vi or viii yeres at the moost either by battaile or treatie to chalenge and clayme their auncient right and old enheritaunce to thē by quene Isabel discended, so the tytyle was euer in strife and neuer quiet tyll nowe the right lyne is restored. And as for your law Salique put it in your boget among lyes & fayned fables. Thus you may se the affections of Frenchemen, that an Arche foole cannot forge a lyē for his pleasure, but a prothodawe wyl faime a glose to mainteine his folish fātasie. Let vs now leue these wyfyl writers and returne to the kyng of England, which after al these articles of the treaty beyng concludid and sworne, made the Frenche kyng the duke of Burgoyn and other the Frenche lordes a solempne and sumptuous supper and banquet, and before their departyng he sadly and soberly sayd to them these wordes.

All my thought care & study is (you noble princes & men of high honor) to inuent the meane, study & way, how both my kyngdomes by the benefite of almightie God enlarged & amplified, by the cōnexyng & ioynyng the one to the other may be left to my posteritie clene & pure without domesticall dissencion or ciuile discorde, to thentent that as no prince nor potestate hath at this day in all Europe a greater gouernance, a richer regiment nor a more püssant empire So I trust to leue it that hercafter ther shal no power or dominion be able to be to it cōpared or equyolent. Wherefore I entende fyrst to extirpate & plucke away the rotes & leuynges of the ciuile discencion in this realme lately begon which ly in the brest of Charles the kynges sōne, by your decre, iudgement and assent, of the newe state and dignitie of the Dolphyn vtterly depriued and disgraded, against whom it is cōuenient and decent that you beare armure not so muche to destroy & confound him, as to bring him to do obaysance and reasonable cōformitie. What maner a prince thinke you he would proue, when he should obtaine & possesse a kyngdome, which beyng but a lusty yong striplyng not fearyng God nor regardyng his honor contrary to his promise & against all humaine honestie, was not ashamed to polute & staine him selfe with the bloud and homicide of the valeaunte duke of Burgoyn, O cancard stomacke in the brest of a yong prince, oh tyrannical heart in the body of a gentle man, O vntrue tong in the mouth of a Christen man, a Christian, no a Pagane, whiche neglectyng his honor, violatyng his promise and dispisyng honestie, would procure or cōsent to so abhominable a fact and sedicious a murder. Wherefore these thynges well pondered and iustly considered I require you to ioyne, stand, and cleue with me as the very heyre & successor of my dere & welbeloued father in lawe kyng Charles in this realme & kyngdome, fyrst to my noble auncesters, & after to me by right tytyle and iust elayne lawfully discended. Grudge not I pray you because I that am an Englishman shall succede in the croune of Fraunce: I assure you, I am not nor wil not be noted to be to you a mere alien and straunger, was not my great grandfather kyng Edward the thirde sōne to quene Isabel daughter to Philip the fayre and sister and heyre to iii. kynges of this realme dead without issue? was not my great graundmother quene Philip discended of the noble house of Valoys? if the old & tite prouerbe be true that the womans side is the sunnyside and that the childe foloweth the wombe, although the one part be Englishe yet the sure part is Frenche, and of the Frenche floure budded & brought furth. And therefore remembre not that I am an English mā put out of your mindes in what cōtrey. I was borne: and cōsider that I am a christen man & an anoynted kyng, to whō by both the professions it aperteineth not onely to defend & protect their people & subiectes from foreign powers & outward inuasions, but also to minister to them indifferent iustice, to conserue them in polittike ordie & moderate



moderate quietnes: & finally accordyng to their desert and merites, thē to promote auance, & prefer to riches, honors and estates: which thinges if I would not do to you my trusty trendes whose louyng heartes and beneuolent myndes I shall neuer forgette nor put in oblivion, I should not do my dutie to God I shuld not do the office of a kyng nor I shuld not do that whiche by the lawes of nature and reason I ought to do, which is to rendre kyndnes for kyndnes, goodnes for desert, and honor for merite. Therfore to cōclude I humbly require you to stande strong with kyng Charles my father in lawe (who in the stede of myne owne parent I worship, loue and honor) in this concord and agrement whiche I both call & trust to be a peace final, and after his mortal ende to loue, serue & be true to me and my posteritie, and I assure you for my part that the Ocean sea shall soner leue his flowyng and the bright sunne shal soner leue his shynyng, then I shall cease to do that whiche becommeth a prince to do to his subiecte. or that a father ought to do to his natural child.

WHEN he had thus perswaded the nobilitie, he with all his army, hauyng with him the Frenche kyng and the duke of Burgoyne came before the toune of Sene in Burgoyne whiche toke part with the dolphyn and after that he had destroyed the countrey about it, at the .xv. day the toune was yelded and there he made capitaine the lorde Ienuale. And from thence he remoued to Monstreau fault yone, where the duke of Burgoyne was slain as you haue heard, whiche toune was taken by assault and many of the dolphyns parte apprehended before they could get to the castel. After the getting of the toune, the castle whiche was newly replenished with men and vitayle, denied to iēdre, and so it was strongly besieged: during whiche assault the duke of Burgoyne was enformed by diuers in what place the duke his father was buried, whose corps he caused to be taken vp & sered and so cōueighed it to Diron in high Burgoyne and buried it by duke Philip his father.

THE kyng of England sent certaine of the prisoners that he had taken in this toune to aduise the capitaine of the castle to yeld the same, but they obstinately denied the request, geuyng opprobrious wordes to the kynges Herault, wherfore the kyng of Englād caused a gybbet to be set vp before the castle, on the whiche were hanged .xii. prisoners all gentlemen and fiendes to the capitaine. When the lord of Guytry lieftenant of the castle perceiued that by no meanes he could be succoured, and fearyng to be taken by force, he beganne to treat with the kyng of Englād, whiche in .viij. daies would take none of his offeis, but in cōclusion he and his rendred them selues simply, their lues onely saued, and after .vi. wekes siege the castle was deliuered, & the earle of Warwike was made capitaine of the toune and castle, whiche fortified the same with men, ordinance and artillerie. From thence the kyng of England departed to Molyn vpon Seyne and besieged it round aboute in whose company were the Frenche kyng, the yong kyng of Scottes, the dukes of Burgoyne, Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester.

The duke of Barre.  
The prince of Orenge  
The earle of Niche in Auerne  
The erle of Huntingdon.  
The erle of Stafford  
The erle of Sommerset.  
The erle Marshal.  
The erle of Warwike  
The erle of Worcester.  
The erle of Suffolke  
The archbishop of Bityayne earle of Yury.  
The lord Charles of Nauar.  
The erle of Perche  
The erle of Mortaine.  
The erle of Ormond  
The erle of Desmond.

Therle of Ewe  
Therle of Tankenulle.  
Therle of Longuile  
The erle of saint Paule.  
The erle of Brayne.  
Therle of Ligny.  
The erle of Vatedeumontur.  
Therle of Louigny.  
The Lord Rosse  
The Lord Matrauers.  
The Lord Gray of Codnor.  
The Lord Bouchier.  
The Lord Audely  
The Lord Wylloughby,  
The Lord Clynton.  
The Lord Deyncost.

The Lord Clyfford.  
 The Lord Ferreys Groby.  
 The Lord Ferreys of Chartley.  
 The Lord Talbot.  
 The Lord Fitzwaren.  
 The Baron Dudley  
 The Lord Mouerancy.  
 The lord Aubemond of Normādy.  
 The lord Beauchāpe of Normādy.  
 The Lord Fui ſiuale.  
 The Lord Fitzhugh.  
 The Lord Fanhope  
 The Lord Scrope of Balos.  
 The Lord Scrope of Vpsabe.  
 The Lord Canneys.  
 The Lord Bardolf.  
 The Lord Scales.  
 The Baron of Care.  
 The Lord Duras of Gascoh.  
 Thē Lord de la Laund Gascoy.  
 The Lord Montferrant.  
 The Lord Louel  
 The Lord Botras of Burge.  
 The Lord of Chastelon.  
 The Lord Lisleadam.

The Lord Vergecr.  
 The Lord of Crony.  
 The Lord sent George.  
 The Lord Pesunes.  
 The Lord Daugien.  
 The Lord Tremoyle.  
 The Lord Ienuale.  
 Sir Ihon de Lawuoy.  
 Sir Ihon Courselles.  
 The lord of Barenbon.  
 The lord of Ialous.  
 The lord Bonuile.  
 Syr Guy de Bar  
 Syr Ihon Fastolf.  
 Syr-Philip Halle.  
 Syr Philip Leche.  
 Syr Ihon Rodney.  
 Syr Morice Browne.  
 Syr Piers Tempest.  
 Syr Robert Tempest.  
 Syr Guy Moylc.  
 Syr Ihon Stanley.  
 Syr Lewes Mohu.  
 and. xv. Maister souldiers.

THESE valeaunt princes & noble men besieged the strong toun by the space almost of vii. monethes, they without made mynes, cast trenches and shot gunnes dayly at the walles, they within wherof the lord Barbason was chief capitaine manfully defended the same, this euery day was skyrming, scalyng, & assautyng, to the losse of bothe parties, but most of all to the losse of thē within. Duryng whiche siege the Frenche quene and the quene of England, and the duches of Burgoyne came diuers times to visite their husbandes and se their frēdes, whom the kyng of England so highly feasted, so louyngly entertained and with so pleasant pastymes comforted them, that euery creature of him reported honor, liberalitie, and gentleness. This siege so long cōtinued that vitayles within the toun began to fayle, and pestilence began to growe, so that the capitaine began to treat, and in cōclusion the toun was deliuered vpon certain condicions, wherof one was that all that were concentyng to the death of the duke of Burgoyne should be deliuered to the kyng, wherof the lord Barbason was suspected to be one, and so they were deliuered to the kyng of England, whiche sent thē vnder the conduyte of the duke of Clarence his brother to the cytie of Paris wherof the Frenche kyng made him capitaine and he toke possession of the bastyl of saint Anthony, the Louure, the house of Neele, and the place of Boys de Vynannes:

WHEN this toun was thus yelded, the kyng of England made capitaine ther therle of Huntynghdon. Fro thence he departed with his army to Corbeil, where the Frenche kyng and the two quenes then sojourned, and from thence the ii. kynges accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgoyne, Gloucester and Exceter, and therles of Warwike Salisbury and a greate number of noble men and knightes set furthe toward Paris, whom the citezens in good ordre met without the gates and the Clergy also with solempne processio, al the stretes wer hanged with riche clothes & the people in the stretes shouted and clapped handes, for ioye, the two kynges rode together, the kyng of Englande geuyng the vpper hande to his father inlawe through the greate citee of Paris to our Lady Church, where after they said there deuotions they departed to their lodgynges, the Frenche kyng to the hous of Saint Paule, & the kyng of Englande to the Castle of Louite. The next day the twoo,

Quenes



## THE VIII. YERE OF

Quenes made their entree into Paris and wer receued with like solempnite as their husbandes were the day before. If I should declare to you the greate giftes, the costly presentes, the plenty of vitale that was geuen to the kyng of Englande: or reherse how the conduites abundantly spouted out wine of diuers colours, or describe the costly pagiantes, the plesant songes or swete armony that wer shewed song and played at diuers places of the cite, or shewe the greate gladnes, the hertie reioysing and the greate delight that the comen people had at this concorde and peace finall, I should reherse many thynges that you would be weried both with the readyng and hearyng.

DVRYNG the season that these. ii. kynges thus lay in Paris, there was a greate assēble called, aswell of the spiritualtie as of the nobilitie in the which the two kynges sat as iudges, before whom the Duches of Burgoyne by her proctor appeled the Dolphin and. vii. other for the murdre of duke Ihon her husband. To the whiche appele the counsaill of the other part made diuers offers of amendes, aswel of foundaciōs of priestes to praye for the soule, as recompence of money to the widowe and children, for the finall determinaciō wherof the kynges toke a farther deliberacion and appointed a farther day. To the citee of Paris at this tyme resorted the three estates of the realme, where euery persone seuerally sware vpon the holy Euangelistes to kepe, support, maintein, and defende the treaty and peace finall which was concluded betwene the two princes and their counsailes and therto euery noble man, spirituall gouernor, and tēporall rulers set to their scales, whiche instrumentes wer sent to the kynges treasury of his Exchequer at Westminster, sauely to be kept wher they yet remain. These two kynges sojourned in Paris all the feaste of Christmas. The Frenche kyng liyng at the hous of S. Paule kept no estate nor open court to no man except his household seruauntes and men of base estate frequented his hous. But the kyng of Englande and his Quene, kepte suche solempne estate, so plentifull a hous, so princely pastyme, and gaue so many gyttes that from all partes of Fraunce, noblemen and othei resorted to his palice to se his estate and do hym honor.

THEN the kyng of England toke vpon hym as Regent of Fraunce to redresse causes, remoue officers, reforme thynges that were a misse, and caused a new coyne to be made called the Salute, wherin wer the Armes of Fraunce and the Armes of England and Fraunce quarterly. And to set all thynges in a quietnes, he constituted sir Gilbert Vmfreuile captain of Melun with a good nombre of valiant souldiers, and the erle of Huntynghdon his cosyn germain was deputed captain at Boys de Vincens, and the duke of Excester with. v. C. menne of warre was assigned to kepe the citee and toune of Paris. When he had thus ordered his affaires according to his deuice & ordre, he with the quene his wife his princes and nobles departed from Paris and came to the citee of Roan. But before his remouyng, he caused proces to be made against Charles called the Dolphyn, cōmaundyng hym to appere at the table of Marble at Paris, where for lacke of aperance he was with all solempnite in suche a cause requisite denounced gilty of the murder and homicide of Ihon late Duke of Burgoyne, and by the sentence of the court of parliament he was exiled and banished the realme and territories of Fraunce, and deprived of all honores, names, dignities and prehemineances which he then had or hereafter might haue. Wherefore the Dolphyn went into Languedoc and after to Poyctiers gettyng to hym suche frendes as he could, and in especiall he obtayned so highly the fauor of therle of Arminack that he not onely toke his part, but also relued hym with money, aided hym with men and in his own persone continually serued hym against his foes and enemies.

WHILE Kyng Henry sojourned in the citee of Roan, he receued homage of all the nobles of Normandy. emōgest whom therle of Stafford did homage for the countie of Perche, and Arthur of Britayn did homage for the counue of Yury, whiche the kyng before had geuen to them. He also ordeined his luetenant generall both of Fraunce and Normandy his brother Thomas duke of Clarence, and his deputie in Normandy was the erle of Salisbury. When the feast of Christmas (whiche he kepte with all triumphe and solempnie in his castle of Roan) was passed, he with the quene his wife departed from Roan to Amies and so came

came to Caleis where he toke ship the morow after Candlemas day and landed at Douer, and came to Eltham and so through Londō to Westminster Meruel it is to write but more meruel it was to se, with what roy, what triumphe, what solace and what reioysing he was receued of all his subiectes, but in especiall of the Lōdoners, which for tediousnesse I ouer passe And no doubt Englande had greate cause to reioyce at the coming of suche a noble captain, so valiant a prince and so mightie a conqueror, whiche in so small space and so briefe tyme had brought vnder his obeysance the greate & puissant realme & dominion of Fraunce. And first to rendre to God his creator inoste hūble & hertie thanks, he caused solempne processions to be obserued & kept. v. daies together in euery citee and toun: After that done he made greate puiueighance of all thynges necessary for the coronacion of his Quene & spouse the faire lady Katheryn, whiche was doen the daie of. s Mathy the. xxiiij daie of February, on whiche solēpne feast she was cōueighed on fote betwene ii bishops vnder a riche canapie frō the greate halle at Westminster to S Peters churche, & there she was anointed & crowned with al ſ ceremonies to so great an estate aperteyning or requisite. After which solēpnitie ended, she was again with great pōpe cōueighed in to westminster hall & ther set in ſ throne at the table of marble at the vpper end of the hall. whose seruice and solēpnite who so list to rede let him loke on the Chronicle of Robert Fa- biā which declareth it at large

¶ THE NYNTH YERE.

WHile these thynges were thus dooyng in Englande, the duke of Claience brother to the kyng and his lieutenāt generall in Fraunce and Normandy, assembled together all the garri- sons of Normandy at the toun of Bernay, and from thēce departed into the countrie of Mayne, and at Pount degene he passed the riuier of Youe and rode through all the countrie to Lucie where he passed the Riuier of Loÿre and entered into Anioie, & came before the citee of Angiers where he made many knightes, that is to saie, sir William Rosse, sir Henry Godard, sir Rowlād Rider, sir Thomas Beaufforde called the bastard of Clarence and di- uerse other, and after that he had forraid, brent, and spoyled the couētrie he returned with prae and pillage to the toun of Beaufford in the valey where he was aduertised that a greate nombre of his enemies wer assembled together at a place called Bange, that is to saie, the duke of Alanson callyng hymself lieutenant generall for the Dolphyn

The ix.  
yere.

Therle of Marche in Auerne.

Therle of Merle

Therle of Ponthiure

The Vicount Thomars.

The Vicount Chasteaulerat

The Vicount Damboyse.

The Lorde of Egle.

The Bastard of Alanson

The Bastard de la Marche.

The Bastard of Vandosme

The Lorde Champaine.

Sir Anthony of Champayne.

The Lorde Fountayes.

The Lorde of Beilay.

The Lorde Dauerton.

The Lorde Rambures.

The Lorde Tanagny de Chastell.

Sir Ihon Turmyn.

The Lorde Dasse.

The Lorde Buell.

The Lorde Gaules

The Lorde of Graueney

The Lorde dela Biere.

The Lorde de la Faret Marshall to the Dolphyn.

The Baion of Coluces

The Lorde Danzebost

The Lorde Vipond Diagosales, capitain of the Spaniardes

And of the Scottes whiche were late come out of Scotlande to seise the Dolphyn

Ihon erle of Boghan and Robert his brother, sonnes to the gouernor of Scotlande.

Archibald Dowglas erle of wigō.

Alexāder Lynsay brother to therle of Crayford.

Sir Thomas Swynton.



## THE. IX. YERE OF

Sir William Stuard.  
 Sir Willyam Doglas.  
 Sir Ihon Turnebull.  
 Sir Robert Lisle.  
 Sir William Conningham.  
 Sir Alexander Meldryne.  
 Sir Alexander Hume.  
 Sir Ihon Balglaue.  
 Sir Willyam Lisle.

Sir Ihon Haliburton.  
 Sir Ihon Crawford.  
 Sir William Candey.  
 Sir Ihon Giey.  
 Sir Ihon Commyn.  
 Sir Rober Boence.  
 Sir Archibalt Forbosse.  
 Sir Ducane Comine & many other.

THE duke of Clarence had a Lombard resorting to hym called Andrewe Forgusa was retained with the part aduise, of whom the duke inquired the nūbre of his enemies, to whō he reported that their numbre was but small and of no strength and far vnmete to compare with halfe the power of his puissaunt armie, entasyng and prouokying hym to set on the Frenchmen, warrātyng hym a famous victory and a faire daie. The duke geuen to muche credite to this traytor, like a valiant and coragious prince assembled together all the horssemen of his army and lefte the Archers behynde hym vnder the ordre of the Bastarde of Clarence and two Portyngales capitaines of Fresnye le Vicount, sayng that he onely and the nobles would haue the honor of that iorney. When the duke was past a straight apd a narowe passage, he espied his enemies ranged in good ordre of battaill by the monicion of the Lombard whiche had sold hym to his enemies, and thesaid aduersaries had laied suche busshmentes at the straighes that the duke by no wayes without battaill could ether retire or fle. The Englishemen seyng no remedy valhauntly set on their enemies whiche wer soure to one, the battail was fierce and the fight dedly, neuer wer so fewe men seen more coragiously to defend themselves then did the Englishemen that daie they fought and defeded, the slewe and felled, but it auailed not, for they wer repressed with a multitude and brought to confusion. There were slain the duke of Clarence, therle of Tankerulle, the Lorde Rosse, Sir Gilbert Vmsfreule erle of Kent, and sir Ihon Lumley, sir Robert Verend and almoste two thousand Englishemen, and therles of Somerset Suffolke and Perche, the Lorde Fitzwater, sir Ihon Barkely, sir Rauffe Neuell, sir Henry Iuglos, sir Willyam Bowes, sir Willyam Longton, sir Thomas a Borrough and diuerse other taken prisoners, and of the Frenchemen wer slain aboute xij. C. of the best men of warre so that they gained not much. The Bastard of Claience whiche taryed at Beauford was enformed of the numbre of the Frenchmen, wherfore he with all the Archers made hast to succor the Duke, butthey came to late, for the Frenchmen, hearyng of the approchyng of the Archers fled with their prisoners with all the hast they could, leuyng behynde them the bodie of thesaid duke and the ded carions. When the archers came and sawe their enemies gone: Lorde howe they mourned & lamented the euell chance of the deceiued duke, but seyng no remedy, thei tooke the ded bodies and buried them all sauyng the dukes corps, whiche with great solempnitie was sent into Englande and buried at Cantorbury beside his fater. After this the Englishemen brente and spoyled the countrie of Mayne and so returned to Alaunson and there departed every man to his Garrison. This battail was fought at Bawgy in Aniw on Easter euen in the yere of our Lorde a thousande CCCC xxij

I lament the foly and foolshenes of this duke and I maruell at his vnwitty doying and rashe enterprise, that he would aduenture his life and hazard his compaignie leuyng behynde hym the Archers whiche should haue been his shilde and defence. What maie be said, he desired honor and loste his life, he coueted victory and was ouercome, thus is the old prouerbe verified which saith: If shepe runne wilfully emongest Wolues they shall lese ether life or fell

KYNG Henry beyng aduertised of this infortunate chance and deceatfull losse of his louyng brother, sent without delate Edmond erle of Mortaigne and brother to therle of Somerset into Normandy. geuyng to hym like authoritee & preheminence as his brother the late deceased duke of Clarence had or,enioyed. After that he called his highe  
 courte

courte of Parliamente, in the which he declared so wisely, so seriously and with so greate a grauitie the actes that wer done in the realme of Fraunce, the estate of the tyme presente and what thynges wer necessary for the tyme to come (if they would looke to haue that Iewell and high kyngdō for the which they had so long laboured and sought for) that the comonaltie gladly graunted a fiftene, and the Clergy beniuolently offred a doble disme, and because no delay should be in the kynges affaires for lacke of paiement, the bishoppe of Wynchester his vncle lent to hym. xx M. pounce, to be receiued of the same dismes When all thynges necessary for this voyage wer ready and prepared, he sent his brother Ihon duke of Bedford with all his armie (whiche the Frenchmen write to be. iiii M. men of Armes and xx M Archers and other) before hym to Caleis And he himself shortly after in the middle of May passed the seas and arrued there in greate triumphe, where to hym was shewed that the Dolphyn with. vii. M. men had besieged the toune of Chantiers whiche was manfully defended by the Bastarde of Thyan and other set and apoynted there by the duke of Excester. Kyng Henry not myndyng to lose so faire a toune, with all his Armie departed in good ordre of battaill toward Paris, and at Mōsteuill there receiued hym the duke of Burgoin, whiche frō that place attended on the kyng to Dowast in Ponthiew and so came to Abbeuile, and after the kyng tooke a toune of sir Iaques of Harecort called la Ferte, and there the duke departed from the kyng for a sixe daies promisyng on his honour by that date to returne, the kyng of Englande passed forwarde by Beauuoys Gisors, and from thence came to Boys de Vincens where he founde the Frenche kyng and his Quene, whom he louyngly saluted and they him again honorably receiued and highly feasted, and thether came accordyng to his appoyntment Philip duke of Burgoyne, where was daily consultyng and he wisely deuising howe to subdue and repress the haultnes and force of the Dolphyn, hauyng perfight knowledge that as long as he ether liued or wandered vnbrideled so long should neuer the treaty and finall peace be obserued, wherefore he and the duke of Burgoyne apoynted in all the haste to fight with the Dolphyn and to reyse the siege before Charters The kyng of Englande with all his puyssaunce came to the toune of Naunte, and thether repaired the duke of Burgoyne with. iiii. M. men, of whose commyng the king was not a litle ieiouysed, but or they from thence departed, they had knowledge and true instruccion that the Dolphyn heryng of the puissant army of the kyng, approchyng to geue hym battail, was reculed with his people toward Towers in Towrayne Wherefore the kyng of England incontinent, not onely sent the duke of Burgoyne into Picardy to resist the malice of sir Iaques Harecort whiche daily inferred war and caused wast & destrucciō in the same countrie, but also apointed Iames kyng of Scottes to lay siege to the toune of Driex, whiche so sore by sworde and engins enforced the inhabitants that after sixe weekes passed, they deliuered thesame to the kyng of Scottes, to the behofe of kyng Henry his souereigne Lorde whiche made there of capitain the erle of Worcester and baily there, sir Henry Mortimer. The king himself remoued from Naūt and passed ouer the riuier of Leyre, folowyng the Dolphyn toward Tours: but he mistrustyng his power and puttyng diffidence in some of his owne flocke fled to Burges in Bernie, and chosyng that place as his chiefe refuge and surest fortress bothe for the situacion of the place and also for the fidelitie and constancie of the people, determined there to tary till fortune would tyme her whele and loke on hym with some gracious looke or louyng countenaunce, and therefore in a Iest he was comonly called the kyng of Burges and of Berries The kyng of England with all his puissaunce so fast folowed the flyng Dolphyn, that vitail began to faile, and horssemen waxed scante so that he considering that Burges beeyng the Dolphyns onely succoure and refuge, beeyng well vitailed and well manned was more profitable and available to the defender, then to hym that should make the assaute, wherefore he willing to save his people from famyne whom he knewe to be from the dente of the Frenche sworde clerely exempt and vntouched, returned ouer the riuier of Leyre and gat Gasconeis vpon Youne, and a toune called the kynges Newe toune, and diuerse other whose names nowe to reherce were more tedious then pleasaunt. But he seyng the toune of Meaux in Brye not to bee a toune



## THE. X. YERE OF

replemished with enemies, in the middest of his new gotten subiectes determined to take away the open scruple whiche might poyson and infecte the membres dwellyng hard by, wherfore he with these nobles folowyng besieged the said citee of Meaux.

Therle of Worcester.

Therle of Yury.

Therle of Brayon.

The Lorde Clifford.

The Lorde Fornuall.

The Lorde Louell.

The Lorde Awdely.

The Lorde Seynt Maure.

The Lorde Deyncort.

The Lorde Zouche.

The Lorde Morley.

The Lorde Fanhope and his sonne whiche died there.

The Lorde Ferreis of Chartley.

The Lorde Botreux.

The Lorde Clynton

The Lorde Harryngton.

The Lorde Willoughby.

The Lorde Fitzhewe, the kynges Chamberlaine

Sir Ihon Germaine.

Sir Ihon Fastolffe.

Sir Lewes Robsert.

Sir Willyam Gascoyn.

Sir Robert Harlyng.

Sir Wilhā Philip & diuerse other.

THIS toune was no lesse vitaled then manned, and no better manned then fortified, so that the kyng of Englande could nether haue it to hym deliuered at his pleasure, nor he could not gayne it by assaut without his greate losse and detriment. Wherfore he determined not to depart til he had ether gained or subuerted the toune. Duryng this siege was borne at Wynsore on the daie of. S. Nicholas in Nouember the kynges sonne called Henry, whose Godfathers were Ihon duke of Bedford and Henry bishop of Wynchester, and Iaquet Duches of Holād was Godmother, wherof the kyng of England was certefied hyng at this siege of Meaux. Whē he was aduertised of this good fortune and happie chaunce that God had sent him a sonne, he gaue thanks to his Creator or redemer for the geuyng to hym so goodly an ympe which should succede in his croune & scepter. But when he heard reported the place of his natiuitie, whether he fantasied some old blind prophesy, or had some foreknowledge, or els iudged of his sōnes fortune, he sayd to the lord Fitzheugh his trusty Chamberlein these wordes. My lorde, I Henry borne at Monmoth shall small tyme reigne & much get, & Hēry borne at Wyndsore shall long reigne and al lese, but as God will so be it. After the quene of England was thus deliuered of her faire sonne she returned into I'raunce firste to her husbnde, and after to her father and mother where she was on all partes so honorably receiued, so louyngly entertained and so highly feasted that she appeared to be no lesse loued of her noble husbnde then of her naturall parentes.

## ¶ THE TENTH YERE

The x  
yere.

DVryng the tyme of this siege, sir Oliuer Manye a valiant man of warre of the Dolphyns part, whiche before was captain of the Castle of Faloy and yeldyng it by composition, sware neuer to bere Armure against the kyng of England, assembled a great nombre of men of warre aswell of Britons as Frenchemen, that is to saie: The lorde Mountburchier, the loide of Coynon, the loide of Chastelgiron, the lorde Tyntignace, the lorde Dela Howssay and diuerse other whiche entered into the cōtree of Constantine in Normandy, and robbed and killed the Englishmen where thei might ether espie or take them at their auantage: but therle of Suffolk keper of those Marches hearyng of then doynge, sent for the lorde Scales, sir Ihon Aston bayly of Constantine, Sir Willyam Halle, sir Ihon Banaster and many other out of the Garrisons within that territory, whiche encountered with their enemies at a place called *le Parke Leuecque* in English the bishops Parke, ther was a sore and a long fight, many a propie feate of Armes was done that daie and many a man was in that place ouerthrowen, the Englishmen onely desired victory, and the Frenchmen desired a safe returne, but in cōclusion the Frenchmen beynge not able to withstand the charge that was laied to them began to fle, in which conflict and flight wer slain, the loide Coynon, the lorde of Castell Giron, and three hundred

dred other and there wer taken prisoners, the lorde Dela Howsay and sir Oliuer Manny and. lx. other. The kyng being aduertised of this good chance and happy iorney, sent sir Oliuer Manny to hym lying before Meux, to whom he saied, faire father you haue sworne and promised vnto vs that you would neuer make war nor beare armure against vs nor our subiectes, ye are an aūcient knight and ought to haue kept your faith and promise, whiche you haue vntruly and vnholonestly broken and violate, and yet we wolles not (although by the lawe of armes we might lawfully so dooe) put you to death but graunt to you your life, but we wolles sende you into Englande to lerne you to speake Englishe, and so shortly after he was sent to London where for very shame & mere Malyncoly he died and was buried in the White Friars.

THE Scottes write (beleue them if ye will) that the kyng of England hearyng that the Dolphyn had sent for aide into Scotland and that he had retained them in wages (for of their owne abilitie they bee nether able to send an army ouer the sea, nor yet of substaunce; to beare a continuall warre, for this all their owne histories declare and their Chronicles make mencion, and yet the countrie is not so poore but the people be as proude) sent one daie for Iames the Scottishe kyng and in the presence of his counsaill declared to hym what humanite, what fauor and what synguler affection kyng Henry his father bare duryng his naturall life toward thesaid kyng of Scottes. Puttyng hym in remembraunce of the great loue and manifold grattes which he himselfe sithe the beginnyng of his reigne had exhibited and shewed to the same kyng Iames, that neither he nor his father had any thyng negligently omitted whiche ether might apperteigne to the office of a frend or to the dutie of a tutor whiche should loue and cherishe his Orphane or pupile, promisyng hym libertie with a greate rewarde if he would cause the Scottes whiche wer adherentes to the Dolphyn to returne again into their countree and natue region. To the whiche request the kyng of Scottes with a very freshe herte answered sayng: what your noble father hath done to me & what fauor & benefite I haue receiued at your handes, I shall not nor will not when I maie (I assure you) forget, and when my power shall serue I shall not faile to recompence your dooynges with like kyndnes. But of your request I maruell not a little, first considering that I am a prisoner and haue no possession of my realme, secōdairely that I am as yet nether sworne to my subiectes, nor they by no oth of allegiance are bound to obey my cōmaundemētes wherfore I desyre you no more to moue me in this thyng which now I cānot do, & yet if I might I would fyrst forese whether it wer to me honorable or to my realme honest to leue our old frend in his extreme necessitie without ayd or cōfort. With this answer the kyng of England was not cōtent (as the Scottes say), but after kyng Iames departing fro his presence, kyng Henry saied, happy shall they bee whiche shalbe subiectes to suche a kyng that is endued with suche wit and wisdomē at these yong yeres of age.

THE kyng of England lying styl before the towne of Meux in Brye as you haue heard sore bet the walles with ordinance & cast doune bulwarkes and rampeyres on euery syde of the towne, and sore oppressed them within the towne, wherof hearyng the lord of Offemond, with a cōpany of chosen persons sēt by the dolphyn, came priuely in the night to the walles and set vp a ladder and diuers of his company mounted vp and entred into the towne, and as he passed ouer a plancke to come to the walles he fell into a deepe ditch, the Englishemen hearyng this noyse ranne to the ditch where they toke the lord of Offmound & slewe diuers of his company whiche stode at defence. The capitaine within the towne perceiuyng that their succours were taken, playnely iudged that the towne could not long continue, wherfore they caused all the goodes of the towne to be conueighed into the market place, which was strong and well fortified. The kyng of England beyng therot aduertised, cōmaunded in all hast to geue an assault to the towne, whiche was quickly done, so that the towne by fine force was within thre houres taken & spoyled. And the same day the kyng besieged round about the sayd Market place, and toke the mylle adioyning to the same. The capitaines perceiuyng in what case they were, fearyng to be taken by assault, began to treat with the kyng of Englande, whiche appointed the earle of Warwike and the lord Hungerford



geiford to cōmen with them & in conclusiōn a treaty was taken, and so the toune and Marketplace with all the goodes, were deliuered into the kyng of Englandes handes the. x. day of May. in the yere of our lord M.CCCC xxii.

WHEN the deliuey of the strong toune of Meaux was published thorough the countrey, al the tounes and fortresses in the Isle of Fraunce, in Lannoys, in Brye, and in Champane yelded them selues to the kyng of England, which appointed in them valeant capitaines and hardy souldiours.

AFTER that kyng Henry had thus taken and possessed the toune of Meaux and other fortresses at his pleasure, he returned againe to Boys de Vynconnes where he founde the French kyng & the quene & his wife which with all ioye him receiued, and so the xxx. day of May beyng the vigile of Pentecost, the. ii. kynges and the quēes returned to Paris. wher the kyng of Englād lodged in the castle of Loure, and the Frenche kyng in the house of saint Paule These two kynges kept great estate with their quenes at this high feast of Pentecost, but the kyng of England (as Enguerant both confesseth & diuers other sayth) kept such a glorious estate and so costly a court that he with his quene sat at diner in Paris richly adoined in vestures and with dyademes of gold garnished with precious stones & decked with Iuelx bothe radiant & pleasant. beside this his princes & estates, barons, chief capitaines, & valiant men of warre wer set in solempne estate plenteously serued and abundantly feasted, that the people of Paris whiche thither resorted to behold his magnificēt estate, iudged him to be more like an emperour, then their kyng (which sat solitary alone) to be like a duke or a poore Marques. But Enguerant (as I sayd) although he confessed the truth, yet goeth he about to blemishe the gloiy of king Henry, alleging that Englishemen were feasted and the Parisians were not once bid drinke, whiche was not the custome of the Frenche kinges court in so solempne and triumphant daies. I am somewhat sory that kyng Henryes seruantes of the seller made not master Enguerant drinke, which then was skoler in Paris, but I more lament ſy vntue sayng & no lesse variable writyng of so famous a clerke whiche to darken the honor of kyng Henry hath clearly defased the princely estate of his owne kyng & soueraigne lorde, for he confesseth that kyng Charles with his quene kept a solemne house within his court of saint Paul, to whose palice no man in maner resorted, but every French creature was ioyus to view and se the estate and magnificence of kyng Henry. If he haue written true, then must this nedes folow that no subiect reioysyng or hauyng comfort of their owne prince and natural lord wyll leue him desolate & alone, and folowe a straung potestat and seke relief at a forein princes house and table. If the Frenchmen came to wonder at the estate of the kyng of England, then was their princes estate base and not worthy to be regarded if the Parisiens came to se the princely ordre of his household, then was it manifest that their soueraigne lord kept but a mean family if the poore peisantes came thither for vitale and fragmentes it appeareth that their soueraigne lord had a cold kychyn: if they did not all drinke in the kyng of Englandes house, either they were to euil ruled or to vile & lothsome to haue any gentle entertainment in so honorable a court and noble a family, and therefore Enguerant because he dranke not, euill reported the estate of the English court as he cōmonly doth in al other matters.

THE dolphyn knowyng by his espials wher the kyng of Englād & his power lay, came with al his puissance ouer the ruer of Leyre and besieged the toune of Cosney or Conny and sent parte of his arm to waste and destroye the confines of the duchy of Burgoyne, to the intent to deuide the power of the kyng of Englande from the strength and force of the duke of Burgoyne, and as he purposed, so it happened for the duke of Burgoyne with his power to set forwarde to defend his owne lande & dominion and wrote to the kyng of England to send ayd to thē of Cosney or Conney, whiche had promised to rendre their toune to the dolphyn, if they wer not rescued by the kyng of England within. x. daies Kyng Henry hearyng this newes answered that he would not send one creature, but he would go before him selfe And so withal diligence came to the toune of Corbel and so to Senlys, where, whither it were with the heate of the ayre, or that he with his daily labor were febled or weakened,

weakened, he began to wax sicke, ye and so sicke that he was constrained to tary and to send his brother the duke of Bedford to performe his iorney and enterprise.

THE duke like a valiant capitayne set forward to reskue the towne besieged, wherof hearing the dolphyn with al his capitaines & hardy souldiours departed thence into Barrey to his great dishonor and lesse gaine, & so was the cytie of Cosney or Cōney reskued to the great honor of the Englishe nacion. In the meane season kyng Henry waxed sicker and sicker and so was layd in a horsebiter and conueighed to Boys de Vyncens to whom shortly after repaired the dukes of Bedforde and Gloucester his vnclcs, and the erles of Salisbury and Warwike, whō the kyng louyngly entertained and embrased: and whē they seyng him in so great an agony and excedyng payne began to wepe and bewaile his painful paines and greuous malady, He with a constant mynde without any outward shewe either of sadde countenance or sorowe comforted and encouraged them to be mery and ioyous. But when the crisis of his sicknes was past and that he perceiued that helth was ouercome and had lost the victory, he rendred to God his most heartie thankes, for that chiefly that he called him out of this miserable life at suche tyme when he was of most perfite remembrance bothe towarde God and the world and also in the tyme of his flourishing cōquest, in the whiche he had neuer receiued misfortune, euil chance, or spot of dishonor: And turning him self to his brethren and other noble personages sayd to them. My natural brethren and trusty frēdes, I se you lament, I perceiue you bewaile my death approchyng and fatall ende at hand of the whiche I am both glad and reioyce, for this short tyme and smal tract of my mortal life, shal be a testunony of my strength, a declaraciō of my iustice, and a setting furth of all myne actes and procedynges, and shall be the cause that I by death shal obtayne fame, glorye and renoume, and escape the reprehension of cowardnes, and the mote of all infamy, whiche I might haue chaused to falle into if nature had lenger prolonged my life or daies. for it is commonly sayd, that as tyme chaungeth, conditions alter, and in long time al thynges continue not in one estate. But as eternite is the triumph vpō tyme, so do I trust after this short life to haue an eternal beyng, and after this miserable pilgrimage, mine hope is to enioy the celestial kyngdome, and to come to the place of rest and palice of quietnes.

An exhortacion of kyng Henry the first made a lytle before his death.

NOWE as touchyng you (no doubt but this my sodaine chaunce molesteth your heartes and disquieteth your senses, and not without a cause, you lament the calamitie and mischaunce that is like to fall on your country because that I in this troublous worlde and tempestious season leue you destitute of a gouernour and ruler whiche chance is the lesse to be moned and regarded, because in all worldly thynges some thing euer lacketh and nothing long endureth: wherfore because the olde sayng is, that in tyme of necessitie wit and wysedome be proued, I require you to consult, study and take paine to come to the ende of the iorney whiche I in my tyme haue begon and entered in, & chiefly because I haue euer loued and trusted you aboue all other persons, I require and desyre you now to shewe like loue and be as trusty to my sōne that shalbe your soueraigne lord, so that whatsoever duty, allegiance or fauor for my liberalitie or kindnes to you shewed, was to me either of honestie or ciuilitie due or owyng: let the same for my sake be extended, shewed and recompensed to mine heyre & successor litle prince Henry. Some persons haue hated the father & yet haue loued the child and some haue loued the father and murthered the child, of which sort I neither reken nor accompt you, but this I say, if you loue me, you ought to loue my child, not for his desert, but for myne, and sith now I shalbe taken from you before satisfactiō or recompence made to me for my manyfolde goodnes and ample benefites to you shewed in my life I say & affirme that after my death (excepte you be noted with the blot of ingratitude, I will not say vntrueth) you ought to render the same to my child your nephue or kynsman, I pray God that you do not defraud me of the good expectacion that I haue euer had of you. And because I will not charge you, I wyl frendly exhort you to bryng vp my lytle infant in vertuous huyng, moral doctrine, and prudent pollicye to thentent that by your paine he may proue wise, by your instruction, he may proue.



proue polittike and by your educacion he may be able to rule a kingdome, and not to be ruled of other by the which deuoir you shall not onely do your dutie to your prince and soueraigne lorde, but also merite and deserue thanks of your natie countrey to the which you be both bound and obliged. Beside this my petition is not onely to confort my most derest and welbeloued quene and espouse now beyng (as I thinke, the most dolorous and pensieue womā liuyng) but also to loue her and honor her as I haue both loued and honored you

AND as touching the estate of my realmes, Fyist I cōmaund you to loue and ioyn together in one leage or concord and in one vnfained amitie, keepyng continual peace and amitie with Philip duke of Burgoyne And neuer make treatie with Charles that calleth him selfe dolphyn of Vyen, by the whiche any part either of the crowne of Fraunce or of the duchies of Normandy or Guyan may be appaired or diminished. Let the duke of Orleans and the other princes styl remayne prisoners til my sone come to his lawful age, lest his returning home again may kinde more fier in one day then may be well quenched in thre. If you thinke it necessary I would my brother Vmfrey should be Protector of England duryng the minoritie of my child, prohibiting him once to passe out of the realme And my brother of Bedford with the helpe of the duke of Burgoyne I wyll shall rule and be regent of the realme of Fraunce, cōmaundyng him with fyre and sworde to persecute Charles calling him selfe dolphyn, to thentent either to bryng him to reason & obeysaunce, or to dryue and expel him out of the realme of Fraunce admonishyng you to lese no tyme, nor to spare no cost in recoueryng that whiche to you is now offered. And what thynges either I haue gotten or you shal obtaine, I charge you kepe it, I cōmaund you to defend it, and I desire you to norishe it for experience teacheth that there is no lesse praise to be geuē to the keeper then to the getter, for verely gettyng is a chaunce and keepyng a wit. Wel I fele that death draweth neare & I shal not long tary, therefore, I cōmit my soule to God, my loue to my frendes, my synnes to the deuil and my body to the earth.

THE noblemen present promised to obserue his piceptes and performe his desires, but then beartes were so pensieue & replenished with doloure that one without wepyng could not beholde the other. Then he sayd the seven Psalmes and receiued the blessed Sacrament, and in saying the Psalmes of the passion completed his dayes and ended his life the last day of August, in the yere of our lord. M.CCCC xxiij.

The description of kyng Henry the.

THIS Henry was a kyng whose life was immaculate & his liuyng without spot This kyng was a prince whom all men loued & of none disdained This prince was a capitaine against whom fortune neuer frownded nor mischance once spurned. This capitaine was a shepherde whom his flocke loued and louyngly obeyed This shepherd was such a iusticiary that no offēce was vnpunished nor friendship vnrewarded. This iusticiary was so feared, that all rebellion was banished and sedicion suppressed, His vertues were nomore notable then his qualites were worthy of place, for in strength and agilitie of bodye frō his youth fewe were to him cōparable: for which cause in wrestlyng, leapyng and runnyng no man almoste durst with him presume, in castyng of great yron barres and heuy stones, he excelled cōmonly all men No colde made him slouthfull, nor heat caused him to loyter, and when he most labored his head was vncouered. He was no more wery of harnes then of a light cloke Hunger and thirst were not to him noysome He was neuer afeide of a wounde nor neuer sorowed for the paine He neither turned his nose from euill sauoure, nor frō smoke or dust he would not close his eyes No man could be founde more temperate in eatyng and drynkynge, whose diete was not to delicate, but rather mete for men of warre than for virgyns Euery honest person was permitted to come to him sittyng at his mele, and either secretly or openly to declare his mynd and intent High and weightie causes aswel betwene men of warre & other he wold gladly hear, and either determined thē him selfe or cōmitted thē to other to geue sentence. He slept very lytle and that onely by reason of bodely labour & vnuquietnes of mynde, thō the whiche no small noyse could awake him, insomuche that when his souldiers either sang in the nightes or their minstrelles played that all the campe souided of their

their moyse, he then slept most soundly. His courage was so constant and his heart so vnmutable that he cast away al feare, and dread frō him was banished. If any alarm wer made by his enemies, he was fyrst in armure and the fyrst that would set forward. In the tyme of war he gat knowledge, not onely what his enemies did but what they sayd and entended, so that al thynges to him were knowen, & of his deuices few persons before the thing was at the point to be done should be made priuie. He had such knowledge in orderieng and guydyng an armye and suche a grace in encouragynge his people, that the Frenchmen sayd he could not be vāquished in battel. He had suche wit suche prudence and suche pollicie that he neuer enterprised any thyng before he had fully debated it and foresene al the inaynē chaunces that might happen. and when the end was concluded, he with all diligence and courage set his purpose forward. Marueile it is to heare howe he beyng a prince of honoi, a prince of youth, a prince of riches, did continually abstain frō lasciuious luyng & blynd auarice, yea, & in the tyme of losse he was no more sad then in the tyme of victory, which constācy few men haue or can vse. Suche a stable stomacke had he and such a grautie was geuen in the bottome of his heart. What pollicy he had in findyng sodaine remedies for present mischuefes, and what practice he vsed in sayyng him selfe and his people in sodaine distresses excepte by his actes they did plainly appeare. I thinke it were almost a thyng incredible. What should I speake of his bountefulnes and liberalitie no man could be more gentle, more liberal nor more free in geuyng rewarde to al persones according to their desertes. Sayyng that he had leuer dye thē to be subject to auerice, and that he neuer desired to haue money to kepe, but to geue and spend. He was mercyful to offenders, chaitable to the nedy, indifferēt to al men, faithful to his frēdes, and fierce to his enemies, toward God most deuout, toward the world moderate, and to his realme a very father. What should I say, he was the blasynge comete and apparent lanterne in his daies, he was the mirror of Christendome & the glory of his cuntry, he was the floure of kynges passed, and a glasse to them that should succede. No Emperoi in magnanimitie euer him excelled. No potentate was more piteous nor loide more bounteous. No prince had lesse of this subiectes and neuer kyng cōquered more whose fame by his death as liuely flourisheth as his actes in his life wer sene and remembred. When his death was published among the cōmen people, incōtinet then heartes wer appaulled and their courages abatēd, their dolor so muche encreased & their wittes were so muche troubled that they like mad men rent their garmentes and tare their heere, accusyng and blamyng fortune which had taken away from them so precious a iewel, so noble an ornament & so sure a defence. for no doubt as much hope as was taken awaye frō the Englishmen, for the gettyng of Fraunce by his sodain death, so much trust was encreased in the stomackes of the French nation, hopyng to recouer their aūcient libertie and old parentage. For whiche cause some say that he was poysoned, the Scottes write that he died of the disease of s. Fiacre, whiche is a palsey & a crāpe. Enguerant sayeth that he died of S. Anthomes Fier, but al these be but fables as many mo write. For Peter Basset esquire which at the tyme of his death was his chāberlain affirmeth that he died of a Plurisis whiche at that tyme was so rare a sickenes and so straūg a disease that the name was to the most part of men vnknown & phisicions wer acquainted as lytle with any remedy for the same, and therfore euery mā iudged as he thought, and named a sickenes that he knew, shotyng not neie the pricke nor vnderstandyng the nature of the disease. This kyng reigned ix yerēs v monethes and. xiiii. dayes & liued not ful xxxviii. yerēs: he was of stature more then the cōmen sort, of body lene, wel mēbried & strōgly made a face beautiful somewhat long necked, black heered, stout of stomake, eloquent of tong, in marciall affaires a verry doctor, & of al chualry the very Paragone, His body was enbaumed & closed in lede & layde in a charet royal richely apparelled with cloth of gold, vpon the corps was layd a representacion of his person adorned with robes, diademe, scepter & bal like a kyng, the which charet was drawē with. vi. horses richely trapped with seuerall armes, the fyrst with the armes of S. George, the. ii. with tharmes of Normandy, the. iii. with the armes of kyng Arthur, the. iiii. with the armes of S. Edward, the fift with the armes of Fraunce onely, and the sixt with the armes of England and Fraunce, On this Charet



## THE. I. YERE OF

gaue attendance James kyng of Scottes the principal morner, the duke of Exceter Thomas his vnkle, therle of Warwike Richard, therle of Marche Edmond, therle of Stafford Humfrey, the earle of Mortaine Edmonde Beauford, the lord Fitzhugh Henry, the lord Hungerford Water, sir Lewes Robsert Burchier, sir Ihon Cornewale lord Fāhope, and the lord Crumwel wer the other morners. The lord Louel, the lord Audely, the lord Morly, the lord Souche bare the baners of saintes and the Baron of Dudley bare the stander & therle of Longuile bare the baner. The Hatchementes wer borne onely by capitaines to the nōbre of. xii. and rōūd about the charet rode CCCCC mē of aimes al in blacke barnes & their horses barded blacke with the but of their speres vpward. The cōduit & ordre of al this dolorous dole was cōmaūded to sir Williā Philip treasurer of the kynges houshold and to sir Wyllhā Porter his chief caruer and other. Beside this, on enery syde of the charet went. CCC persons holdyng long torches, and lordes bearyng baners, banerols & penons. With this funeral pompe he was conueighed from Boys de Vyncens to Paris and so to Roan, to Abbeule, to Caley, to Douer and so thorough London to Westminster, where he was buried with suche solempne ceremonies, suche mournyng of lordes, such praiser of priestes, suche lamentyng of commons as neuer was before that day sene in the realme of Englande.

Shortly after this solempnite, his sorowful quene returned into England and kept her estate with the yong kyng her sōne. Thus ended this noble and puissant prince his most noble & fortunate reigne ouer the realme of England; whose life although cruel Atropos before his tyme abbreviated, yet neither fyre, rust, nor frettyng tynne shal amongst Englishmen ether appall his honoure or obliterate his glorie whiche in so fewe yeres and brief dayes achued so high aduentures and made so great a conquest.

¶ The ende of the victorious actes of kyng Henry the fift.

## THE TROBLEOUS SEASON OF KYNG

## HENRY THE SIXT.

The. i. yere.

**D**Eath the determinate end of mannes life, and of all yearthly thynges the finall poynt and pricke, whiche fauoureth nether Emperour nor spareth kyng, but at his plesure confoundeth riche and slayeth poore, vnbodyng the solle of this godly prince this martial capitain and renowned flower, not onely dismaied and appalled the hertes and corages of the Englishe nacion, but also puffed vp and encouraged the myndes and stomackes of the Dolphyn and his proude people. The one parte thynkyng, the keepyng of Noimandy and other dominions to hym gayned to bee very dangerous, The other part trustyng the farther cōquest in Fraunce not onely to be doubtfull, but to their iudgements apparantly impossible. Yet the politike Princes and sage Magistrates of the realme of England well remembryng thynges that wer passed, and sagely ponderyng the tyme present, but moste of all prudently forseyng chaunces imminent and perels at hand to thentent to set the membres of the body stedfast vnder the hedde, Whiche as shepe without a sheperd far from the folde might wandre and straie at large, caused yong prince Henry, the sole orphane of his noble parent kyng Henry the fift, beyng of the age of. ix. monethes or there about with the

sound

sound of trumpettes openly to be proclaimed kyng of Englande and of Fraunce the. xxx. daie of August, in the yere of our lorde. M. cccc. xxii. by the name of kyng Hēry the sixt, to the great reioysing and comfort of all the Englishe nacion

AND the custody of this young prince was apoynted to Thomas duke of Excester, and to Henry Beaufford bishopp of Wynchester the duke of Bedford was deputed to be Regent of Fraunce, and the duke of Gloucester was assigned Protector of Englande whiche takyng vpon hym that office, least peradventure he might hereafter report his actes and doynge, as a man reinyng other and forgettyng hymself, called to hye wise and graue counsailers, by whose aduise he prouided and ordeined for all thynges whiche ether redounded to the honor of the realme, or semed profitable to the publike welth of the same. And when he had set in an ordre al matters conceyning the inward affaires of the realme of Englande, he prouided farther all thynges necessary and conuenient for warre and farther conquest in Fraunce, and apoynted valiant & expert capitaines whiche should be ready when oportunitie of tyme required Beside this, he gathered great somes of money to maintain the men of warre, and left nothing forgotten that might let or hynder his purposed enterpryse.

WHILE these thynges were thus deuised within the realme of Englande, the duke of Bedforde Regent of Fraunce, no lesse studied then toke payne, not onely to kepe and ordre the countrees and regions by kyng Henry late cōquered and gained, but also determined not to leue of from daily waire and continuall trauaille till the tyme that Charles the Dolphyn (whiche was now a foie, because kyng Charles his father in the moneth of Octobre this present yere, was departed to God,) wer ether subdued or brought to dewe obeysance. And surely the deth of this kyng Charles caused many alteracions & chaunges in the realme of Fraunce, for a greate parte of the nobilitie whiche ether for feare of the puissance of the Englishemen, or for to please and folowe the mynde and appetite of Charles the Frenche kyng, toke parte with kyng Henry against the Dolphyn Heryng now of the Frenche kynges death, returned from the English part and adioyned themselves to the companie of the Dolphyn, and diligently studied how to vanquishe and dryue awaie the Englishe nacion out of the territory of Fraunce.

THE Duke of Bedford beeyng greatly moued with these sodaine chaunges, fortified his townes bothe with Garrisons and munitions, and assembled together a great armie bothe of Englishmen and Normans, to whom he made a long oracion, admonishyng them to obserue and kepe their othe & faith (whiche thei had made to the late kyng Henry and his heires) inuolate and vnbroken, willyng them in no wise to be the occasioners or counsailers that young kyng Henry should be deprived from his fathers lawfull inheritance, by the hatred of certayne traitors Frenchemen which had renewed the old hatred beyng of late extinct betwene the realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, and studied to set all thynges again in a boyle: requyryng them also to call to their memory how that the realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, the two moste famous regēs of all Europe, by the benefite of almightie God, wer of late so vnited connexed & ioyned together in an eternall league and composicion, and so strōgly established that no worldly power wer able or of puissance sufficient, to resist or withstande the malice of the same And although sometymes by chaunce of warre the losse mighte tūne on their part, yet in conclusion the detriment should be recovered and a surplusage gayned And if (accordyng to their bounden duties) they would honor scrue and loue young kyng Henry their soueraigne lorde, and would diligently persecute & set on his enemies, thei should not onely shewe theselves true and faithfull subiectes to their true and vndoubted kyng. But also should for their fidelitie and good seruice receiue of hym condigne rewardes, ouer and beside immortall fame and renoune

THIS exhortacion staid the hertes of many of the Frenche capitaines, whiche willyngly sware to Kyng Henry feaultie and obedience by whose example the comonaltie did chesame. Thus all the people set in an ordie in the realme of Fraunce, nothing was mynded but warre and nothing was spoken of but of conquest. The Dolphyn whiche lay at this tyme in



the citee of Poytiers herying of the death of his parent had his herte mixed bothe with ioye and sorowe. for notwithstanding that he was sorowfull as a natuall child which lamented the death of his father, yet he was ioyous that power & princely estate was now to hym happened by the whiche he iudged that he should be the more able to defend his enemies and recouer more fierdes. & so calling together the Princes of his faccion, caused hymself to bee proclaimed Kyng of Fraunce by the name of Charles the. vij. And the beying in good hope of recoueryng his patimony & expellyng his enmies, with a haut corage prepared war & assembled together a great armie, and first the war began by light skirmishes, but after it proceeded into main batailles

THE Dolphyn thynkyng not to make long delays in so greate a cause, lest the power of his enemies might daily be augmented, sent the lorde Graule to the toune of Pount Melance stādyng on the riuier of Seyne, whiche so sodainly came to thesame that he was on the walles or the souldiors within heard of his approche, and so he toke the toune and slewe a greate nombre of the Englishe souldiors. When the Regēt of Fraunce was aduertised of this sodain enterprise, he apoynted the Lorde Thomas Montacute erle of Salisbury, a manne bothe for his greate pollicie and haute corage moie to be compared to the old valiant Romans then to men of his daies, accompaigned with the erle of Suffolke, the lorde Scales, the yong lorde Pounynges, sir Ihon Fastolffe master of the household with thesaid lorde Regent, and diuerse other to besiege the toune of Pont Melance, which after two monethes was rendered to thesaid erle, and the lorde of Graule swaie to be trewe to the Kyng of Englande euer after that daie, but shortly after he forgetting his othe returned to his old master again. The erle of Salisbury apoynted sir Henry Mortimer and sir Richard Vernon to be capitaines of that toune. And from thence departed into Champaigne and ther besieged the toune of Sens and toke sir Guillam Maryn the capitain and slewe all the souldiors within the toune, and made there capitains sir Hugh Gedyng and sir Richard awbemond.

THE Parisians whiche euer like the Wethercocke be variable and inconstant, perceiving that the Dolphyn daily began to haue moie aide and power then he was before accustomed, trustyng to returne again vnder his obeysance and subiecciō (whiche they bothe wished and desired) to the intent that it should not apere to come of their desire and that their faith and fidelite should not be put in the balance of diffidence with the Englishe nacion, sent diuerse Senators of their citee as Ambassadors to the kyng of Englād, desyryng hym of aide and succor, to whom not onely greate thanks were rendered for dooyng their dute of subiecciō, but also high feastes wer made, and promises declared that if they stil continued in due obeysance, and wer not adherent to the kynges enemies, y neither succour should want, nor cost should be spared for their comen cōfort and publike vtilite. With whiche answer the cōpaigny outwardly pleased (whatsocuer they inwardly imagined) departed to Paris. In this season Humfrey duke of Gloucester either blynded with ambition or dotyng for loue, married the lady Iaquet or Iacomyn daughter and sole heire to William of Barre duke of Holland, which was lawfull wife to Ihon duke of Brabant then luyng, whiche mariage was not onely wondered at of the comon people, but also detested of the nobilite, & abhorred of the Cleigie. But suerly the swete tast, of this pleasant maniage, brought after a sower sauce, bothe to the amorous housbande, and to the wanton wife. For Ihon duke of Brabant, what with force, and what with spirituall compulsaries, neuer left off, till he had recouered his Lady out of the Duke of Gloucesters possession, as after you shall here.

## ¶ THE SECONDE YERE.

THEse chaūces thus happenyng as you haue heard, Ihon duke of Bedford, Philip duke of Burgoyne. & Ihon duke of Britayn, made an assemble & friendly enteruiewe in the citee of Amias, where they renewed the olde league and auncient amite made betweene the noble prince lyng Hery the fifth, and them, before concluded. addyng thereto these cōdicions and agrementes, ech of them to be to other bothe frend and aider, and the enemy of the one to

to bee enemy to the other, and all they to bee bothe frendes and aiders to the kyng of Englande, and well wylling to his welwillers, and auengers of his aduersaries. And because that affinitie is an embracer of amitie, there was concluded a marriage betwene the duke of Bedford and the lady Anne sister to the duke of Burgoyne. When these agrementes were finished, the Regent departed to Troys in Chāpain, whether with high pōmpe was conueighed the lady Anne of Burgoyne, whiche in the presence of her brother and her Vncle duke of Brabant, and of theiles of Salisbury and Suffolke, and of. ix C. Lordes knightes and esquires, she was married to Ihon duke of Bedford with suche solempnitie, feste and triūphe, as before that tyme had not been seen of the Burgonions.

DVRYNG this triumphe, the Parisians thinking to blind the eyes of the duke of Bedford wrote to hym, how diuerse Castles & fortresses lying rounde about their territory, were replenished with his enemies, daily stoppyng their passages, and robbing their marchantes, to their vtter vndoing, if they by his helpe were not relieved fraudulently meanyng, and falsely entisyng hym to absent hymself from them, till their craftie conueighed purpose were compassed and achieved. For diuerse of them stubbornly beryng the yoke and subiection of the English nacion perceiuyng the duke of Bedforde and the principall capitaines of the Englishmen to be farre from Paris, employng themselves to ioy and solace for the honor of this high marriage, conspired to bryng into the citee Charles the Dolphyn callyng hymself Fienche kyng, duryng the tyme of his absence. And to thētent that their inuēted purpose should succede, they therof aduertised the Dolphyn and his counsaill appoynting the date of his comyng, and the post of his entree. But no treason is commonly hidē nor no sedicion long vneueled, for Pies will chatter and Mice will pepe, but by whom I cannot declare. The Regente was informed of all the secrete confederacy and sedicious factiō, wherefore he meanyng not to lose in short tyme, that whiche in no small space was gayned, put spurres to the horsse, and with a great power entred into Paris one daie before the faire was appoynced, and two nightes before the lōkyng for of his enemies, whō beuyng vprōuided he sodainly caused to be apprehended and taken, and openly put to execution. After this leopardy thus escaped, he putte diffidence in all the Parisians trustyng litle the nobles and geuyng lesse credite to the comons, determined to fortifie the Garrisons of his owne nacion and all the Castles nere and adioyning to the citee, whiche within small tyme were habundauntly furnished. And to auoyde all nighte watchers adioynyng to Paris and the confines of thesame, he first toke into his possession ether by assaute or composicion the towne of Traynel and Bray vpon Seyne, and because two Castles the one called Pacy and the other called Cuisay were also euil neighbors to the Parisians, he sent sir Ihon Fastolffe great Master of his household, with a notable army to besiege the Castle of Pacy, whiche takyng vpon him that enterprise so handled his enemies that the capitaine named Guyllam Reymon esquire & all the garrison yelded them simply to his mercy and discreciō whom he sent as prisoners to the citee of Paris, and after besieged the Castle of Cuisay whiche to hym was shortly rendered vpon like appoyntmēt, and so with praiſe and prisoners he returned to the lord Regent his master. In this very season the Dolphyn sent lorde Willyam Stuard Constable of Scotland, and therle of Ventadore in Auergne and many other nobles of his part to laie siege to the towne of Crauāt in the countie of Auxerre within the partes of Burgoyne, wherof heryng the lorde Regent and the duke of Burgoyne they assembled a greate armie, wherof was ordeined capitaine the erle of Salisbury, accompanied with these valeant parsonages.

The lord Willoughby.

The lorde Pownynges.

The lorde Molyns.

Sir Thomas Rampston.

Sir Wilham Oldhaule.

Sir Ihon Passhelcy.

Sir Thomas Flemyng.

Sir Edmond Heiron.

Sir Ihon Giey.

Sir Reignold Grey.

Sir Ihon Arthur.

Sir Henry Bisset.

Sir Wilham Heytow.

Sir Richard Loke.

Sir Gilbert Halsall.

Sir Lancelot Lisle.

Thomas



## THE. II. YERE OF

Thomas Aborough.  
William Glasdale.  
Mathew Gough.

Didon Amore.  
Richard Ap Madocke.  
Daui Loyd.

## And of the Burgonions.

The lorde Sent George.  
The erle of Ionignye.  
The eile of Brayne.  
The lord of Castelyn Marshal of Burgoyne.  
The lorde of Vergier his bastard.  
The lorde of Chastelon.

The lorde of Crouy.  
The lorde Lisle Adam.  
The lorde of Pesines.  
The Bastard of Thyan.  
Sir Frances le Arragonoys.  
Ihon de Gyngie.

AND many other to the numbre (aswel of Englishemen as Burgonions) of xv. M. men of warre, which came in good array to geue battail to the besiegers of the toune of Crauant, and because the Riuer of Youne which renneth by thesaid toune was betwene the Englishe army and their aduersaries, they could not wel assaile their enemies which defended the bankes and passages very strongly, yet notwithstanding bothe horsmen and fote-men of the Englishe part coragiously put themself into the riuer and with fyne force recovered the banke, whom the Burgonions incontinent folowed. When they wer all gotten into the plain, the Archers shot and the bilmen strake, & long was the fight in indifferent iudgement, but in conclusion the Frenchmen not able to resist the force and abyde the puissance of the English nacion, wer take ether slain or discomfited, for in the mortall battail were slain and taken to the numbre of. viii. M. men, where of the names of the chief capitaines here shall apere.

## Frenchemen slain.

Therle of Lestrake.  
Therle of Comygens.  
Therle of Tunier.  
The lorde Coquart de Cameron  
The Bastard of Arminacke.  
The Vicont of Towraye  
The Bastard of Forest.  
The lorde de Port  
The lorde Memoracie. And xviii hundred knightes and esquiers beside commons.

## Taken prisoners

The Constable of Scotland whiche lost his iye.  
Therle of Vantadore  
Sir Aléxander Meldryne.  
Sir Lewes Feigny  
And. xxii. C. gentlemen of the Frenche nacion taken.

## Scottes slain.

The lorde of sent Ihons toune  
Sir Ihon of Balgrarie.  
Sir Ihon Turnebull.  
Sir Ihon Holiburton.  
Sir Robert Lile.  
Sir William Conyngham.  
Sir William Douglas.  
Sir Alexander Hune.  
Sir Willyam Lisle.  
Sir Ihon Rocherforde.  
Sir William Cawford.  
Sir Thomas Seton.  
Sir William Hamolton and his sonne Ihon Pillot

## And. iii. M. Scottes slain.

## Of Englishemen.

Sir Ihon Grey.  
Sir Wylliam Halle.  
Sir Gilbert Halsel.  
Richard ap Madocke.

## and. xxi. C. other slaine.

AFTER this fortunate victory obtained, the Englishemen fyrst gaue great laudes and thanks to almightie God and after entered into the toune of Crauant muche praisynge the doynge of the capitaines and the fidelitie of the citezens, and when they had set all thynges in an ordre they returned to Paris where of the regent they were ioyously receiued, whiche there constituted therle of Salsbury (as he was wel worthy) vicegerent and lieftenaunt for the king & him in the countries of Fraunce, Bry and Châpaigne, & sir Ihon Fastolf he substituted deputie vnder him in the duchy of Normady on this syde the riuer of Seyne, & capitaines

with that he deputed him gouernour of the coütrees of Anlow & Mayne, and assigned able capitaines in euery holde & foitresse Therle of Salisbury whiche could not slepe in his great office of trust, layd siege to the toun & castle of Mouëtaguillon in Bry, wherof were capitaines Pregent of Cotyny & Guille Bouigoys Britons whiche valiantly defēded the castle by ſ space of v monethes, but incōclusion the assailantes wer so fierse that they within for safegard of their liues rendred the hold, & the capitaines sware neuer to bere armure against the Englishmen on this side the riuēr of Leyre duryng which siege the erle of Suffolke toke by force the castle of Coucy. and the strong castle de la roche he gat by appointment in Mosconoyes.

NOWE must I go backe to put you in memorye howe Iames kyng of Scottes beyng bothe prisoner in the tyme of kyng Henry the fourth and also as subiect to kyng Henry the fift his sōne, seruyng him in his warres in Fraunce tyl he departed out of this transsitory life at Boys de Vyncens and so as chief mornei attended on the corps of the sayd deceased vnto his burial, and after at Westminster was released of his captiuitie and restored to his realme and possession. For the true knowledge therof you shal vnderstande that Englande demaunded a small raunsome for so great a prince as the Scottes accompte their kyng (and the Scottes were neither able nor offered no summe conuenient) wherfore the cōsēl of the realme of England grauously pondered and wisely considered that if by coniunction of marriage, England and Scotland were perfectly knit in one, that the indissoluble band of amitie betwene the Frenche and Scottishe nacionys should be shortly broken and dissolved. Wherfore the protector of the realme of Englād by the consent of the whole baronage of the same gaue to him in marriage the Lady Iane doughter to Ihon earle of Sommerset deceased, not onely sister to Ihon then duke of Sommerset but also cosyn germayne remoued to the kyng and nece to the cardinal of Wynchester and the duke of Exceter.

THE kyng of Scottes hauyng great affection to this layre Lady, but muche more desiryng his deliuerance and libertie, put in hostages for the residue of his raunsome because a great part therof was deminshed and abated for the money allowed to hym for his marriage, & so was deliuered to depart at his pleasure. Alacke, the olde prouerbes bee to true. an Ape although she bee clothed in purple, will be but an Ape, and a Scotte neuer so gently entertained of an Englishe prince will be but a dissimulyng Scotte What kyndnes could be more shewed to a prisoner then to bryng hym vp in good literature What loue maie bee more declared to a captiue, then to instructe hym in martiall feates and warlike affaires: What fauor can be more ascribed to a high and renowned prince, then to geue in marriage to his vnderlyng and vassall his cosyn and kinswoman of his royal parentage lawfully descended. All these kyndnesses sufficed not, nor all these gratuities auailed not to make this kyng Iames frendly to the realme of Englande. For he notwithstanding his homage doem to the young Henry kyng of Englande and of Fraunce at his Castle of Wynsore this present yere, before three Dukes, twoo Archebishoppes, xii erles x bishoppes. xx. barons, and twoo hundred knightes and esquires and mo, accordyng to the tenor here after folowyng.

“ I Iames Stuart kyng of Scottes, shalbe true and faithfull vnto you lorde Henry by the grace of God kyng of Englande and Fraunce the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotlande, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kyngdome of Scotlande, whiche I holde and claime to hold of you, and I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lymme and worldly honor against al men, and faithfully I shall knowledge and shall do to you seruice due of the kyngdō of Scotland aforesaid. So God help me and these holy Euangelistes.”

NETHER regardyng his othe, nor estemyng the great abundance of plate and riche Clothes of Arras, to hym by the mother and vnclēs of his wife liberally geuen and frendly deliuered (of which sorte of riches fewe or none before that date wer euer seen in the coütrey of Scotlande) like a dogge whiche hath cast vp his stomacke and returneth to his vomēt, or like a snake whiche after his engenderyng with a Lampray taketh again his old poyson. After he had once taken the ayre and smelled the sent of the Scottishe soyle be-



came like his false fraudulent forfathers, an vntue pince and like his proude pratyng progenitors toke the ymage of a bragging and bostyng Scot, newly alied hymself with the Frenche nacion. And yet what socuer he did, his nacion bothe write and testifie, that by the learninge whiche he by the greates benefite of the kynges of Englande duryng his captiuitee in this realme had obteyned, replenished his countrey with good litterature, and by the nurture the whiche he was brought vp in Englād, he brought his people to ciuillitee. So that his captiuitee was to his nacion the greatest libertie that euer thei could haue, deliuering them from blyde ignorance to Angeliike knowledge, reducing them from bestiall maners to honest behauior, and in conclusion causyng them to knowe vertue from vice, pollicie from rudenes, and human honestie from sauage liuyng. This was the deliuerance and the doynges of Iames the fyrst of that name kyng of Scottes, whiche neither reigned verie quietly, nor yet euer fauored Englishemen before the Frenche people: sauyng that he hauyng with him into his countrey a yong gentleman of Northumberland called Andrew Gray (whiche duryng his captiuitee was his companion) promoted him to the mariage of the heyre of the lorde of Foules in Anguis, of the whiche the lord Gray of Scotland at this day do descend.

## ¶ THE. III. YERE.

The iii.  
yere.

NOW leue I the doynges of Scotland, and returne to the affaires of England. The duke of Gloucester beyng protector and gouernor of the realme, cōsideryng that wood must be ministred to kepe fyre, and men ought to be sēt to set forwarde war, called to him the pieres and nobilitie of the realme, and by their agrements & deuises, sent into Fraūce to the regent his brother x M men of warre, whiche were of the same regent in the couētry of Paris louyngly receiued, & according to their degres honestly entertained. Duryng their liyng in Paris, diuers chaunces happened in Fraunce, for euen as Englishmen valiantly wonne, and victoriously cōquered townes and castles with open warre and apparant conquest: so the Frenchmen fraudulently stale & couertely obtained diuers fortresses and holdes appertaynyng to the English faccion, & in especial the fayre towne of Compaigne, & the pretty tūne of Crotoy.

WHEN the duke of Bedford was aduertised of these craftye trickes and sodaine inuented traines, he sent furth an army, fyrst to Compaigne, wherof was capitaine the eile of Suffolke accompanied with therle of Ligny, & diuers other capitaines of the Englishmen, whiche lay on the one side of the riuier of Sohame, & on the other side laye the lord Lisle Adam, sir Thomas Raupstone, & the prouost of Paris. The Frenchmen beyng strongly furnished and well vitailed, coragiously defended the towne against the assaillātes. The Englishmen perceiuyng that Guyllā Reinoud otherwise called Māriolayn, had bene the leder of the souldiers within the towne, which before at Pacy was takē prisoner by sir Ihon Fastolf, caused him to be sent for to Paris, and so brought him to the seige, and set him in a chariot with a halter aboute his necke, and cōueighed him to the gibbet without the towne, sending worde to the garrison within the towne, that if they would not without delay rēdre the towne & fortresse, they would incōtinent strāgle their old capitaine and chief conductor. The souldiers within the towne perceiuyng that if Guyllā Raymond the onely trust of their relese, and the aūcient frend in their necessitie, should suffre death, that then their hope of al ayde were extinguished, & the suie nutriment of their liuyng was from them secluded for the deliuerance of him and sauegarde of them selues, yelded the towne: so that both he & they might depart with hoise and harnes onely, in suie conduite and safetie: yet long or the towne of Compaigne was deliuered, sir Philip Hall whiche was sent to Crotoy by the lorde regent with. viii. C. men to besiege the towne, gat it by assault sodainly, or the Frenchmen had either desposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgynges and toke all the men of warre and put them to raunsome. And so these. ii. townes cowardly stollen, were manfully recouered, but yet the writers of Frenche fables to deface the glorie of the Englishmen,

Englishmen, write and say that these townes were yelded to the Burgonyons, whiche neither had the keepyng of them nor were souldiers to any other person but to the kyng of England. While these thinges were thus doying in Fraunce, sir Ihon de la Pole brother to therle of Suffolke capitaine of Amanches in Noimandy, assembled all the garrisons of the base Marches of the couñtre of Amow. & came before the cytie of Angiers and brent the subbarbes, spoyled and destroyed the whole countrey, and hauyng as many prayes and prisoners as his men might cary, he was encountred by the earle of Aubemeille, the vicount Narbone and vi. thousand Frenchmen whiche findyng the Englishmen out of arraye because of the cariage of their great spoyle, sodainly set on the and slewe CCC persons and toke prisoners the said sir Ihon Delapole, sir Ihon Basset, Ihon Auford lutenauant of Falloys, Ihon Clyfton, Henry Moitymei and. vi. C other. Although the Frenchmen gat this day in one place, yet they wēt not victorious away in another, for the bastard de la Bauline and the lorde Caignar capitaines of Courallon with a great band, made a roade into Masconnoys, with whom by chance met Mathew Gough and other Englishmen whiche were scouryng the countrey to se and heare newes of their enemies, there was a sore conflict and an hard encountre, the parties in maner beyng of vorage & nombre egal, but after long fight, the Frenchmen almost al wer slaine & taken, and the bastard beyng wel horsed fled after whom folowed with the fiersnes of his spuries Mathew Gough and charged him to his castle gate and there toke him as he would haue hid him in the diche & presented him to the earle of Salsbury, returnyng from Compaigne to Paris, whiche not onely gaue to him the nightes belong to the prisoner, but also rewarded him with a goodly counseil and highly exalted his name and manhode.

ABOVE this season, Arthur brother to Ihon duke of Britaine commonly called the earle of Richemond, hauyng neither profite of the name nor of the countrey, notwithstanding that king Henry the v. had created him earle of Yury in Normandy & gaue him not onely a great pencion but thesame towne of Yury, yet because his brother the duke of Britaine fearyng the Englishmen nowe hauyng Noimandye would smel and desire to tast the swete soyle of Britaine, was late (contrary to his leage and othe) returned to the part of Charles the dolphyn, he likewise returned and craftly without cause fled into Flaunders & so came to the dolphyn to Poytiers, which was more glad of his comyng then if he had gained a C M. crownes, for the Britons which kept the towne and castle of Yury hearyng that their master was ioyned with the dolphyn bothe kepte the castle against the duke of Bedford, furnyshyng it daily with new peopel & munitions, and also infested, spoyled and robbed the countrey adioynyng, doying to the Englishmen the most hurt & damage that either could be deuised or imagined.

THE lord Regent beyng aduertised of all these troubles & calamities, assēbled a great army both of Englishmen and Noimans, entending to sereche the dolphyn in euery part, to theient to geue him battail in a pitched feld and so to make a final ende of his entended conquest. So hauyng in his companye therle of Salsbury, therle of Suffolke, the lord Scates, the lord Willoughby, the lord pounyng, sir Reynold Grae, sir Ihon Fastolf, sir Ihon Saluayne, Lanslot Lisle, sir Philip Halle, sir Ihon Pashely, sir Ihon Gray, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Robert Harlyng, sir William Oldhal and many other valiant knightes and esquieris to the nombre (as the Frenche writers testifie) of xviii C men of armes and viii M. archers and other, came before the towne of Yury whiche was well defended: but the Englishmen began to vndermine the walles, so that they within wer glad to rendre the towne vpo condicion, whiche was taken. Howbeit the capitaines of the castle promised to yeld if their fortresse wer not rescued at a day assigned by the dolphyn with a nombre sufficiēt to raise the siege, & vpon this promise hostages wer deliuered into the possession of the lord regent. By his licence an herault was sent to the dolphyn to aduertise him of the tyme determined, the whiche hearyng of the destresse that his people & frendes wer in, sent incontinent Ihon duke of Alanson his lieutenant general, therle Douglas whom at that setting furth he made duke of Toraine, and therle Boughan, whom then in hope of good speede he made Constable of

R

Fraunce



Fraunce (whiche office he enjoyed not fully an hundreth houres) and therles of Aumarle, Vātadoufe, Tonnerie, Mauleurier Forest, the vicountes of Narbon and Thouars, the lordes of Graule, Gaules, Malycoine, Manny, Ballay, Fountames, Mountfort, & many other noble knyghtes and esquiers to the nombre of xv M Frēche men & Britons and. v.M. Scottes whom the erle Doglas had transported late out of Scotland more for nede then for loue.

THIS army royal approached within. ii. miles of Yury and sent. xl. light horsmen to view and espy both the nombre and cōduit of the Englishmen. These spyes came very nere to the siege and wer espied and chased to their cōpanions agaiue, and declared all what they had seen and perceiued. The duke of Alanson seyng that he could not gette any anantage of the Englishemen (although the Dolphyn had geuen hym in straight cōmaundement to fight with the regent) whether his heart fayled or he thought to wayte a more fortunate season for his purpose and enterprise, retied backe with his whole army to the toun of Vernoyle in Perche whiche belonged to the kyng of England, & sent word to the garison of that toun that they had discomfited & slaine al the Englishe army and that the regent with a small nōber by swyftnes of his horse had saued him selfe. The inhabitantes of Vernoyle geuyng to light credit to the Frenche fableis, receiued the duke of Alāson with al his army into the touns & submitted thē selues to him. Whiche toun he desyied to haue of the gift of the dolphyn as his owne inheritance & lawful patrimony. Now approached the day of rescous of Yury, which was the day of our Lady the Assumpcion, at which day no rescous appeared to sir Gerrard de la Pallier captain of the castle, whiche beyng in dispayre of all ayde and comforte, presented the keys to the duke of Bedford & shewed him a letter signed & sealed with the hādes of xviij. great lordes which the day before promised to geue the duke bataille and to dissolue the siege and raise the assault. Well sayd the duke, if their heartes would haue serued, their puissaunce was sufficient ones to haue profered or to haue performed this faithful promise. But syth they disdaine to seke me, God and saint George willyng I shal not desist to folowe the tractes of their horses tyl one part of vs be by battail ouerthrowen. and so he gaue a safe conduyte to the capitaine and other which wold depart, but many of the Britons within the castle of Yury seyng the faint heartes and the false promises of the flatter- yng Frenchmen submitted them selues to the lorde regent and sware to be true to the kyng and him, whom he gently accepted and put them in wages. Then he furnished the castle and toun with a newe garrison, and incōtinent he sent the earle of Suffolke with vi.C. horses to espy wher the Frenchemen were lodged, whiche passed by Dampeuile, and came to Bretnel wher he heared newes that the Frenchmen had taken Vornoile in Perche & were there yet abidyng, wherof with all diligent celerite he sent worde to the duke of Bedford, which not myndyng to lese his long desired pray set forward in great hast toward his enemies. The Frēchmen hearyng of his cōmyng set their people in array and made all one maine bat- taile without forward or rereward, & appointed certaine Lūbardes and horsmen to breake the array of the Englishemen either behynd or at the sides, wherof was capitaine sir Stephyn Venoyles called the hire. The duke of Bedford not ignorant howe to oindre his men, made likewise one entier bataille & suffered no man to be on horsebacke, and set the archers (euery one hauyng a sharpe stake) bothe in the front of the bataille and on the sydes like wynges, and behynd the bataille were the pages with the chariottes and cariages, and all the horses were tyed together either with the reines of their bridles or by the tayles, to thentent that their enemies should not sodainely surprise or disturbe them on the backe behynd. and for to defend the cariages wer appointed two thousand archers. The Frenchmen at the fyrst sight remembryng how often times in piched feldes they had bene overcome and vanquished of the Englishe nacion, began somewhat to feare, but when they sawe no remedy but to fight, they toke good courage to thē and set softly forward. In whiche marchyng the Duke of Alanson, sittyng on horsebacke saied to his capitaines

Oracion of  
the duke of  
Alanson.

LOVYNG companions, and hardy souldiers, call to your remembraunce, how the Eng- lishmen haue not only gotten from vs the noble isle of Fraunce, the duchies of Normandy and Anjou, but also sith their enterprise and conquest hath bothe slain our parentes and

killed our frendes, yea, and hath driuen our naturall Prince, and very soueaigne Lorde from his chief habitacion and surest chaumber, the faire citee of Paris which act neuer Pagan durst attempt or euer any prince was able to acheue. Besides this, you se that the duke of Bedford Regent here for the kyng of Englande, entending nothyng more then the deposicion or the destruccion of our kyng and his nobilitie, and in finall cōclusion to bryng to extreme bondage all vs our wiues and children, and all the people of this so long renouned region, by many hundred yeres called the realme of Fraunce, which is as muche to saie as a fre countrey, or a franke lande. Alas, shal your kyng now be made a subiecte, shall your peres and nobilitie bee made vassals, and you also slaues & bondmen to a forain nacion? Where is the liberty of Fraunce and where is the auncient fredome? When you defended your fraunchises, and when your hartes serued you your kyng ruled kynges your princis possessed the empue, and your nacion subdued Germany, conquered Italy, and ouercame the proude Spanyardes. Shall wee now, fallyng out of kynd from our fathers, feare the puisaunce of the arrogant Englishemen, beyng men of no forecast, nor of no excellent wit, long in gettyng and shortly lesyng? Will you now suffre the olde glory of Fraunce to be put in obliuion? will you haue an Englishe infant, whiche lueth with pappe to bee your kyng and gouernor? Will you lue in seruitude of a barbarous nation in whom is neither bountifulnes nor honor? Cleikes saie, that the greatest plague, that euer God scourged with the Israelites, was, when he permitted them to be caried from their natieue countrey to the bondage of Babilon, where they liued in captiuitie by the space of many yeres. What can bee a more greater scourge, then to haue a forain ruler in a free region? What dishonor can there be more to a countrey, then to haue the nobilitie put backe from rule and to be gouerned by strangers. Beleue me, beleue me, it is to vs all one blot, to bee a slaue in Turkeye, vnder the Turkishe bondage, and to be a free man in Fraunce vnder the Englishe libertie. Of this point you be sure. if they gain this battaill, thei be not vnlike to obtaine the whole region. whiche if thei get, then is the enheritaunce theirs then be all the riches theirs, and then all the people bee their subiectes. If they be rulers, fare well the franke and Frenche libertie. If they be lordes, welcome English seruitude. So that now we stand al on this poynt, either to be free or bondmen. Whiche terme of bondage is so detested of all nations, that there can be no more reproch to a man then to call hym a villain or a bondman. Therefore manly defence must onely withstand this mischief, and hartie coiage must driue back this imminēt plage. This is the daie either of our deliuerance out of vile seruitude, or the daie of our enty into the vale of bondage. The conclusion of this battaill is very doubtfull, for if we bee vanquished, the gain for our side is almost without recouery, cōsidryng, that here be the best men, & wisest capitaines vnder our kyng. And if we get the vpper hande, our heddes shalbe free and out of the Englishe yoke. And although the duke of Bedford hath here with him, all the power that he can gather on this sidē the sea, yet I assure you, (God willyng) I will not turne one fote backward for feare of hym, or his picked armie. Therefore I exhorte you to remembre, your wiues, your children and your selves. Fight manfully and sticke eche to other for the libertie of our countrey. I doubt not but the victory shalbee ours, and the honor shalbe our kynges. For if this daie we vanquish hym and spaike his armie, we shall so diligently folowe Fortunes good grace, that not onely Fraunce to vs shall yeld, and Normandy bowe, but we shall recouer again al our citees and touries, whiche out of our possession wer gamed, before any aide can come to rescue out of the poore isle of Englande. Now consideryng, that we hang in the ballaunce betwene honor and shame, libertie and bondage, gaine or losse; let euery man take harte and corage to hym, litle regardyng, or caryng, either for death, or the force of his enemies, and with a manly countenance marche furth toward our foes.

THE Englishemen perceiuyng their greate nombre, and knowyng that the chief strength consisted in the Scottes, began somewhat to stay and consult, what was inoste expedient to bee done. The duke of Bedford sitting on a baye courser in the middes of the battaill vnder



a bāner curiously beten with his Armes, not content with their whisperynges and protractyng of tyme, saied vnto them with an audible voyce.

The oracion  
of the Duke  
of Bedforde

YOY, valiaunt capitaines and hardie souldiers, my louyng compaynions in armes, and frendly felowes. If you cōsidre with your self what daie this is. What honor and what profite wee shall get by our trauaile and pain, I doubt not but where you now stand stil musyng, you would runne furth a galloppe, and where you run on your fete, you would, if you had winges, flie as faste, as euer did Hauke to his prae. For greate is the honor that is gotten with paine, and swete is the lucre, that is gayned with trauaile, -for you muste remembre, that nothyng is wel done, if it growe not to a good conclusion and a thyng were as good neuer to be begon, as neuer ended. My brother our late soueraigne lord, (whose soule God pardon) hath entred into this countrey, as into his awne lawfull inheritaunce: and first conquered Normandy, and after by agrement of kyng Charles the vsurper, he was by assent of the nobilitie, agrement of the Clergie, & speciall request of the commonaltie, restored to his rightfull inheritaunce, and lawfull patrimony, whiche by his death is returned and come to my nephewe our moste redoubted soueraigne. The beginning of this conquest was good, and the sequele better, yet resteth the finall knot to be knitte, and the last locke to be shut vp. For if we suffre Charles the Dolphyn, whiche now vsurpeth the name, and estate royall of this realme of Fraūce, to proceade farther in his purpose, or to gather more puyssance, or allure more people, I cannot tell then what feates flatteryng fortune will worke: and of this I am sure that if we suffre his fier still to flame, as it hath begon, we shall haue skant water to quenche out the sanie. Here he hath assembled all the Frenche men that he can get and for lacke of aide, he hath retained the Scottes crophe hym now at the beginnyng and he shall gioue no more let hym grow farther and he will passe our reachie discomfite hym now and byyng our conquest to a conclusion let hym alone now and we shalbe new to begin. Therefore I say, it is wisdomie to take occasion, when the heiry side and not the balde side is profered. If we feare the multitude, remembre our awne victories, whiche we haue euer obtained by lesse nombre, and not by the greater. If we feare death, remembre the glory and immortall fame, that shall succede of our valiaunt actes, if we sell our lifes so dere. If we shalbe slain, considre I haue a kyng to my nephew, and a duke to my brother, and two noble vncles, and you haue frendes, kynsemen and children, whiche wil reuēge our death, to the vttermost poynt therefore I saie let euery man this day do his best. For this is the daie of thiē of our great trauaile, the daie of our greate victory, and the daie of our euerlastyng fame. Therefore good felowes, put your onely trust in God, call to hym for aide boldly, and marche forward hardly, for our enemies be at hād.

HE had skace ended his exhortacion, but the Englishmen beyng encouraged with his prudent persuasion, sette on their enemies, cryng, Sanct George, Bedford. And the Frenche men likewise cried, Moūtiroye, saint Denise. Then the arrowes flewe out of the long bowes on the one parte, the quarrelles out of the crosse bowes on the other parte. After thei came to hande strokes. greate was the fight, & terrible was the battail, with so indifferent iudgement of victory that no heraulde could determyne to whiche parte Fortune moste shewed her louyng countenaunce. For on bothe sides men wer slain and wounded, and on bothe partes some wer felled and recovered, thus stil in a doubtfull iudgement, the battail continued about three houres. The duke of Alaūson in the meane season neuer ceased to exhorte and prae his people manly to fight, and not to suffre their enemies, (whiche wer at the very point to be overcome) by their faint hartes to be victors, and overcommers. Likewise the duke of Bedford rode about his armie, refreshyng the weake with fleshe men, and encoragying his people with moste plesant wordes. But at the last when he percieued the Frenche men, what with heate, and with trauaill, to waxe wey and faint, and not to bee so freshe as thei wer before (for surely the nature of the Frenchmen, is not to labor long in fightyng, and mucche more braggeth then fighteth) he with al his strength set incontinent on them with suche a violence, that they bare them doune to the grounde by fine force. The French  
horsemen

horsemen that daie did litle seruice: for the archers so galled their horses, that they desired not muche to approche their presence. This battaill was fought the xxvij day of August, in the yere of our Lorde M. CCC C. xxv. in the whiche battaill wer slain.

Of Fienchemen  
The erle of Aumerle.  
The erle of Ventadois.  
The erle of Forestes.  
The erle of Mary.  
The lorde Graule  
The lorde Gaules.  
The lorde Fountaynes.  
The lorde of Amboys.  
The Vicount Thouars.  
The lorde Mounteney.  
The lorde of Combreste.  
The lorde of Brunell.  
The lorde Tumblet.  
The lorde of Poysy And thre hundred  
knightes beside.  
The Vicount Nerbon whose body was  
hæged on a gibbet, because he was one

of the murtherars, of the duke of Bur-  
goyne.  
Of Scottes also wer slain  
Archibald erle Douglas made duke of  
Toroyne.  
Iames Douglas his sonne erle of Nigton.  
Ihon the erle of Boughem newly made  
Constable of Fraunce.  
Sir Alexander Meldryue.  
Sir Henry Balglaue.  
Sir Ihon Sterlyng.  
Sir William of Homelsdone.  
Sir Iames Graye  
Sir Robert Kanden  
Sir Alexander Lynsaue.  
Sir Robert Steward  
Sir Robert Swinton, and. xxvij. hundred  
Scottes of name and armes, besides  
other.

IN this battaill wer slain by the report of Montioye kyng at armes in Fraunce, and the Englishe herauldes there presente, of Frenchemen and Scottes. ix thousand and seuen hundred, and of the Englishmen xvj hundred, but no man of name, sauynge v yong esquires. And there wer taken prisoneis, Ihon duke of Alaunson, the bastard of Alaunson the Lorde of Faycet, the lorde of Hormit, sir Piers Harison, sir Loys de Vancort, Sir Robert Brusset, sir Ihon Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen besides common soldiours.

AFTER that the duke of Bedforde had thus obtained the vpper hand of his enemies, and discomfited the onely strength of the dolphin he vpon his knees rendied to almyghtie God his hartie thanks, not without effusion of teares. Then he commaunded all the Frenchmen within the toune of Verniole, to go out and depart, or els to abide then adueteire. They perceyving the euil successe of their hostyng enterprise, and seying no meane, wherby in so lowe an ebbe, they might bee ayded, deliuered vp the toune, and went furthe out of thesame, their lifes saued. Of which toune the lorde Regent constituted capitaine, sir Philip Hall, and so departed from thence to the citee of Roan, where with triumph (and not vnworthy) he was ioyously receiued and honorably feasted. And after all thynges there set in an ordre, he remoued to Paris.

HERE you maie see what succeeded of the spirite of false Prophecie For the duke of Alaunson thinking it to be predestinate by the bodies aboue, that he should ouercome, and conquere the duke of Bedford, bosted (as you haue heard) to the Burgesses of Verniole, that he had discōfited the Regent of Fraunce with his whole armie, before the toune of Yury. Not knowyng, that Mars the God of battaill beyng angry with his lyng, appoynted, not onely all his puyssaunce to be vanquished before Verniole, but also hymself, and his bastarde vnclē, there to bee taken, and brought into bondage. So it is often seen that he, whiche rekeneth without his hoste, muste reken twise, and he that fisheth before the net, maie lose but nothyng gain. When this victory was published through Fraunce, how the common people lamented their miserable destiny, how the nobilitie mistrusted their awne estate, and how the Dolphyn was abashed, yea, more than abashed, wōderfull it yere to write, but more merueilous for to heare. For he was driuen out of all the cōntreis apperteynyng to the crowne of Fraunce and might resort to no cōūtreis, excepte to Burbonoys, Aluerne, Berry, Poictou,



Poyctou, Towrayn, a part of Aniw and Barrayn, & Languedoc. And because diuerce of his frendes whiche were aduocates in Paris exiled thēselies frō the parliament of Paris, which was with all rightes, and iurisdictiones there vnto belongyng, kepte, and holden in the name of kyng Henry the sixte, as lawfull heire and very kyng of the realme of Fraunce: he therefore to shewe hymself as a kyng, erected his courte of Parliament, his Chauncery, and all other courtes in the citee of Poytiers, and there established his greates seale, with all due circumstaunces therunto aperteynyng, whiche there continued by the space of. xiiij. yeres, as you shall after heare declared. The duke of Bedford lyng at Paris, entending there to bryng to obeisaunce Charles the dolphyn, or els to driue hym out of his litle cony holdes, and small countries, sēt the lorde Scales, sir Ihon Montgomery, sir Ihon Fastolfe, with two thousand men, to conquire the countries of Aniw and Mayn, whiche without assaulte had rendred to thē the strong castles of Beamount le Vicōt, Teune, Silly, Oste, Courcieniers, Roussy, Vasse, Couetemenāt and twenty other, which for prolixite of tyme, I thinke necessary to be omitted. For surely the Englishe puyssaunce was so tried, proued, assayed, and spred abroad throughout all Fraunce, that the Fienche mē thought that in conclusion the Englishe men would haue, or should haue al thynges, which they either wished or enterprised. The duke of Bedford yet thirstyng after more good fortune, sent the erle of Salisbury, with a great armie accompanied with the Lorde Scales, and other approued capitaines, (whose names you haue heard before) into the countrees of Aniw & Mayn, which wer eul neighbours to the duchy of Normandy in whiche army wer. x. M. men of war or ther about. These lusty capitaines entered firste into the countrey of Mayne, and besaged the riche and strong citee of Mauns, the chief tōune & emperie of all that county and region. And although the citezens, aswel for the sodain accesse of their enemies, as for the feare of the name of therle of Salisbury (whiche was both dread of his enemies, and honored of his frendes,) wer somewhat amased and astomied. Yet their capitaines named sir Baldwyn of Champaigne lord of Toisse, sir Guiliam de Marignie, and sir Hugh de Goos, studied and inuented all waies possible how to defend themselves, and do damage and harine to their enemies and surely, they had within the tōune a ciewe and a compaignie of warlike and practised souldiors. The Englishmen approched as nigh to the walles as they might without their losse and detriment, and shot against their walles great stones out of great gonnes (which kynd of engines before y tyme, was very litle seen or heard of in Fraunce,) the strokes wherof so shaked, crushed and rued y walles, that within fewe daies, the citee was dispoyled of all her toures and outward defences. The citezens of Mauns muche merueilyng at these newe orgaynes, bothe seying their destrucciō iminent, and desperate of all aide and succor, offered the tōune vpon this condicion. that all persones whiche would tary within the tōune might abide, and all that would depart with horse and harnesse onely, should be permitted which offers were accepted, and the tōune rendred, wherof the erle made capitain therle of Suffolke, and his lieutenant sir Ihon Fastolfe. After this the said erle of Salisbury besaged the faue tōune of saint Susan, whereof was capitain, Ambrose de Lore, a mā of no lesse audacitie then pollicy, accompanied with a greates nombre of hardy men of warre. When the erle of Salisbury had bothe viewed and seen the situacion and nature of the place, he determined to assault it in that place whiche was moste weake and worne and so the trompettes blew to the assault and scalyng ladders were raised to the walles, and the Englishmen with greate noyse began to clime and ascende. The souldiors whiche durste not come out of the tōune to encountre with the Englishe armie, mantully ranne to the walles to resiste and defende the assaylantes. And so all that daie the assault with many aduentures still continued, and although the inhabitauntes and citezens were sore wounded, they neuer left of bothe to defende themselves, and to anoye and hurte their enemies. When therle perceived that by this light assault and slight skirmishe he lost somewhat, and gained nothyng, he made a wall and cast a trenche round about y tōune & caused his great ordynance to be shotte at that part of the wall whiche was most feble and slender, and so daily and nightly he neuer ceased to beate and breke doune the wall and toures so that within twee daies the moste part of

the wal was peised and cast doune to the ground. When the capitain perceiued these newe feates he began to entreate, and offered for hymself and his souldiors, twoo thousand crounes, so that they might departe in their doublettes onely so their liues wer saued, whiche some because winter aproched, was taken and the toune yelded. Of the whiche toune he made capitain, sir Ihon Popham, a valiaunt and a circūspect knight. After that the said erle besieged the toune and castle of Mayon la Iubez, wherein was capitain the lorde of Escotailz, whiche toune after the space of fīue wekes was yelded (the liues of the defendors onely saued). To the kepyng wherof he appointed sir Ihon Montgomery knight. And after the feast of the purificacion of our lady, he besieged the castle de lafort Barnard during which siege, a sale was made of the toune of Alansō, beyng in the Englishmens possession by a Gascoyn & one of the gaisō there, for iii C crounes, to Charles de Villiers, Peter le Beuffe, and other Frenche capitaines. When the daie was apointed of the deliuerance both of the toune and the money, the Gascoigne opened and discovered the whole agreement to the erle of Salisbury which ordered the lorde Willoughby and sir Ihon Fastolfe with two thousand Englishmen to encountre with the byers of the kynges toune of Alāson. At the daie apointed and tyme assigned, Charles de Villiers chief mai chaunt of this riche enterprise, early in the mornyng with two C hoissemen, and three hundred footemen approched nere the toune, and abidyng for the Gascoyne, he there displaid his banner, thynkyng triumphantly to entre into the toune. but it hapened otherwise. For or they wer ware, or suspected any rescues, they wer enuironed with the English armie, and slam & taken euery creature, saue Peter Danthenazy and xxv other, which by the swiftnes of their horssees saued thē selves.

AFTER this conflict ended, the lorde Willoughby with his cōpany returned to therle of Salisbury, before the toune le Fort Barnard the capitaines wherof consideryng, that there was no hope of succor to be sente to them, and that their vitail diminished, and that they were not long able to abide the harde assautes of the English nacion, rendered the toune and castle, reseruyng to them their horse and harneis onely, which toune therle receiued to the vse of the kyng. But the regent for the valiaunt seruice done by the erle, gaue the same toune to hym and to his heires for euer. Beside this therle partely by assault, partely by composition, toke diuerse other tounes, as sanct Kales, wher he made capitain, Richard Gethyne Esquier, Thanceaux Leimitage, wher he made gouernor, Mattheue Gough, Guerlande, of the whiche he assigned ruler, Iohn Banaster, Malcoune, wherof he made capitain, William Glasdale esquier, Lisle soubz Boulto, wherof was made capitain, sir Lancelot Lisle knight, Lowpellande, whereof was made capitain, Henry Braunche, Mount-seur, of the whiche was made Constable, sir Williā Oldball knight, la Susze, was assigned to the kepyng of Ihō Suffolk esquier, and beside this, aboue xl castles and piles wer ouerthrowen and destroyed. When the fame and report of these newes wer blownen through Fraunce, some freated, some feared, and some raged for angre. But the veritie of al thynges beyng by the duke of Bedford declared into Englande, all men reioysed and wer very glad not onely for the conquest of so many tounes, but also that God had sente them victory in a pitched felde, and in a mortall battaill. Wherefore generall processions wer commaunded, to rendre to God almighty humble and hartly thanks, by whose onely gift, and not by power of man, these notable victories wer gotten and achued.

IT is not cōuenient, that I should talke so muche of Fraunce, & omit al thynges done in England. Wherefore you shall vnderstand, y about easter this yere, f kyng called, his high court of parliamēt, at his toune of Westminster, & cōmyng to the parliament hous he was coueighed through the citee vpon a great courser with great triūph, which child was iudged of all men, not only to haue the very ymage, f luely portrature, and louely countenance of his noble parent and famous father, but also like to succede, and be his heire in all morall vertues, martial Policies, and Princely feates, as he was vndoubted inheritor to his realmes, seignories & dominions. In whiche parliament was graunted to the kyng a subsidy of. xii d. of the pound, towardes the mainteinaunce of the warres, of all marchaundise commyng



into this realme, or goyng out of thesame, besides other somes sette on euery tonne of li-  
quor and on euery sacke of woolle, aswel of Englishe mē, as of straūgers. Duryng whiche  
Parliament came to London, Peter Duke of Quynber, sonne to the kyng of Portyngale,  
and cosin germain remoued to the kyng, which of the Duke of Excester and the bishop of  
Winchester his vnclis, was highly tested, and liberally rewarded, and was elected into the  
noble ordre of the Garter. Duryng whiche season, Edmonde Mortuner, the last Erle of  
Maiche of that name (whiche long tyme had been restrained from his liberty, and finally  
waxed lame) disceased without issue, whose inheritaunce disceded to lorde Richarde Plan-  
tagenet, sonne and heire to Richard erle of Cambridge, beched, as you haue heird be-  
fore, at the toune of Southhāpton. Whiche Richard within lesse then xxx yeres, as here  
to this erle Edmond, in opē parliament claimed the croune and scepter of this realme, as  
herafter shal more manifestly appere. In the tyme of which Parliament also, whether it  
were, either for deserte or malice, or to auoyde thynges that might chaunce, accordyng to a  
prouerbe, whiche saith, a dead man doth no haime. Sir Ihon Mortimer cosin to the said erle  
was attainted of treason and put to execution of whose death no small slaunde arose  
amongest the common people.

AFTER all these actes done in Englande, and in Fraunce, Humfrey duke of Gloucester,  
with the lady Iaquet his supposed wife, passed the sea and came to Mons in Henawde,  
and there by force toke all suche landes, as Ihon duke of Brabant her first husband had in  
possession of the said lady Iaquet, which doyng, Philippe duke of Burgoyne, beyng greates  
frende to the duke of Brabant, muche disdained and more floured at, and thought for the  
olde loue and familiarite, that he bare to the duke of Gloucester, that he would by frendly  
monicion, turne hym from his vn honest and vngodly life, to a reasonable reformation, and  
brotherly conformitie. Wherefore he wrote louyngly to hym, that he should vterly leaue  
of any further to folowe that newe attempted enterpryse, aduertisyng hym, and protestyng open-  
ly, that the vsurpyng and wrongfully withholding of another mannes possession, was not so  
vile and slaunderous, as the defilyng of a pure & cleane bedde, and adulteriously keepyng the  
wife of his christē brother. The duke of Gloucester beyng in this case very willfull, either  
blinded with dotage, or inflamed with coueteousnesse of his wifes possessions, regardyng  
neither the admonishment of the duke of Brabant, nor yet the godly aduertisement of the  
duke of Burgoyne, sware that he would not leaue of to make farther war, till he had ex-  
pulsed the duke of Brabant, out of his wifes seignories, territories & dominions. Where-  
fore, the duke of Burgoyne assembled together a great armie to make war on the duke of  
Gloucester, in the cause & quarel of the duke of Brabant his friend and cosyn. The duke  
of Gloucester, partly for great affaires, that then were imminent in the realme of England,  
and partly to assemble more people, to resist and withstād the power of the dukes of Bur-  
goyn and Brabant, left his wife at Mons in Henaude, with the lordes of the toune, whiche  
swore to hym, to defend and kepe her against all men, till the tyme of his returne. Where-  
fore he leauyng with her twoo thousand Englishmen, departed to Calice, and so into En-  
glande.

WHEN he was gohe, the duke of Burgoyne so threatened, so vexed, yea, and almost so  
famished them within the toune of Mons, that they deliuered into his possession the lady  
Iaquet or Iacomynce: whiche incōtinent sent her to Gaunt, wher she disguised her self in a  
mannes apparel, and so escaped into a toune of her awne in Zelande, called Zirice, and frō  
thence she was conueged to a toune in Holland called Tregowe, wher she was honorably re-  
ceiued, & there made herself strong to withstāde her enemies: And for her succor the Duke  
of Gloucester sent to her five hundred mē. The dukes of Burgoyne and Brabant left her not  
all in quiet, but brent her townes in Holland, and slewe her people in Zelande to her greates  
detriment and displeasure. But in conclusion, this matter was brought before Martyn the. v.  
bishop of Rome whiche adjudged the first matrimony with duke Ihon of Brabant, to be  
good and effectuell, and the seconde espousals celebrated with duke Humfrey of Glōucester,  
to bee of no value, force nor effecte. and that if the duke of Brabant died. it should not be  
lawfull

lawfull to the duke of Gloucester, to mary again with the lady Iaquet. The duke of Gloucester, obeying to this sentence, beganne to waxe lothe of his supposed wife, by whō he neuer had profite butlosse. for whose cause his fiendes became his enemies, & for whose sake he was openly slandered. Wherefore he, by wanton affection blinded, toke to his wife Elianor Cobham daughter to the lord Cobham, of Sterberow, whiche before (as the fame wēt) was his soueraigne lady and paramour to his greatslander and reproche. And if he wer vnquieted with his other pretended wife, truly he was tenne tymes more vexed, by occasion of this woman, as you shall hereafter plainly perceiue so that he began his mariage with euill, and ended it with worse. The Lady Iaquet after the death of Ihon duke of Brabant, married a gentleman of meane estate, called Frāke of Bursellen, for the whiche cause the duke of Burgoyne imprisoned her housbande, and left her in greate trouble. suche was the ende of these twoo mariages.

¶ THE FOURTH YERE

A litle before this tyme sir Thomas Rampstone, sir Philip Branche, sir Nicholas Burdett, and other Englishemen to the nombre of v hundred men, repaired and fortified the toune of saint Iames de Leiton, on the frontiers of Normandy, adioyning to Britayne. Arthur erle of Richemond and Iury brother to the duke of Britayne, whiche like an vntue gentleman sworne and forsworne to the king of England, sodainly fled to Charles the Dolphyn: whiche muche reioysing of his fauor and amity, gaue to hym the Constablership of Fraunce whiche therle of Boughan slain before at Veinoyl, a small tyme occupied, and lesse space enioyed. This newe Constable not a litle ioyful of his high office, thought to do some pleasure to y<sup>e</sup> dolphyn his master, & to aduaunce his name at the first entry into his authoritie, he imagined no enterprise to be to him more honorable, nor to his prince more acceptable, then to auoyde and driue out of the toune of saint Iames de Beueon, al the Englishe nacion. So in hope of victory gathered together aboue xl M men, of Britons, Frenchmen and Scottes, and enuironed the toune of saint Iames, or saint Iaques de Beuron, with a strong siege. The Englishmen within, whiche in nombre passed not vi C. men, manfully defended the daily assaultes of the fierce Frenchmen. The Englishmen consulted together what waie was best to bee taken. and after long debatung, they determined to issue out of y<sup>e</sup> toune and to fight with their enemies. So on a daie, when the Britons were wearied with a long assulte, towardes the euenyng the Englishmen came out of the toune, one part by the posterne of the Castle, and another part by the gate of the toune, crying saint George, Salisbury: and set on their enemies bothe before and behynd. The Frenchmen seying the corage of the Englishmen, and hearyng their crye, thynkng that therle of Salisbury was come to raise the siege, ranne awaie like shepe, and there wer taken, slain and drowned in the water, of them iiii. thousand men and mo. Besides this, these ioly gallantes left behynde them for hast, all their tentes xiiii greate gonnies, and. xl barielles of poudre CCC pipes of wine, CC. pipes of bisket and floure, CC. fiales of Figges and resons, and. v C barielles of heynge.

THE Frenchmen (beyng thus vanquished) fel in diuision emongest themselves the one layng to the charge of the other, the losse of their men and the cause of their flyng. Suche is euer the chaunce of the war, that when victorie is obtained, the moste coward and faint harted boy will boste and bragge, and when the battail is loste, the faulte is assigned to the beste, and not to the wourste. The newe Constable was sore dismayed & muche ashamed of this discomfiture and shamefull flight, but there was no remedy but pacience: But to the entent to blotte out and deface this shamfull flyng with a notable victory, he with a great armie entered into the countrey of Aniove, and brente, spoyled and destroyed two or thre at the moste, litle poore thetched villages. Whiche smal acte done, his malice was quēched, & his old grief (as he thought) victoriously reuenged.



IN this season fell a greate diuision in the reahne of England, which, of a sparcle was like to growe to a greate flame. For whether the bishop of Winchester called Henry Beaufort, sonne to Ihon Duke of Lancastie, by his thurd wife, enuied the authoritee of Humfrey duke of Gloucester Protector of the realme, or whether the duke had taken disdain at the riches and pompous estate of the bishop, sure it is that the whole realm was troubled with them and their partakers so that the citezens of London fearyng that that should insue vpon the matter, wer faine to kepe daily and nightly, watches, as though their enemies were at hande, to besiege and destroye them. In so muche that all the shoppes within the citie of London wer shut in for feare of the fauorers of those two greate personages, for eche parte had assembled no small nombre of people. For pacifyng whereof, the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and the duke of Quytंबर called the prince of Portyngale, rode eight tymes in one daie betwene the two aduersaries, and so the matter was staid for that tyme. The bishoppe of Winchester not content with his nephewe the lorde Protector, sente a letter to the Regente of Fraunce, the tenor wherof insueth

"RIGHT high and mighty prince, and my right noble and after one, leuest lord, I recomend me vnto you with all my harte. And as you desire the welfaie of the kyng our souereigne lord, and of his realmes of England and Fraunce, and your awne health and ours also, so hast you hether. For by my trowth if you tary, we shall put this launde in aduenture, with a felde, suche a brother you haue here, God make hym a good man. For your wisdom knoweth, that the profite of Fraunce stādeth in the welfare of England, &c. Written in great hast on Alhallow euen. By your true seruant to my lifes ende. Henry Wynchester."

THE duke of Bedford beyng sore greued and vnquieted with these newes, constituted the erle of Warwicke, whiche was lately come into Fraunce, with sixe thousande men his lieutenante in the Frenche dominions and in the duchy of Normandy, and sowith a small company, he with the duches his wife, returned again ouer the seas into Englād and the tenth day of Ianuary, he was with all solemnitie receiued into London, to whom the citezens gaue a paire of basynnes, and a thousande marke in money, and from London he rode to Westminster, and was lodged in the kynges palace. The. xxv. daie of Marche after his cōmyng to London, a parliamēt began at the toune of Leicester, where the Duke of Bedford openly rebuked the Lordes in generall, because that they in the tyme of warre, through their priuie malice and inward grudge, had almoste moued the people to warre and commocion, in which tyme all men, ought or should be of one mynde, harte and consent: requirynge them to defend, serue and drede their soueraigne lorde kyng Henry, in perfourmyng his conquest in Fraunce, whiche was in maner brought to conclusion. In this parliament the Duke of Gloucester, laied certain articles to the bishop of Wynchesters charge, the whiche with the answeres hereafter do ensue.

¶ The articles of accusation, and accord, betwene my Lord of Gloucester, and my lorde of Wynchester.

HERE insueth the articles, as the kynges counsaill hath conceiued, the which the high and mighty prince, my lord of Gloucester, hath surmised vpon my Lord of Wynchester Chancellour of Englande, with the answere to thesame.

- 1 FIRST, where as he beyng protector and defendor of this lande, desired the toure to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Richard Woodeuile esquire, hauyng at that tyme the charge of the keypyng of the toure, refused his desire, and kepte the same toure against hym, vnduly and against reason, by the commaundement of my saied Lord of Winchester and afterward in approuyng of thesaid refuse, he receiued thesaid Wodeuile, and cherished hym against the state and worship of the kyng, and of my saied lorde of Gloucester.

ITEM

ITEM my said lorde of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my said lorde of Gloucester, or of the kynges counsaill, purposed and disposed hym to set hande on the kynges persone, and to haue remoued hym from Eltham, the place that he was in to Windsor, to the entent to put him in suche gouernaunce as him list 2

ITEM, that where my said lord of Gloucester, to whom of al persones or that should be in the lande, by the waie of nature and birthe, it belongeth to se the gouernaunce of the kynges person, informed of the said vndue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, declared in the articles nexte aboue saied. And in lettynge thereof, determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king, to haue prouided as the cause required. My saied lorde of Winchester, vntroly and against the kynges peace, to the entent to trouble my said lord of Gloucester goyng to the kyng purposyng his death in case that he had gone that way, set men of armes and archers, at thende of London bridge next Southwerke: and in forbarryng of the kynges high way, let drawe the cheine of the stulpes there and set vp pipes and haidelles, in maner and forme of Bulwarkes and set men in chambers, sellers and windowes, with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to thentent to bryng to final destruction my saied lorde of Gloucesters persone, aswell as of those that then should come with hym. 3

ITEM my saied lorde of Gloucester saith and affirmeth, that our souereigne lorde his brother, that was kyng Henry the fifth, told hym on a time, when our said souereigne lorde beyng prince, was lodged in the palaice of Westminster in the greute chambre, by the noyse of a spanyell there was on a night a man espied and taken behynd a tapet of the said chambre, the whiche man was deliuered to therle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his beyng there at that tyme. The which so examined at that time, confessed that he was there by the steryng vp and procuryng of my saied Lorde of Winchester, ordained to haue slain thesaied prince there in his bedde: Wherefore thesaied erle of Arrudell let sacke hym furthwith, and drowned hym in the Thamise. 4

ITEM our souereigne lorde that was, kyng Henry the fifth, said vnto my said lorde of Gloucester, that his father kyng Henry the fourth liuing, and visited then greatly with sicknesses of the hande of God, my saied lorde of Winchester saied vnto the kyng (Henry the fifth then beyng prince) that the kyng his father, so visited with sicknesse was not personable: and therefore not disposed to come in conuersacion and gouernaunce of the people, and for so muche counsailed hym to take the gouernaunce and crowne of this lande vpon hym 5

¶ The answere of the bishop

HERE ensueth the answeres and excusacions made by my lord of Wynchester Chauncellour of Englande, vnto the causes and matters of heuinesse, declared in articles against hym, by my lorde of Gloucester.

FIRST, as of the refuse made vnto my Lord of Gloucester, of openyng the toure to hym, of his lodgyng therein, by the comaundement of my saied lorde of Wynchester, he answereth: that in the presence of my said lorde of Gloucester, before his comyng out of his countrey of Henawd, for causes such as wer thought reasonable, it semeth lefull that the toure should haue been notably stuffed and kept with vitale, howbeit, it was not furthwith executed, and that in likewise after, that my saied lorde of Gloucester was gone into his saied countrey of Henawd for sedicious and odious billes & language, cast and vsed in the cite of London, sounyng of insurreccion & rebellion against the kinges peace, and destruction aswel of diuerse estates of this land, as straungers beyng vnder the defence, in so muche that in doubt therof, straungers in great nombre fled the land & for the more sure keepyng of thesaied toure, Richard Wooduile squire, so trusted with f kyng our souereigne lorde that dead is, (as wel ye knowe) and also chambellain & counsailler vnto my lord of Bedford, with a certain nombre of defensible persones assigned vnto him, was made deputie ther, by thassent of f kynges counsaill being that tyme at London, for to abide therein for safeguard ther-fo



of, and straightly charged by thesaid counsaill, that duryng that tyme of his saied charge, he should not suffice any man to bee in the toure stronger then hymself, without especial charge or commaundement of the kyng by thaduse of his counsaill.

2 ITEM that after, some vpon the cōmyng of my saied lorde of Gloucester into this lande from his cuntry of Henawd, the saied lordes of the kynges counsaill were enformed, that my saied lorde of Gloucester, grudged with thesaid maner of enforcing the toure, and let saie to thē of London, that he had wel vnderstand, that they had been heuily thretened for the tyme of his absence, and otheiwise then they should haue bene if he had be in this land. Wherefore he was right euil contented, & especial of the said forcing of the toure, set vpon thē in maner of a chast villain. Consideryng the good equite and trowth that thei had alwayes kept vnto the kyng, officiying them therupon remedy if they would.

3 ITEM that after this, Richard Scot luetenaunt of the toure, by the commaundemēt of my saied lorde of Gloucester, brought vnto hym Frier Randolf, the whiche had long before confessed treason, doen by hym against the kynges person that dead is, for the whiche knowledge he was put to be kepte in the saied toure, and straightly commaunded vnder great pain geuen vnto the saied Scotte, to kepe hym straightly and surely, and not to let hym out of the saied toure, without commaundement of the kyng, by thaduse of his counsaill. The whiche saied Frier Randolf, my saied of lorde Gloucester kept then with hymself (not witting the said Scot) as he declared vnto my saied lorde of Winchester. Some after that he had brought the said Frier Randolf vnto my lorde of Gloucester, sayng vnto my saied lorde of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped hym, and expressed as for cause of the saied withholding of Frier Randolf. And saying more ouer, that when he desired of my saied lorde of Gloucester, the deliuerance of the said Frier Randolf, to leade hym again vnto the toure, or sufficient warraunt for his discharge, my saied Lorde of Gloucester answered hym, that his commaundement was sufficient warraunt and discharge for hym. In the whiche thyng aboue saied, it was thought to my Lorde of Wynchester, that my saied lorde of Gloucester, toke vpon hym further then his authoritie stretched vnto, and caused hym for to doubte & dreade, leaste that he would haue proceeded further. And at suche tyme as the saied Woodeuile came vnto him to aske his aduise and counsaill, of lodgyng of my saied lorde of Gloucester into the toure: he aduised and charged him, that before he suffered my saied lorde of Gloucester or any person lodge therein stronger then hymself, he should purvey hym a sufficient warraunt therof of the kyng by thaduse of his counsaill.

4 ITEM as to the saied article of the foresaid causes of heuinesse, my saied Lorde the Chauncellor answereth, that he neuer purposed to set hande on the kynges person, nor to remoue hym, or that he shoulde bee removed, or put in any maner of gouernaunce, but by thaduse of the kynges counsaill. For he could not conceiue any maner of goodnes or of aduantage that might haue growen vnto hym therof. But rather greate perill and charge, and hereof my saied Lorde of Winchester is redy to make profe in tyme and place conuenient.

5 ITEM, as to the third article of thē forsaid causes and heuinesse, my saied lorde Chauncellor answereth, that he was ofte and diuerse tymes warned by diuerse credible persones, aswell at the tyme of the kynges laste Parliament, holden at Westminster, as before and sithe, that my saied lorde of Gloucester, purposed him bodely harme, and was warned therof, and counsailed by the saied persones, and that diuerse tymes to abstain hym frō comyng to Westminster, as my saied Lorde of Winchester declared vnto my saied lorde of Gloucester.

6 ITEM, that in the tyme of thesaid Parliament diuerse persones of lowe estate, of the citee of London in great nōbre, assembled on a daie vpon the Wharffe, at the Crane of the Vintry, wished and desired that they had there the persone of my Lord of Winchester, sayng. that they would haue throwen hym into the Thamse, to haue taught hym to swymme with wynges. For whiche billes and language of slander and thieatenynges, cast & spoken in the said cite, by my saied lord the Chauncellor, caused hym to suppose, that they had so saied and did, willed and desired his destruccion, although they had no cause.

ITEM

ITEM, that after the cōmyng to London of sir Raufe Botiller and master Lewes, sent fro my Lorde of Bedford, to the rest of the lordes of the counsaill, they beyng informed that my saied Lorde of Gloucester, did beare displeasure to my saied Lorde of Winchester. They came to my saied lorde of Gloucester to his Ynne, the second Sondae next before Alhallowen daie, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstandyng of thesaid displeasure, praiyng hym to lette them knowe if he bare suche displeasure against my saied Lorde of Winchester, and also the causes thereof. At the whiche tyme (as my said loide of Winchester was afterwaide informed) that my saied lorde of Gloucester, affirmed that he was heuy towaide hym, and not withoutten causes that peradventure he would put in writyng.

ITEM, that after the Mōdaie next before Alhallowen daie last past in the night, the people of thesaid citee of London, by the commaundement of my said lorde of Gloucester, as it was said. For what cause my lorde the Chauncellor wist not, assembled in the citee, armed and arraied and so continued all that night. Emongest diuerse of the whiche; (the same night by what excitation, my said lorde the Chauncellor wist not) sedicious and heuie language was vsed, and in especiall against the persone of my saied loide the Chauncellor. And so the same Mōdaie at night, my saied Lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Ynnes of Courte at London, charging them of the count dwelling in thesame to be with hym vpon the morowe, at eight of the clocke, in their best arrae.

ITEM that on the morowe, beyng Tuseday next folowynge early, my saied lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Maie and Aldermen of the saied citee of London, to ordain hym vnto the nombre of three hundred persones on horsebacke, to accompany hym to suche place as he disposed hym to ride, which (as it was said) was vnto the kyng, to thentent to haue his persone, and to reinoue hym from the place that he was in, without assent or aduise of the kynges counsaill, the whiche thyng was thought vnto my saied lorde the Chauncellor, that he ought in no wise to haue doen, nor had not been sene so before.

ITEM that my saied lorde the chauncellor, consideryng the thynges aboue said, and doubtyng therfore of perelles that might haue insued thereof, intendyng to purueye there against, and namely for his awne suretie and defence, accordyng to the lawe of nature, ordained to let that no force of people, should come on the bridge of London towarde hym, by the whiche he or his might haue been indaungered or noyed, not intendyng in any wise, bodely harme vnto my saied lorde of Gloucester, nor to any other person, but onely his awne delence end eschewyng the perell abouesaid.

ITEM as toward the fourth and fifth of the saied articles, my loide the Chauncellor answereth, that he was euer true, to al those that wer his soueraigne Lordes, and reigned vpon hym, and that he neuer purposed treason nor vntrouth against any of their persones, and in especiall against the persone of our saied soueraigne lorde kyng Henry the fifth. The whiche consideryng the greате wisedoine, trouthe and manhod, that al men knewe in hym, he would not for the tyme that he was kyng, haue set on my said lorde the Chauncellor so greате truste as he did, if he had founde, or thought in hym suche vntrouthe. The whiche thyng my saied Lorde the Chauncellor, offred to declare and shewe, as it belōgeth to a man of his estate to do, requiryng ther vpon my lord of Bedford, and all the lordes spirituall and temporal in this parliamēt, that it might be sene, that there wer iudges cōuenient in this case, that they would do hym right, or els that he might haue leaue of the kyng by their aduise, to go sue his right, before hym y ought to be his iudge.

AND as towaide the letter sent by my lord of Winchester, vnto my lord of Bedford, of the whiche the tenor is before rehersed, of the which my lorde of Gloucester complained hym of the malicious and vntrue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, as toward the assembling of the people and gatheryng of a feld in the kynges lāde in troublыng therof, and against the kynges peace. My said lorde of Winchester answereth, that of his said letters duely vnderstande, & in suche wise as he vnderstod and nicant in the writyng of them, it maie not reasonably be gathered and taken, that my saied lorde of Winchester, intended



to gather any feld or assemble people, in troubling of the kynges land, and against the kynges peace, but rather he purposed to acquite hym to the kyng in his trouthe, and to kepe the rest and peace in the kynges land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble. For by that that in the begynnyng of the said letter, he calleth my said lorde of Bedford, his leuest lorde, after one, that is the kyng, whom he ought to except of dutie of his trouthe, the whiche he hath euer kept and will kepe.

13 MOREOVER in the saied letre, he desireth the commyng home of my Lorde of Bedforde, for the welfare of the kyng and of his realmes of England and of Fraunce, the whiche stande principally in his kepyng of rest and peace, and praieyth my saied lorde of Bedford, to spede his commyng into England, in eschewyng of ieperdy of the land, and of a felde the whiche he drade hym, might haue folowed if he had long taried. As toward those wordes, and ye tary we shall put this land in aduerture with a feld, suche a brother ye haue here, &c. My saied lord of Winchester saieyth, the sothe is: before or he wrote thesaied letter, by occasion of certain ordinaunces, made by the Maire and Aldermen of London, against the excessiue taking of Masons, Carpentars, Tilers, Plasterers and other laborers, for their daily iourneis and approued by the kynges aduise and his counsaill, there were caste many lieuinnesses and sedicious billes, vnder the names of suche laborers, thretenyng risyng with many thousandes, and manassyng of estates of the lande, and likewise sedicious and euill language sowed, and so continued and likely to haue sued of purpose and intent of disobedience and rebellion. To redressyng of the whiche, it semed to my lorde the Chauncelloi, that my said lorde of Gloucester, did not his endeuer, nor diligence that he might haue shewed, for lacke of whiche diligence, they that were disposed to do disobeyssaunce, were incoraged and inboldened. So that it was like that they should haue made a gatheryng, and that the kyng and his true subiectes, should haue been compelled to haue made a felde, to haue withstand them, the which feld makyng had been aduenturyng of this lande. And in tokenyng that it was neuer my said lorde Chauncellois intent to gather no feld, but as trowth moste stirred hym against suche as riotously, would make suche assemble against our soueraigne Lorde, and the weale of this land. He desired so hastily, the commyng of my saied Lorde of Bedforde, the whiche he would in no wise haue so greatly desired, if he would haue purposed hym vnto any vnlawful makyng of a feld, for he wist wel that my said lorde of Bedford would moste sharply haue chastised and punished, all those that so would any riotous assēble make. When this answer was made, the duke caused this writyng folowyng, opely to be proclaymed.

14 Beit knowen to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lordes spirituall and temporall, assembled in this present parliament, to acquite hym and them, and to procede truly, iustely and indifferently, without any parcialtie, in any maner of matters or querelles, moued or to bee moued, betwene my Lorde of Gloucester, on that one partie, and my lorde of Winchester, Chauncellor of England on that other party. And for sure keping of the kynges peace, it is accorded by my saied lorde of Bedford, and by my saied lordes spiritual and tempotall, an othe to be made, in forme that foloweth, that is to saie.

#### ¶ The Othe of the lordes.

THAT my saied lorde of Bedford, and my saied lordes spiritual and temporal, and eche of them, shal as farfurth as then connynges and discrecions suffisen, truly, justly, and indifferently, counsaill and aduise the kyng, and also procede and acquite them self, in al the said matters and quarells, without that they, or any of them, shall priuely and appertly, make or shewe hymself to be party or parcial therin, not leuyng or eschewyng so to do, for affection, loue, mede, doubt, or drede of any persone or persones. And that they shall in all wise, kepe secrete all that shalbe commoned by waie of counsaill, in the matters and quarells aboue said, in the said parliament, without that they or any of them shall  
by

by worde, wrytyng of the kyng, or in any wise open, or discouer it to any of thesaid parties, or to any other person that is not of the saied counsaill. But if he haue a speciall commaundement or leaue thereto of the kyng, or of my saied lorde of Bedforde, and that eche of them shall, with all his might and power, assist by waie of counsaill, and els shewe it vnto the kyng, my lorde of Bedforde, and to the rest of my said lordes, to put the said parties to reaso, and not suffer that any of the saied parties, by them or by their assistentes, procede or attempte by waie of feit against the kynges peace: nor helpe, assiste, or comfort any of them thereto, but let them with all their might and power, and withstande them, and assiſt vnto the kyng and my saied Lord of Bedforde, in keepyng of the kynges peace, and redressyng all such maner of procedyng by waie of teit or force

¶ The Dukes.

The Duke of Bedford.

The Duke of Norffolke.

The Duke of Excestre.

¶ Bisshoppes.

The Archebishop of Cantorbury

The Bishop of Carlisle

The Bishop of Bathe.

The Bishop of Landaffe.

The Bishop of Rochestre.

The Bishop of Chichester

The Bishop of Worcester.

The Bishop of Sanct Daues.

The Bishop of London.

The Bishop of Duresme.

¶ Erles

The Erle of Northumberlande

The Erle of Stafforde.

The Erle of Oxforde

Lordes.

The Lord Hungerforde

The Lord Tiptoft

e Lord Ponynges.

The Lord Cromewell.

The Lord Boroughth.

The Lord Louell.

The Lord Botreux.

The Lord Clynton.

The Lord Zouche.

The Lord Audeley

The Lord Ferreis of Groby.

The Lord Talbot.

The Lord Roos

The Lord Grey.

The lord Grey of Ruff.

The Lord Fitzwalter.

The Lord Berkeley.

¶ Abbottes.

The Abbot of Waltham.

The Abbot of Glaustinbury.

The Abbot of sainte Augustines in Cantorbury

The Abbot of Westminster.

The Abbot of Saint Maies in Yorke.

The Abbot of sainte Albons, not sworne because hewas not presente.

WHICHE othe in maner and forme aboue rehersed; all the lordes aswell spirituall as temporall, beyng in this parliamēt at Leicester assembled the fourthe daie of Marche, promised vpon their faithe, dutie and allegeaunce, whiche they owe to the kyng their soueraigne Lorde, truly to obserue and kepe, accordyng to the true meanyng and purport of thesame.

¶ The Arbitrement

IN the name of God, we Henry Archebishop of Cantorbury, Thomas Duke of Excester, Ihon Duke of Norffolke, Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, Ihon bishbp of Bathe, Humfrey erle of Stafford, William Alnewike keper of the kynges priue Scale, Rauffe lorde of Cromwell, arbitratoures in all maner of causes, matters and quarels of heuinesses and greuaunces, with all incidentz, circumstaunces, dependentes, or connexes, beyng and hāgyng betwene the high and worthy prince Hüfrey Duke of Gloucester, on the one partie, and the worshipful father in God, Henry bishop of Winchester and Chauncellor of England, on the other partie, by either of them for the peacyng of the saied quarells and debates, taken and chosen in maner and forme, as it is contained more plainly in a compri-messe made theiupon, of the whiche the tenor sheweth in this forme.

MEMORANDVM the. vii. daie of Marche, in the. iij. yere of our soueraigne Lorde the kyng, Henry the sixt. The high and mightie prince Humfrey duke of Gloucestre, at the re-uerence



uerence of God, and for the good of the kyng our soueraigne Lorde in this lande, and namely at the reuerēce, and specially at the request and praier of the myghte and highe prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agreed hym to put and putteth all maner matters and queralles in deede, with all their incidentz, circumstaunces, dependenz and connexes, that touchen hym and his persone, that he hath in anywise, do, or feleth hym greued, or heuy against my lorde his vncl, my Lorde of Winchester. Or els that my Lorde of Winchester findeth hym greued against hym in asmuche as they touch hym or his persone, frō the beginnyng of the worlde vnto this daie In the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitrament of the worthy father in GOD, Henry Archbishop of Cantorbury, the high and noble prince Thomas duke of Excester, and Ihon duke of Norffolke, the worshipfull father in God Thomas bishop of Durlesme, Philip bishop of Worcester, Itho bishop of Bath. The noble lorde Humfrey erle of Stafford, the worshipfull persones, Master William Alnewike keper of the kynges priuy seale, and Raufe lorde Ciumwel, promisyng and behightyng, by the faith of his body, and woide of his princehode and kynges sonne, to do kepe, obserue and fulfil, for hym and in his behalf, all that shalbe declared, ordeined and arbitred, by the forsaid Archebishop, Dukes, bishoppes, Erle, Keper of the priue scale, and lorde Crūwell, in all matters and querelles above saied. Grauntyng also and promisyng ouer that, to be comprehended in the forsaid arbitrement, as toward puttyng awaie all heuinesse or displeasures in any wise contained by my lorde of Gloucester, against all those that haue in any wise assisted, counsaied, or fauored vnto his said vncl of Winchester, and as toward any matters, that be touchyng my Lord of Gloucester, remitteth it and the gouernaunce theieof vnto the kyng and his counsaill, they to deme it by the aduise of his counsaill, as hym thynketh it to be doen In witnesse of the whiche thyng, to this present compromise, my said lorde of Gloucester, hath subscribed his name with his awne hande, Humfrey Gloucester. And in like forme, my Lorde of Winchester in another compromise, hath subscribed with his awne hande, vnder the worde of priestehod, to stande at the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitremēt of the persones abouesaied, *Mutatis Mutandis*.

THE causes beforesaid and querelles by vs sene, heard, and diligently examined and decreed, by the assent of the saied parties, ordeine and awarde, that my lordes of Gloucester and of Winchester, for any thyng doen or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by any of theirs or any other persone or persones, afore the vii daie of this present Moneth of Marche, neuer here after take causes, querelles, displeasures or heuinesses, that one against the other, ne nether against the counsailers, adherentes or fauorers of that other, for any thing or thynges that are past. And that my saied lorde of Gloucester, bee good. Lorde to my saied Lorde of Winchester, and haue hym in loue and affection as his kynsemen and Vncl. And that my saied Lorde of Winchester, haue to my saied Lorde of Gloucester, true and sadde loue and affection, do and bee ready to do to hym suche seruice, as aperteineth of honesty to my saied Lorde of Winchester and his estate to doo And that eche of them be good Lord vnto all those adherentes, counsailers and fauorers of that other, and shewe them at all tymes favorable loue and affection, as for any thyng doen by them, or saied afore the seuenth daie of Marche

AND we decre, ordaine and awarde, that my saied Lorde of Wynchester, in the presence of the kyng oure soueraigne Lorde, my Lorde of Bedforde, and my Lorde of Gloucester, and the resydue of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons beeyng in this presente Parlyamente, saye and declare in maner and forme that foloweth.

MY soueraigne Lorde I haue well vnderstande, that I am noysed among the states of your land, how that the kyng our soueraigne lorde that was that tyme, beyng prince and lodged in the greate chambre at Westminster, by the baiyng of a spanyell, there was on a night taken, behynd a tapet in thesame chamber, a man, that should haue confessed, that he was there by myne excitacion and procuring to hate slaine the foresaid Prince there in his bedde, wherevpon thesaid erle, let sacke hym furthwith, and drowned hym in the Thamise. And furthermore I am accused, how that I should haue stirred the kyng that last died, the tyme also that he was Prince, to haue taken the gouernaunce of this realme, and the crowne vpō him,

huyng his father the same tyme beyng kyng. Through whiche language and noysyng, I fele my name and fame greatly emblemished, in diuise mennes opinions. Where vpon I take fiste God to my witnesse, and afterwarde all the worlde, that I haue been at all tymes, & am true louer and true man, to you my soueraigne Lorde, and shalbe all my life. And also I haue bene to my soueraigne lorde, that was your father, all tyme of his reigne, true man. and for suche, he toke trust and cherished me to his liues end, and as I trust no man wil affirme the contrary, nor neuer in my life procuynge, nor imagenyng death nor destrucciō of his person, ne assentyng to any such thyng, or like thereto, the tyme that he was kyng or Prince, or els in other estate. And in like wise, I was true man to Kyng Henry the my all the tyme that he was my soueraigne lorde, and reigned vpon me. In which matters, in all maner of wise, that it liketh to you my soueraigne lorde for to commaunde me, I am ready for to declare me. And furthermore, where, how and when, it shall like you by thaduisse of your counsaill to assigne me. Wherefore I beseche you my soueraigne Lorde as humbly as I can consideryng that there is no grounded processe, by the which I might lawfully, in these matters aboue saied be conuict, blessed be God, to holde me and declare me by thaduisse of al the lordes spirituall and temporall, beyng in this presente Parliament, true man to you my soueraigne lord, & so to haue been vnto my soueigne lords that wei your father and graūdfather, and true man also, to haue been at all tymes vnto his saied father, whilst he was Prince, or els in any other estate, the said slaunder and noysyng notwithstanding. And this same declaracion to be enacted, in this your saied present parliament.

THE which wordes declared in maner, as it is aboue said by my said lorde of Winchester, it semeth to my saied lordes the arbitratours, that it is fityng that my said lorde of Winchester drawe hym a part, and in the meane tyme, the Lordes beyng present, bee singularly examined thei vpon and saie then aduise. And if it be assented by them in maner as my saied lorde of Winchester desireth, let hym be called again, and that then my lord of Bedford, then haue these wordes in effect y folowē.

FAIRE vncle, my Lord, I kyngs grace by the aduise of his counsaill, hath commaunded me to saie to you, that he hath well vnderstande and considered all the matters whiche ye haue here openly declared in his presence, and thereupon ye desie a peticion that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the lordes spirituall and temporall, beyng in this presente Parliamente, he declareth you a true man to hym, and that ye haue so bee to my lorde his father and his graūdfather, and also true man to my Lorde his father whilst he was Prince or els in any other estate, the saied dislaunder and noysyng notwithstanding. And will that the saied declaracion be so enacted in this present parliament. After the whiche wordes thus saied, as befoie is declared, by the saied lordes arbitratours that my saied lorde of Winchester should haue these wordes that foloweth, to my saied lorde of Gloucester.

MY Lorde of Gloucester, I haue conceiued to my greate heuinesse that ye should haue receiued by diuerse reportes, that I should haue purposed and imagined against your persone, honor and estate in diuerse maners, for the which ye haue takē against me great displeasure. So I take God to my witnes, that what reportes so euer haue been to you of me, peraduenture of such as haue had no greate affeccion to me, GOD forgiue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed any thyng that might be hynderyng or preiudice to your persone, honor, or estate. And therefore, I praie you that ye be vnto me good lord from this time furthe, for by my will I gate neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to do heiafter through Goddes grace.

The whiche wordes so by hym saied, it was decreed by the said arbitratours, that my lord of Gloucester should answere and saie

Faire Vncle, sithe ye declare you suche a man as ye saie, I am right glad that it is so and for suche a man I take you.

And when this was doen, it was decreed by the saied arbitratours that euery ech of my lordes of Gloucester and Winchester should take either other by the hande, in the presence of the kyng and all the parliament, in signe and token of good loue and accord, the whiche was doen and the Parliamet was adiourned till after Easter.



When the greate fire of this discencion, betwene these twoo noble personages, was thus by the arbitratours to their knowledge and iudgement, vitterly quenched out, and laied vnder boord all other controuersies betwene other Lordes, takyng parte-with the one partie or the other, wer sone apeased and brought to concord. For ioy wherof, the kyng caused a solemne feast, to be kept on Whitson sondaye, on the whiche daie, he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge (whom his father at Hampton, had put to execution, as you before haue hearde) Duke of Yorke, not forseying before, that this prefermēt should be his destruccion, nor that his sede should, of his generacion, bee the extreme ende and finall confusion. He the same daie also promoted Ihon Lorde Mowbrey and Eile Marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas dyke of Norffolke, by kyng Richard the seconde exiled this realme and dominion, to the title, name, and stile of the Duke of Norffolke, duryng whiche feaste, the Duke of Bedforde adourned the kyng with the high ordre of knighthode, whiche on thesame daie dubbed with the sweared these knightes whose names ensue.

Richard Duke of Yorke.  
 Ihon Duke of Norffolke  
 The erle of Westmerlande.  
 Henry lorde Percie.  
 Ihon lord Butlei, sonne to therle of Ormond  
 The lord Rosse.  
 The lorde Matrauers  
 The lorde Welles.  
 The lorde Barkeley.  
 Sir James Butler  
 Sir Henry Graye of Tankarulle.  
 Sir Ihon Talbot.  
 Sir Raufe Graye of Werke.  
 Sir Robert Veer.  
 Sir Richard Grey.  
 Sir Edmond Hungerford.  
 Sir Water Wyngfeld.  
 Sir Ihon Buttelen.

Sir Reignold Cobham.  
 Sir Ihon Passheleue  
 Sir Thomas Tunstall.  
 Sir Ihon Chedeocke.  
 Sir Raufe Langstie.  
 Sir William Drurye.  
 Sir William Ap Thomas.  
 Sir Richard Caruonell.  
 Sir Richard Wooduile.  
 Sir Ihon Shudelow.  
 Sir Nicholas Blunket.  
 Sir William Cheyney.  
 Sir William Babyngtō Iustice.  
 Sir Raufe Butler.  
 Sir Robert Beauchapme.  
 Sir Edmond Trafford.  
 Sir Ihon Iune chief Baron, and diuerse other.

AFTER thissolempne feast ended, a great aide and subsidye was graunted, for the continuance of the conquest in Fraunce, and so money was gathered, and men wer prepared in euery citee, toun, and coūtrei duryng whiche busines, Thomas duke of Excester, the sadde, wise and wel learned cōsailer, great vncle to the kyng, depaited out of this mortal life, at his manner of Grenewiche, & was with al funeral pompe, conueyed through London to Berry, and there buried. In which yere also died the Lady Elizabeth his halfe sister, & of the whole bloud with kyng Henry the. iij. married to lorde Ihon Hollande duke of Excester and after to the lord Fanhope, buried at the Blacke Friers of London

WHILE these thynges wer thus appoynting and concludyng in Englande: The erle of Warwicke leutenant for the Regente in the realme of Fraunce, entered into the countrey of Mayne, and besieged the toun of Chasteau de Loyre, the which shortly to hym was rendered wherof he made capitain Matthew Gough esquire. After that, he toke by assaute the castle of Mayet, and gaue it for his valeauntnes to Ihō Winter esquire, & after that he conquered the castle of Land, and made there gouernor, William Gladdisdale gentleman. At whiche place he was informed, that the Frencheimen were assembled together, in the countrey of Beausse, wherfore like a valyaunt capitain, he with all his power marched thetherwarde, to encountre with his enemies, and to fight with his aduersaries, whiche hauyng knowledge of his approchyng, fled, and durste not abide the triall, nor ieopardy the aduventure, and in his returnyng, he beseged the Castle of Montdubleau, whereof was capitain sir

Robertō des Croix, whiche siege cōtinued thre wekes, but in conclusion the Englishemen, so sore charged them with in, that the capitain with his whole company, were contente to yelde the castle, their liues horse and hainers, onely rescrued. Whiche to them was after long consultacion had, and many agrementes made frankely graūted. And the saied erle of Warwicke, leauyng there the valeaunt lorde Willoughby, returned again to Paris. Duryng whiche season he was ordained by the assent of the thre estates of the realme of England to be gouernor of the young kyng, in like maner as the noble Duke of Excester before his death was appoynted and assigned, but yet he tariēd still in Fraunce, and did there no small seruice as you shall here after perceiue.

¶ THE FIFTH YERE.

THE Regent of Fraunce thus beeyng in Englande, meanes was made by the Duke of Bur- The. v yere.  
goyne, for the deliuary of the Duke of Alanson, whiche was taken prisoner at the battaill of Vernoyle the last yere. So he for the some of twoo hundred thousande crounes, was deliuered and set at large: but neither for release of all or abatement of part of his raunsome, he would in no wise acknowledge the kyng of Englande, to be his hege and souereigne Lorde. Suche affection bare he to the Dolphyn, and suche trouth shewed he to his natural country. When all thynges wer concluded, ordered and established, bothe for the conseruacion of peace and tranquillitie within the realme of Englande, and also for the maintenaunce of warre for the finall gūnyng of the region of Fraunce: the Duke of Bedforde and his wife, tooke their leaue of the Kyng, at Westminster and landed at Calice, with whō also passed the seas, Henry bishop of Winchester, whiche in thesaied toune was inuested with the Habite, Hatte and dignitie of a Cardinall; with all Ceremonies to it appertainyng. Whiche degree, kyng Henry the fifth knowyng the haute corage, and the ambitious mynde of the man, prohibited hym on his allegeaunce once, either to sue for or to take, meanyng that cardinales Hattes should not presume to be egall with Princes. But now the kyng beyng young and the Regent his fiende, he obtained that dignitie, to his greate profite, and to the empouerishyng of the spiritualtie. For by a Bull legatyne, whiche he purchasēd at Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had money but he, and so was he surnamed the riche Cardinall of Winchester, and nether cāled learned bishop, nor verteous priest.

AFTER that, the duke of Bedford was returned into Fraunce, the lorde of Rustinan Marshall of Britayn, assembled a greate company of the Britishe nacion, whiche fortified & repaired the toune of Pountorson; and after thesaied Marshall, with a thousand men entered into the countrey of Constantyne in Normandy, and came before the toune of Auranches. Thenghishmen within the garrison, issued out & boldly fought with their enemies: but after long conflictē and many strokes geuen, the Britons wer ouer come, and the lorde Rustynan taken, and the inoste parte of his people slaine. The Duke of Bedforde hearyng that the toune of Pountorson was newly fortified and strongly defended, sent thither the erle of Warwicke, accompanied with the lorde Scales, and diuēse other valiaunt capitaines and souldiers, to the nombre of. vii thousand men to besiege the toune, whiche so enuironed it on euery parte, that neither man could steale out, nor beast could passe in. The siege long continuynge, vitail began to waxe scant in the Englishe armie, wherefore the Lord Scales hauyng in his company, sir Ihon Harpely Bayly of Constantine, sir William Breaton Bayly of Caen, sir Raufe Tesson, sir Ihon Carbonell and iii thousand good men of war, departed frō the siege to get vitail, poudere and other thynges necessary for their purpose and enterprise. And as they wer returnyng with their cariages on the sea cost, nere to S. Michaels Mouēt, they sodainly wer encountred with their enemies, wherof the chief wer, the Baron of Coloses, the lorde Dausebost captain of thesaied Mount the lorde Mountabon, the lorde Mountburchier, the lorde of Chasteau Giron, the lord of Tyntygmat, the lord of Chasteau Brian with. vi. M. men of warre. The lorde Scales and his company



(seyng that thei wer compassed on every side with deadly daungiers, for the sea was on the one side, and their enemies on the other, and no meane waie to escape or fle, disconded from then horsse and like gredy Lions, together in an vnpeaceable fury, set on their enemies. The skirmishe was strong & the fight was fierce, the Englishmen kept themselves so close, that their enemies could haue no auantage of them. At the last the lorde Scales cried S. George, they fle, with that the Englishmen toke suche a corage, & the Frenchmen that fought before, were so dismayed that they began to fle. The Englishmen leped again on horssebacke, and folowed theini, and slew and toke aboue xi C. persones, emorgest whō wer taken, the Baron of Colsoes, and the lorde of Chasteau Brian and xxx knights

AFTER this victory, the Lorde Scales with his vitales, prouision and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the Eile and other noble men, ioyously receiued and for this notable facte, highly magnified and preyed. While the siege thus continued before Pountorson, Christopher Hanson and other souldiers of the garrison of S Susan, made a rode into the countrey of Anioy, & came to a Castle called Ramffort, which castle was so priuely scaled, that the capitain within & his company, wer taken or slain before they knewe of their enemies approachyng. When knowledge of this feate was made open to the Frenchmen, whiche were assembled to the nombre of xx.M. to reyse the siege, and breake vp the the campe, lyng before the toune of Pountorson, they left that iourney for a tyme, and returned to the Castle of Ramffort, and besieged thesame by the space of tenne daies.

THE Englishmen considering the multitude of the enemies, and the farre absence of their friendes, began to treate with the Frenchmen and so vpon condicion to departe with bagge and baggage, horse and harnes, thei rendered vp the castle, and departed with more riches then thei brought, whiche castle thus possessed by the Frenchmen, they forgat the reskew of Pountorson, and brake vp their army. But sone after, the lorde of Raix, calling himself luetenaunt general for the dolphin, accompanied with the lorde Mount Iehan, the Lorde Beaumanoire, and the lorde Tyssye, and other to the nōbre of thre thousand persones, entered into the countrey of Mayn, & laied siege to the castle of Malycorne, wherof was capitain an Englishmā, called Oliuer Osbatersby, which castle with the capitain, was by force taken and obtained. in like maner they toke the litle castle of Lude, and there in William Blackeborne luetenaunt for Willā Glasdale esquire, & put hym to raūsome, and slew al his souldiers. After this victory, in the which they muche gloried, the Frenchmen perceiuing that therle of Warwicke continued stil his siege before the toune of Pountorson, & knowyng by their espials, that the Englishmen wer determined to geue them battaill, if thei once attempted to rayse the siege, and therefore fearyng to fight in an open battaill, reculed backe again to the dolphyn with litle gain and small honoi. The Frenchmen and Britons beyng straightly besieged within the toune of Pountorson, perceiuyng no likelyhod of succor to come, and seyng the Englishe army daily did increase, fearyng the sequele therof, if they by violence should be taken and vanquished, thei offered the toune, so that thei might departe with horse and harnes only whiche request (after long sute and petition) to them was hardely graunted. The Eile like avalaunt capitain, entied into the toune and there appoynted for gouernors, the lord Roos, and the lorde Talbot, and leuyng there a conuenient garrison, returned to the lorde Regent

AFTER the takyng of this toune, there was a league, and a treaty concluded betwene the Regent and the duke of Britayn, by the whiche agrement bothe the townes of Pountorson and S James de Beuron wer beaten doune to the ground & clery defaced. After the lord of Raix was departed out of the territory of Mayne as you haue heard, Christopher Hanson, Philip Gough, Martyn Godfrey called the scaler, and diuerse other of the garrison of S Susan, to the nombre of xxx archars, went out in a mornyng to seke their aduētures, and came nere to the Castle of saint Laurence de Mortiels (at the same very season) whē sir James de Sepeaulx capitain of thesame, was gone out of his Castle with the greatest nombre of his retinewe, to a Church directly against the castle. In the masse time, then-glushmen entered by subtiltie into the gate & so gat the dongeon. And when sir James ro-

turned from Masse, as he entered into the gate he was taken, and his men fled, and so was the castle furnished with Englishmen, and captain thereof was appoynted, sir William Oldhaule.

THE same season, sir Ihon Fastolfe, gouernor of the countie of Anow and Maine, assembled a great puiſſaunce of men of warre, and laied a siege befo:e the castle of saint Owen Destays, beside the toune of Lauall, wherof was capitain sir Guillam Orenge, whiche, after ten daies besieging, rendred the castle, their liues and armure only except howbeit one railyng and slaunderous persone was put to terrible execution And from thence, the said sir Ihon remoued to the strög castle of Graule, & after. xii. daies, thei within offred to yeld the castle by a day if thei wer not succored by j dolphin or his power The offre was taken & pledges deliuered, which wer Guilla Cordouen, & Ihon de Maisienne esquiers. After these pledges deliuered, sir Ihon Fastolfe returned in post to the regent aduertising him of this composicion and agiement: wherefore the said lorde, reised a greate power, to fight with the Frenche men at the day appoynted, and in his company, wer the erles of Mortaigne and Warwicke, and the lordes Roos, and Talbot, sir Ihon Fastolfe, sir Ihon Aubemond, sir Ihon Ratcliffe, and diuerse other, to the nombre of twentie thousand men, and so marched forward in hope to mete and ioine battail with their enemies But their aduersaries, whiche wer not farre of, durste not approche, wherefore the Regent sent sir Ihon Fastolfe incontinent to receiue the castle. but they within (cōtary to their promesse and appointment) had newly vitailed and manned the place, and so forsaking their pledges and felowes in armes, refused to render the fortres according to the appointment. wherefore the pledges were brought before the sight of them within the castle, and there openly put to death After this, the lord Talbot, was made gouernor, of Anow and Mayne, and sir Ihon Fastolfe was assigned to another place whiche lorde Talbot, beyng bothe of noble birthe, and haute corage, after his coming into Fraunce, obteigned so many glorious victories of his enemies, that his only name was, and yet is dredful to the Frenche nation, and muche renoumed emongest all other people This ioly capitain, and sonne of the valiant Mars, entered into Mayn and slewe men, destroyed castles, and brent townes, and in conclusion, sodainly toke the toune of Lauall but the lord Loghac, and diuerse other, retrayted them selves into the Castle, and there remained eight daies. Duryng which tyme, it was agreed, that all capitaines, Burgesses, and men of warre, which wer within the Castle, should depart with bagge and baggages, payng to the lord Talbot for al thynges, one hundred thousand Clounes And the Castle so beyng deliuered, was committed to the keepyng of Gilbert Halsall, whiche after, was slain at the siege of Orlance, for whom was made capitain Matthew Gough, which beyng at the iorney before Senlies, by treason of a miller that kept a mil adioynng to the walle, the Frenchemen entered into the toune, and brought it into their subiection and obeysaunce

THE duke of Bedford, was aduertised by his espials, that the toune of Montarges, whiche was in the territory of Orlance, was but slenderly kept and smally furnished, and that it might be taken with litle pain and no losse The Regent glad of these newes, sent therle of Suffolke, sir Ihon Pole his brother, & sir Henry Bisset with sixe M men to assaute the toune, but when they came thether and found the toune better manned and more strongly defended, then their expectation imagined, they gaue no assaute but laied siege aboute the toune, and theile of Warwike was appoynted to lye with a great nombre of menne of warre, at saint Mathelines de Archamp, to encountre the Frenchmen if they would attempt to ayde or vitail those that wer enclosed within the toune. This fortresse stode in suche a place, that what with waters and what with marishes, the army must seuer in thre partes, so that the one could not easely help the other, but either by boates or bridges, so the toune was besieged by the space of two monethes and more. In the meane season, Arthur of Britayne, Constable for the dolphin, sent thether in all hast, the lorde Boisac Marshall of Frauce, Stephin le Hire, Ponton de Sentrayles, the lorde Giaule, and diuerse other valiaunt horssemen, to the nombre of thre thousand and aboue, which priuely



in the night, came on that side where sir Ihon de la Pole and sir Henry Bisset laye, whom they found out of all ordre and without any watche. So the Frenchemen entered into their lodges and slewe many in their beddes, they spared no man, for the resistance was smal, Sir Ihō Dela pole with his horsses saued hymself, and fled ouer the water to his brother, & sir Henry Bisset escaped by a boate and eight with him. The residue whiche would haue passed the bridge and ioyned with the erle of Suffolke, fled in such plumpes ouer the bridge, that the tymber brake and a great nombre was drowned so, & there were slain & drowned. xv. C. men. The erle of Warwike hearyng of this chaunce, departed from saint Mathelyn with all diligent spede, and came before Montarges offeryng battaill to the Frenche capitaines, which answered that they had manned and vitailed the toune, and entēded to do nōmore at that time. Tuenglishmen seying that their trauaile should be in vain, came back softly again with all their ordinaunce to the duke of Bedforde.

IT should seme that fortune at this time would not, that the Flēche men should haue one ioyfull daie, but thesame also should be myngled with dolor or displeasure. For at this very tyme, sir Nicholas Burdett appoynted by the duke of Somerset, to vex and trouble his enemies in the costes of Britayne, sent light hoissemen into euery part, vexyng the people and wastyng the countrey. All townes that he passed by were brente al, and buildynges spoyled & robbed, prisoners and praies wer abundantly taken, small villages wer destroyed, and greате townes wer ransomed, & so without hurt or damage, thesaid sir Nicholas returned into Normandy. This mischance beyng declared to the Constable of Fraunce and the other capitaines, cut their combes and plucked doune their hartes, whiche were set on so mery a pynne, for the victory of Montarges, that they were in maner, like desperate persones, loth to attempte any farther enterprise against the Englishe nacion, sayyng: that God was turned Englishe, and the deuill would not helpe Fraunce.

THE duke of Alauion, whiche as you haue heard, was late deliuered out of Englande, reuined again the dull spirites of the Dolphyn, and the fainte hartes of his capitaines, promysyng to them greате victory with litle trauail, and much gain with smal labor, wherfore in hope of good lucke, he determined to do some notable feate against thenglishe men. Then happened a chaunce vnlooked for, or vnthought of, euen as they would haue whished or desired, for not onely the Magistrates, but chiefly the spiritual persons of the citee of Mauns, knowyng that the duke of Britayne and his brother, were reuieited and turned to the French partie, began sore to mourne and lament that they wer subiectes and vassals to the yoke and power of the Englishe men. Wherfore they determined and fully concluded, to aduertise of their myndes and determinacions, the capitaines of Charles & dolphyn, (of the called the Frenche kyng) and so by certain false Friers, therof wrote humble and louyng letters. These newes pleased much the French capitaines, but no lesse you may be sure the Dolphyn hymself, as a thyng descended from heauen, of them vnsought, vnimagined and not deuised. Wherfore to take oportunitie when time serued, and not to lese so great a benefite so honestly offred, the lordes Delabreth and Fayet, Marshals of Fraunce, accompanied with the lordes of Monte Ihan, of Buel Doruall, Toisye and Beaumamoyre the Heire, and Gullyam his brother, and fīue hundred other hardy capitaines and valiaunt souldiers, toke vpon them this enterprise, sendyng great thankes and laudes to the Clergie and citezens, for their assured fidelitie to their soueraigne lord, promysyng them to be there at the daie appoynted, not doubtyng to find them redy accordyng to their promes, gladly to receiue them.

WHEN the daie assigned and the night appoynted was come, the Frenche capitaines priuely approached the toune, makyng a litle fire on an hill in the sight of the toune, to signific their comyng and approchyng. The citezēs, which by the great church wer looking for their approach, shewed a burnyng Cresset out of the steeple, which sodainly was put out & quenched. What should I saie, the capitaines on horssbacke came to the gate, and the traytors within slew the porters and watch men, and let in their frendes, the footemen entered firste, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent that if muche nede required

required or necessitie cōpelled, they might fight in the opē feld. And in the mean season many Englishmen wer slain, and a greate claymor and a houghe noyse was hard through the toun, as is wont and accustomed to be in a toun, by treason sodainly surprised & taken but what was the cause of the cry, or beginnyng of the noyse, fewe except the confederates, ether knewe or perceived. For the remnaunt of the citezens beyng no partakers in this faction, imagined that the Englishmen had made hauocke in the toun and put all to the sweard. The Englishemen on the othersyde, iudged that the citezens had begonne some new rebellion against them, or els had striuen emongest themselves. The erle of Suffolke, whiche was gouernor of the toun, hearyng the clamor and noyse of the people, hauing perfect knowledge of such as escaped fōd the walles, in what case the citee stode in, without any taryng or prolongyng of tyme entered into the Castle which standeth at the gate of Sanct Vincent, wherof was Constable Thomas Gower esquier whether also fled so many Englishemen, that the place was pestured, and there if they wer not rescued, likely to be famished. but surely they wer sore assaunted and marueilously hurte, with the shot of the alablasters & crosse bowes, but they defended themselves so manfully, that their enemies gat small aduantage at their handes. But all their hardines had not serued, nor all their policy had not defended them, if they had not priuely sent a messenger to the lorde Talbot, which then lay at Alanson, certefiying hym in what case they stode, for vitail had they none, municions failed, and the Castle was almoste vndermined, so that yeldyng must folowe, and resistance could not preuaile. The lorde Talbot hearyng these newes, neither slept nor banquetted, but with all hast assembled together his valiaunt capitaines, whose names you haue before often times heard rehersed, to the nombre of vii. hundred men of warr, and in the euenyng departed from Alanson, and in the mornyng came to a castle called Guyerche twoo myles from Mauns, and from thence sent as an espial Matthew Gough, to espie the gouernaunce of the enemies, and if he might to shewe to his countreyemen that he was at hāde to be their aide & rescowes. Matthew Gough so well sped, that priuely in the night he came into the castle, where he knew how that the French men beyng lordes of the citee, and now castyng no perils nor fearyng any creature, began to waxe wanton and felle to riote, as though their enemies could do to them no damage thynkyng that the Englishemen whiche wer shut vp in the Castle, studied nothyng but how to escape and be deliuered. Whē Matthew Gough had knowen al the certaintie and had eaten a litle breade and dronke a cuppe of wine to comfort his stomacke, he priuely returned again, and within a mile of the citee met with the lorde Talbot and the Lorde Scales, and made open to them al thyng according to his credence, whiche to spede the matter, because the day approched, with al hast possible came to the posterne gate, and alighted from their horses, and about sixe of the clocke in the mornyng thei issued out of the castle cryyng saint George, Talbot. The French men which wer scace vp, and thought of nothyng lesse then of this sodain approachment, some rose out of their beddes in their shertes, and lepte ouer the walles, other ranne naked out of the gates for sauing of their liues, leuyng behynde them all then apparell, horsse, armure and riches, none was hurt but suche, whiche ether resisted or would not yelde, wherof some wer slain and cast in prisone. There were slain and taken foure hundred gentlemen and the villaines frankly let go. After this inquisition was made of the authors of this vngacious conuracion, and there were accused thirtie citezens, twenty priestes and fiftene Friers, which accordyng to their desertes were put in execution.

## ¶ THE SIXT YERE

THE citee of Mauns thus beyng reduced into the Englishe mennes handes, the Lorde Talbot departed to the toun of Alanson. After whiche marciall feat manly acheued, the erle of Warwicke departed into Englande, to be gouernour of the young kyng, insteade of Thomas duke of Excester, late departed to God. In whose stede was sent into Fraunce, the

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## THE VI YERE OF

the lorde Thomas Mountacute erle of Salisbury with five thousande men, whiche landed at Calice and so came to the Duke of Bedford in Paris. Where he consulting with the Duke of Bedforde, concerning the affanes of the realme of Fraunce scyng all thynges prosperously succede on the Englishe part, began meruailously to phantesie the citee and countrey of Orlance, stadyng on the riuier of Loyre. But because the cite was wel fortified both by the nature of the situation of the place, and by the pollicie of man, he imagined it not the worke of one daie, nor the study of one houre. Wherefore he remitted it to a farther deliberaciō, yet he was the man at that tyme, by whose wit, strength and pollicie, the Englishe name was muche feaful and terrible to the French nacion, whiche of hymself might both appoynt, commaunde and do all thynges, in maner at his pleasure, in whose power, (as it appeared after his deathe) a greate part of the conquest consisted and was esteemed, because he was a man both painful and diligent, redy to withstand thynges perilous and imminent, and prompt in counsaile, and with no labor be weryed, nor yet his courage at any tyme abated or appalled, so that all men put no more trust in any one man, nor no synguler person gat more the hautes of all men. After this greate enterpryse, had long been debated and argued, in the priue counsaile, the erle of Salisburies deuise, (although it seemed harde and straunge to all other, and to hym as it was a thyng predestinate very easie) was graunted and allowed, which enterprise was the finall conclusion of his naturall destiny, as you shall shortly perceiue. Thus he replenished with good hope of victory, & furnished with artillery, and munitions apperteyning to so greate a siege, accompanied with the erle of Suffolke and the lorde Talbot, and with a valiaunt company, to the nombre of tenne thousande men, departed from Paris and passed through the countrey of Beause. He toke by assaute the toun of Yainule, but the Frenchmen fled into the Castle, and there continued five daies, at the ende wherof they rendered themselves symply of the said nombre, some were put to death for certain causes, & some were taken to mercie. He tooke also the toun of Bawgency, sufferyng euery man, whiche would become vassaile and subiecte to the kyng of England, to enherite their landes and enioy their goodes. The tounes of Meun vpon Loyre & Iargenan, hearyng of these treatise, presented to hym the keyes of the toun, vpon like agreement & egall condicions.

AFTER this in the moneth of September, he laied his siege on the one side of the water of Loyre, before whose comyng, the Bastarde of Orlaunce, and the bishop of the citee and a great nombre of Scottes, hearyng of therles intent, made diuerse fortificacions about the toun and destroyed the suburbs, in the which wer twelue parishe churches and foure ordres of Friars. They cut also doune al the vines, trees and bushes within five leages of the toun, so that the Englishmen should haue neither comfort, refuge nor succor.

HERE must I a litle digresse, and declare to you, what was this bastard of Orlaunce, whiche was not onely now, capitaine of the citee, but also after, by Charles the sixt made erle of Dunoys, and in greate authoritie in Fraunce, and extieme enemye to the Englishe nacion, as by this story you shall apparauntly perceiue, of whose line and steme dyscend the Dukes of Longue and the Marques of Rutylon. Lewes Duke of Orlaunce murthered in Paris, by Ihon duke of Burgoyne, as you before haue harde, was owner of the Castle of Concy, on the Frontiers of Fraunce toward Arthoys, wherof he made Constable the lord of Cauny, a man not so wise as his wife was faire, and yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloued of the duke of Orlaunce, as of her husband. Betwene the duke and her husbände (I cannot tell who was fater) she conceived a child, and brought forth a pretty boye called Ihon, whiche child beyng of the age of one yere, the duke disceased and not long after the mother, and the Lorde of Cawny ended their lues. The next of kynne to the lord Cawny challenged the enheritaunce, whiche was worth foure thousande crownes a yere, alledgyng that the boye was a bastard. and the kynred of the mothers side, for to saue her honesty, it plainly denied. In conclusion, this matter was in contenciō before the Presidentes of the parliamt of Paris, and there hang in controuersie till the child came to the age of eight yeres old. At whiche tyme it was demaunded of hym openly  
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whose sonne he was: his frēdes of his mothers side aduertised him to require a day, to be aduised of so great an answer, whiche he asked, & to hym it was graūted. In y meane season his said frendes persuaded him to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the Loide of Cawny, which was an honorable huyng, and an aunciēt patrimony, affirming that if he said contrary, he not only slaūdered his mother, shamed himself, & stained his blood, but also should haue no huyng nor any thing to take to. The scholemaster thinking y his disciple had well learned his lesson, and would reheise it accordyng to his instuacciō, brought hym before the Iudges at the daie assigned, and when the question was repeted to hym again, he boldly answered, my haite geneth me, & my noble corage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleance, moie glad to be his Bastarde, with a meane huyng, then the lawfull sonne of that coward cuckolde Cauny, with his foure thousande crounes. The Iustices muche merueiled at his bolde answere, and his mothers consyns detested him, for shamyng of his mother, and his fathers supposed kinne ieiouys in gasyng the patrimony and possessions. Charles duke of Orleance heying of this iudgement, toke hym into his family & gaue him great offices & fees, which he well deserved, for (duryng his captiuitie) he defended his lādes, expulsed thenglishmen, & in conclusion procured his deliuerance.

THIS coragious Bastard, after the siege had continued thre wekes ful, issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishemen, but they receiued hym with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his company compelled to retire and flic backe into the citee. But the Englishemen folowed them so faste, in killyng and takyng of their enemies, that they entred with them the Bulwarke of the bridge, whiche with a greate toure, standing at thende of thesame, was taken incontinent by thenglishmen. In whiche conflict many Frenchemen were taken, but mo were slain, and the keyng of the toure and Bulwerke was cōmitted to William Glasdale esquier. When he had gotten this Bulwarke, he was sure that, by that waie neither man nor vitall could passe or come. After that he made certayne Bulwarkes rōude about the citee, castyng trenches betwene the one and the other, layng ordinaunce in euery part, where he saw that any battery might be deuised. When they within perceiued that they were enuironed with fortresses and ordinance, they laied gonne against gonne, and fortified toures against bulwarkes, and within made new rampnes, and buylded new mudwalles to auoyde crackes and breches, whiche might by violent shot sodainly insue. They appoynted the Bastard of Orleance, and Stephiū Veignold called the Heire, to see the walles and watches kept, & the bishop sawe y thinhabitātes within the cite, wei put in good ordre, and that vitall wer not wantonly consumed, nor vainly spent.

IN the toure that was taken at the bridge ende, as you before haue heard, there was a high chamber hauyng a grate full of barres of yron by the whiche a man might loke all the length of the bridge into the cite at which, grate many of the chief capitaynes stode diuerse times, vieuyng the cite & deuisyng in what place it was best assailable. They within the citee perceiued well this totyng hole, and laied a pece of ordynaunce directly against the wyndowe. It so chaunced that the. lix. daie after the siege laied before the citee, therle of Salisbury, sir Thomas Gargraue and William Glasdale and diuerse othei, went into thesaid tonre and so into the high chābre, and looked out at the grate, and with in a short space, the sonne of the Master gonner, perceiued men lokyng out at the wyndowe, toke his matche, as his father had taught hym, whiche was gone doune to dinner, and fired the gonne, whiche brake & sheuered y yron barres of the grate, wherof one strake therle so strōgly on the hed, that it stoke away one of his eyes and the side of his cheke. Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise stricken, so that he died within two daies. Therle was conueighed to Meum vpon Loyre, where he laie beyng wounded viij daies, duryng whiche tyme, he receiued deuoutly the holy Sacramentes, and so commended his soule to almighty God, whose body was conueyed into England, with all funerall and pompe, and buried at Bissam by his progenitors, leuyng behind him, an onely daughter named Alice, married to Richarde Neuell, sonne to Raute eile of Westmerland, of whom hereafter shalbe made mencion. What detriment, what damage,



what losse succeeded to the Englishe publique wealthe, by the sodain death of this valiaunt capitain, not long after his departure, manifestly apered. For high prosperitie, and great glory of the Englishe nacion in the parties beyond the sea, began shortly to fall, and litle and litle to vanishe awaie. which thing although the Englishe people like a valiant & strong body, at the firste tyme did not perceiue, yet after y they felt it grow like a pestilēt humor, which successiue lytle and litle corrupteth all the membres, and destroyeth the body. For after the death of this noble man, fortune of warre began to change, and triumphant victory began to be darkenēd. Although the death of therle were dolorous to all Englishmē, yet surely it was moste dolorous to the duke of Bedford, regent of Fraunce, as he whiche had loste his right hand or lacked his weapon, when he should fight with his enemie. But seying that dedde men cannot with sorowe be called again, nor lamentacion for dedde bodies cannot remedy the chaunces of men liuyng he (like a prudent gouernor & a pollitique pation) appointed the erle of Suffolke to be his leuetenant, and captain of the siege, and ioyned with hym the lord Scales, the lorde Talbot, sir Ihon Fastolfe, and diuerse other valiaunt knightes and esquiers. These loides caused bastiles to be made round about the citee, with the whiche they troubled their enemies and assauted the walles, and left nothyng vntattempted, whiche might be to them, any aduantage, or hurtefull to their enemies.

IN the time of lent vitale and artillerie, began to waxe scant in the Englishe armie, wherefore therle of Suffolke appointed sir Ihon Fastolfe, sir Thomas Rampstō, and sir Philip Hal with their retinewes, to ride to Paris to the lord Regent, to informe him of their scarcenes and necessitie. Whiche beyng therof informed, without any delaye or prolongyng, prouided vitale, artillery and municions, necessary and conuenient for so greate an enterprise, and laded therewith many chariottes, cartes, and horssees, and for the sure cōduite, and sauegard of the same, he appoynted sir Simon Morhier Prouost of Paris, with the gard of the citee & diuerse of his awne household seruautes, to accompany sir Ihon Fastolfe and his cōplices, to the army liyng at the siege of Orleance. The whiche departed in good ordre, to the nombre of. v. hundred men of war, beside wagoners out of Paris, and came to Yaynuile in Beausse, and in a mornyng early in a greate frost they departed, from the place toward the siege, and when they came to a toun called Ronuray, in the laūdes of Beausse, they perceiued their enemies cōmyng against them, to the nombre of. ix. or. x. M. Frenchemen & Scottes. the capitaines wherof was Charles of Cleremōt, sonne to the duke of Burbon, then beyng prisoner in Englande, sir Wilham Stewarde Constable of Scotlande, alitle before deliuered out of captiuitie, the erle of Peidriacke, the lord Ihon Vandosme, Vidane of Charters, the Lorde of Touars, the lorde of Lohat, the lorde of Eglere, the Lorde of Beaniew, the Bastard Tremorle, and many other valiant capitaines. Wherefore sir Ihon Fastolfe and his companions, set all their company in good ordie of battail, and picked stakes befoie enery Archer, to breke the force of the horsemen. At their backes they set all their wagōs and cariages, and within them they tied all their horssees, so that their enemies could nether assaile them on the backside, nor yet spoile them of their horssees, and in this maner they stode still, abydyng the assaute of their aduersaries. The Frenchmen (by reason of their great nombre) thinking the victory to be in their handes, egerly like Lions set on the Englishmen, whiche with greate force, them receiued and manfully defended: for it stode them vpon, considering the inequalitye of the nombre. And after long and cruell fight the Englishmen droue backe and vanquished the proude Frenchemen, and compelled them to fle. In this conflict were slain, Loide Willyam Stewarde Constable of Scotlande and his brother, the lorde Doruall, the lorde Delabret, the lorde Chasteambrian, sir Ihon Basgot, and other Frenchmen & Scottes, to the nombre of. xxv. C. and aboue xj. hundred taken prisoners, although some French writers affirme the nombre lesse.

AFTER this fortunate victory, sir Ihon Fastolfe and his company (of the whiche no man of any reputacion was either slain or taken,) came with all their cariages, vitale, and prisoners, to the siege before Orleance, where they wer ioyously receiued & welcomed of all the  
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souldiors. This conflict (because the most part of the cariage was heryng & lenten stuffe,) the Frenchmen call, the vnfortunate battail of herynges.

THE Erle of Suffolke, beeyng thus vitailed, continued his siege, and euery daie almoste, skirmished with his enemies, whiche being in dispaire of all succors, began to cōmen emongest themself, how they might rendie the toune, to their moste honoure and profite. After muche reasonyng, and long debatyng emongest the capitaines, and the magistrates of the toune, what way was best to be folowed. Some affirmed it not onely to be sharnfull and dishonorable, but also vnnaturall and vnreasonable, to yelde the toune to the Englishemen, beyng neither fiendes nor fauorers of the French nacion. Other, fearyng the victory of the Englishmen, imagined, that if they by force possessed the citee, they would do to them as tyrantes be accustomed to serue, wiltull and obstinate people, and therefore they thought it a greate folye and a notable lightnes, not to beware he one, as to deny or refuse the other. But when they saw, that their glory must nedes decline to a shame & reproche, they thought to find a meane waye to saue themselves, and then cite frō the captiuitie of their enemies, and deuised to submit then citee theselves, & al theirs vnder the obeysance of Phillip duke of Burgoyne because he was brought out of the stocke and bloud royall of the auncient hous of Fraunce: thinkyng by this meanes (as thei did in dedde) to breke or minishe the greate amitie betwene the Englishemen & hym.

AFTER this poynt concluded, they made open & sent to the duke all their deuises and intentes whiche certified thē that he would gladly receiue their offre, so that the Regent of Fraunce would therto agre & cōsent. And therupō dispatched certain ambassadors to the duke of Bedford, to whom these newes wei straunge and not very plesant, vpon whiche poynt, he assembled a great counsaill. Some thought that maner of yeldyng to be bothe honorable and profitable to the king of Englande, by reason wherof, so greate a citee, & so riche a countrey, should be brought out of the possessiō of their enemies, into the hādes of their trusty frendes, without farther cost or bloudshed. The Duke of Bedford & other, wer of a contrary opinion, thinkyng it bothe dishonorable and vnprofitable to the realme of Eng- land, to se a cite so long besieged at the costes & expenses of the kyng of England, & almoste brought to the poynt of yeldyng, to be yelded to any other foie prince or potestate, and not to hym or his Regent, the example wherof might prouoke other townes hereafter to do the same. This reason toke place, and the Regent answered the dukes ambassadors, that it was not honorable nor yet cōsonaunte to reason, that the kyng of Englande should beate the bushe and the duke of Burgoyne should haue the birdes: Wherefore sithe the right was his, the war was his, and the charge was his, he said that y citee ought not to be yelded to no other person, but to hym or to his vse and profite. By this litle chance, succeded a great change in thenglishe affaires, for a double mischief of this answeire rose and sprang out. For first the duke of Burgoyne, began to conceiue a certain priue grudge against thenglisshmen for this cause thynkyng thē to enuy & beare malice against his glory and profite, for the whiche in continuance of time he became their enemy, and cleued to the French Kyng. Secondly, the Englishemen left the siege of Orleance, whiche by this treaty they might haue had to fiend, or to haue continued neutre, till then Lord the duke of Orleance, or the erle of Angulosie his brother wer deliuered out of the captiuitie of the English people. But if men wei angels and forsaw thynges to come, they like beastes would not ronne to their confusiō. but for tune which gideth the destiny of man, will turne her whele as she listeth, whosoever saith nay.

WHILE this treaty of the Orleauces was in hand, Charles the dolphin, daily studied and hōurly labored, to plucke the fauor and hartes of the nobilitie of Fraunce, from the Englishe nacion, to the intent, that he might assemble a pyssance, sufficient to relefe his frendes, beyng shut vp in the citee of Orleauce. While he was studyng and compassyng this matter there happened to hym, a straunge chaunce, of the whiche I will write a litle, because some of the Frenche aucthours, and especially Ihon Bouchet, of it writeth to muche.



FOR as he and other saie, there came to hym beyng at Chynon a mayd of the age of. xx. yeres, and in mans apparell, named Ione, borne in Burgoyne in a toune called Droymy beside Vancolour, which was a greате space a chamberleyn in a commen hostery, and was a rampe of suche boldnesse, that she would course horsse and ride them to water, and do thynges, that other yong maidens, bothe abhorred & wer ashamed to do yet as some say, whether it wer because of her soule face, that no man would desire it, either she had made a vowe to lue chaste, she kept her maydenhed, and preserved her virginite. She (as a monster was sent to the Dolphin, by sir Robert Bandrencort captain of Vancolour, to whō she declaired, that she was sent frō God, botre to aide the miserable citee of Orleauunce, and also to remit hym, to the possession of his realme, out of the whiche, he was expulsed and ouercomed. rehersyng to hym, visions, traūses, and fables, full of blasphemy, supersticiō and hypocrisy, that I maruell much that wise men did beleue her, and lerned clarkes would write suche phantasies. What should I reherse, how they saie, she knewe and called hym her kyng, whom she neuer saw before. What should I speake how she had by reuelacion a swerde, to her appoynted in the churche of sainte Katheryn, of Fierboys in Torayne where she neuer had been. What, should I write, how she declared suche priuy messages from God, our lady, and other saintes, to the dolphyn, that she made the teres ronue donne frō his eyes. So was he deluded, so was he blynded, & so was he deceived by the deuils meanes which suffred her to begynne her race, and inconclusion rewarded her with a shameful fal But in the meane season suche credite was geuen to her, that she was honoured as a saint, of the religious, and beleued as one sent from God of the temporaltie, in so muche that she (armed at all poyntes) rode from Poytiers to Bloys, and ther found men of war vitail, and municions, redy to be conueyed to Orleauce The Englishmen perceiuyng that they within could not long continue, for faute of vitails & powder, kepте not then watche so diligently as they wer accustomed, nor scoured not the cōtrei enuironed, as ther before had ordained: which neghgence, the citezens shut in perceiuyng, sent worde therof to the Frenche capitaines, whiche with *Pucelle* in the dedde tyme of the night, and in a greате rayde and thundre, with all their vitails and atilery entered into the citee If thei were welcommed maruelli not, for folkes in greате trouble, be ioyous of a litle comfort. And the next daie the Englishmen boldly assauted the toune, promisyng to them that best scaled the walles great rewardes. Then men mounted on ladders coragiously, and with gonnes, ariones and pikes, bette their enemies from the walles.

THE Frenchemen, although they maruelled at the fierce fightyng of the English people, yet thei wer not amased, but they defended them selves to the darke night, on whiche daie, no great priuate feate worthy of memory, was either attempted or doen. The Bastard of Orleauunce (seyng the puyssaunce of thenglishe naciō) began to feare the sequele of the matter wherfore he sent worde to the duke of Alaunson, aduertisyng hym in what case the toune then stooode, and that it could not long continue without his hasty spede, and quicke diligence Whiche delayyng no tyme nor deferryng no space came with all his army within two leagues of the citee, and sent woode to the capitaines, that on the next morowe they should be redy to receiue them Whiche thyng, the nexte daie they accomplished, for the Englishmen thought it to be muche to then auale, if so greате multitude entered into the citee, vexed with famyne & replenished with scarsenes On the next daie in the mornyng, the Frenchemen altogether issued out of the toune, and assauted the fortresse or Bastile, called the Bastile of saint Loure, the whiche with great force and no litle losse they toke and set it on fire, and after assauted the toure at the bidge foote, which was manfully defended But the Frenchemen beyng more in nombre, so fiersely assauted it, that they toke it or the Lorde Talbot could come to succors in the whiche Willyam Gladdesdale the captain was slain, and the Lorde Morlyns, and the lorde Pownynges also

THE Frenchemen puffed vp with this good lucke, seyng the strong fortres was vngotten, whiche was vnder the defence of the lorde Talbot, fetched a compasse aboute, and in good ordre of battaile marched thether ward The lord Talbot like a captain, without fere or  
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dred of so great a multitude, issued out of his Bastile, and so fiersly fought with the Frenchemen, that they not able to withstande his pyssaunce, fled (like shepe before the Wolffe) again into the citee, with greate losse of men and small atilerie: and of the Englishemen wer lost in the two Bastyles sixe hundred piones. Then the erle of Suffolke, the Loide Talbot, the Lorde Seales, and other capitaines, assembled together, where causes wer shewed, that it was bothe necessary and conueniente either to leue the siege for euer, or to deferre it till another tyme, more luckey & conuenient. And to the intent that thei should not seme either to fle or to be driuen from the siege by their enemies, they determined to leaue their fortresses and Bastyles, and to assemble in the plain feld and there to abyde all the daie, abiding the outcommying and bataille of their enemies. This conclusion taken, was accordingly executed. The Frenchemen, wried with the last bickeryng, held in then heddes and durste not once appere and so thei set fire in their lodgynges, and departed in good ordre of battail from Orleauce. The next daie whiche was the viij daie of Maie, the Erle of Suffolke, ridyng to Iargeaux with. CCCC. Englishmen, and the lord Talbot with another cōpany returned to Meun which toune, after that he had forthed, he incontinent, assaulted and wan the toune of Laual and the Castle sore vexyng and punishyng the tounes men, for their hard hartes, and cancard obstinacie and leuyng there a garrison reculed to Meun.

AFTER this siege thus broken vp to tell you, what triumphes wer made in the citee of Orleauce, what wood was spente in fiers, what wyne was dronke in houses, what songes wer song in the stretes, what melody was made in Tauernes, what roundes were daunced, in large and brode places, what lightes were set vp in the churches, what anthemes, wer song in Chapelles, and what ioye was shewed in euery place, it were a long woорke and yet no necessary cause. For they did as we in like case would haue dooen, and we being in like estate, would haue doen as they did. After that the Englishmen, wer thus retued from the siege of Orleauce, and seuered themselves in diuerse tounes & fortresses, holdyng on their part. The duk of Alaunson, the Bastard of Orleauce, Ione the puzell, the lorde of Gancourt, & diuerse other Frenche men came before the toune of Iargeaux, where the erle of Suffolke and his two brethren soiornd the xij daie of Iune, and gaue to the toune a great and a terrible assaut, whiche the Englishmen, (beyng but a handfull) manfully defended on three partes of the same. Poyton of Sentrailes, perceiuyng one part of the toune to be vndefended, scaled the walles on that part. and without any difficulte toke the toune, and slewe sir Alexander Pole brother to therle, and many other, to the nombre of two hundred: but they not muche gayned, for they lost in. C good men and more. Of the Englishmen wer taken. xl beside his brother Iho. After this gain and good lucke, the Frenchemen returnyng towarde Orleauce, fell in contencion and debate, for their captiues and prisoners, and slewe them all, sauyng the erle and his brother.

### ¶ THE SEUENTH YERE.

After the gaynyng of the toune of Iargeaux, the same army cam to Meun, and toke the toune at the bridge, and put there in a garrison, and frō thence remoued to Bangency. Whiche garrison, beyng not vitaled rendered the tounce, so that they might departe with bagge and baggage, flankely and frely whiche desire to the was graunted. At this toune of Bangency, met with the duke of Alaunson, Arthur of Britayne, the false forsworne gentleman to the kyng of Englande newly made Constable of Fraunce (as you haue heard,) with whom was the lord Delabret with xij C men to whom daily repaired fieshe aide out of euery part, as the Erle of Vandosme, and other, to the nombre of. xx. or xxij M men. All these men of warre, determined to go to Meun, and to take the toune, but they wer informed, that the Englishmen, had lefte the toune desolate, and wer returned to the lord Talbot to Ieneuille. Then thei concluded to passe towarde that toune. But, as they marched forwarde vpon a Saterdaie, thei had perfite knowledge, that the lord Talbot with. v. thousand men,



was commyng to Meum. Wherefore, thei intending to stop hym a tyde, conueyed their company to a small village called Patay, whiche way, they knewe that the Englishmen must nedes passe by. And first they appoynted their horsemen, whiche were well and richely furnished, to go before, and sodainly to set on the Englishmen, or they wer, either ware or set in ordie. The Englishmen commyng forwarde, perceiued the horsemen, and, imaginyng to deceiue their enemies, commaunded the fotemen to enuiron & enclose themselves about with their stakes, but the French horsemen came on so fiersly, that the archers had no leysor, to set themselves in a rae. There was no remedy but to fight at aduenture. This battail, continued by the space of thre long houres. And although the Englishmen wer ouerpressed, with the nombre of their aduersaries, yet thei neuer fledde backe one foote, till their capitain the lorde Talbot, was sore wounded at the backe, and so taken. Then their hartes began to faint, & thei fled in whiche flight, ther wer slain about. xij. C and taken. xl whei of the lorde Talbot the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Rampston, were the chief howbeit diuerse archers whiche had shot all their arrowes, hauing only their swerdes, defended themselves, and with the help of some of the horsemen, ca safe to Meū.

WHEN the fame was blowen abroad, that the lorde Talbot was taken, all the Frenchmen not a litle reioysed, thinkyng surely, that now the rule of the Englishmen, should shortly assuage and waxe faint for feare whei of, the townes of Ieneule, Meū, Foit, and diuerse other, returned from the Englishe part, and became Frenche, to the greates displeasure of the Regent. Erō this battail, departed without any stroke striken, sir Ihon Fastolffe, the same yere for his valiauntnes elected into the ordie of the Garter. For whiche cause the Duke of Bedford, in a great anger, toke from hym the Image of saint George, and his Garter, but afterward, by meane of frendes, and apparant causes of good excuse by hym alledged, he was restored to the order again, against the mynd of the lorde Talbot.

CHARLES, calling hymself Frenche kyng, beyng aduertised of this victory, thought now, that al thynges succeeded, accordyng to his opinion and good hope, whiche euer, was of that his corage and haut mynd, that in his mooste aduersitie, he neuer dispaired in good lucke at length so that the Eile of Salisbury beyng dedde, and the lorde Talbot liuing in captiuite, (which wer f̄ glory of his enemies) he thought to enterprise great and waighty thynges, wher before he nidded with small and litle doynges. For fulfylling of his mynd and appetite, he determined, first to conquere the citee of Reynes, to the intent, that he beyng there, might accordyng to the fashion of his progenitors, with all accustomed Ceremonies, be sacred and anoynted kyng with the holy ampulle, that all men might se and perceiue, that he was, by all lawes and decrees, a iust and a lawfull kyng. Wherefore he assembling to gether a great army, & hauing in his company Ione the Puzel, whom he vsed as an oracle and a southsaier, passed through Champaigne, by the toune of Anxer. The withiū, sent to him messēgers, praiyng him of certain daies of abstinēce of war, in the which (if they wer not rescued) they promised to rendre the toune. He not willing to recompence with ingratitude, the louyng hartes of the citezens, graunted gently to their petition, and leuyng there certain persons, to se that they should not iugle with hym, departed from thence to Troys, beyng the chief cite of Chāpaigne, whiche he besieged, vii. daies. Sir Phillip Hal capitain there, vnprouided bothe of vitail and men, mistrustyng, that aide would not come in tyme, vpon cōposicion rendered the toune, so that he, & his, with all their moueables might in sūette depart the citee whiche demaund was agreed to. After that Troys was yelded, the commonaltie of Chalons, rebelled against sir John Awbemōd their capitain, and constrained hym to deliuer the toune vpon like cōposicion, whiche against his wil he was fain to do and likewise did the citezens of Reyns, desiryng hym to geue saueconduite to all Englishmen, safely to departe.

WHEN he had thus conquered Reyns, he in the presence of all the noblemen of his faccion, and the dukes of Loirayne and Barre, was sacred kyng of Fraūce, by the name of Charles the. vi. with all rites and ceremonies thereto apperteynyng. Thei of Anxer which wer not rescued

rescued within the tyme appoynted, brought the kayes to hym, and submitted themselves to his obaysaunce. likewise did all the citees and townes adioynynge, geuyng thanks to almyghtre God, whiche hauyng compassion of their misery, had restored them to libertie and freedom. The Duke of Bedford, hearyng that these tounes and soyssons also, had returned to the part of his aduersaries, and that Charles late Dolphyn had taken vpon hym the name and estate of the kyng of Fraunce, and also, seying that daily, citees and townes returned from thenglishe part and became Frenche, as though the Englishmen had now lost all their hardy chieftaines and valiaūt men of warre, espied and evidently perceiued, that the laste and vtermoste poynt of recouery, was diuē only to ouercome by battaill, and to subdue by force. By whiche victory, (as he putte his confidence in God) he trusted not onely to scourge and plague the citees, whiche were so sodainly chaungeable, but also to assuage and caulme the haute corage of the newe sacied Frenche kyng and his companions. Wherefore, he hauyng together x. M. good Englishmen, (beside Normans) departed out of Paris, in warlike fashiō and passed through Brye to Monstrean Faultow, and there sente by Bedforde his herault letters to the Frenche kyng, alledgyng to hym that he contrary to the lawes of God and man, yea, and contrary to the finall conclusion, taken, concorded, and agreed betwene his noble brother kyng, Henry the fifth, and kyng Charles, the. v. father to thesaid nowe vsurper, leuyng all humayne reason and honest communicacion, (which sometymē appeaseth debates and pacifieth strifes) onely allured and intised by a deuylishe wyche, and a sathanicall enchaunterese, had not onely falsely and craftely, taken vpon hym, the name, title and dignitie of the kyng of Fraunce. But also had, by murder, stelyng, craft, and deceitful meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfully kept, diuerse citees and townes, belouyng to the kyng of Englande, his moste best beloued lorde, and moste derest nephew. For profe wherof, he was come doune from Paris, with his armye, into the cuntry of Brye, by dent of swerde and stroke of battaill, to proue his writyng and cause trewe, willyng his enema to chose the place, and he in the same, would geue hym battayle.

THE newe Frenche kyng, departyng from his solempne Ceremonies at Reims, and remouyng from thence to Dampmartine, studyng how to compasse the Parisiens, ether with money, or with promes, was somewhat troubled with this message, howbeit, he made a freshe countenaūce, & a Frenche brag, answeyng to the herault that he would soner seke his Master, and the Duke should pursue hym. The duke of Bedford hearyng his aunswer, marched toward hym, and pitched his feld in a strong place, and sent out diuise of his raungers, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come forward. The Frenche kyng was in maneie determined to abyde the battaill, but when he hard saie by his espialles, that the power and nombre of the Englishemen, wer to his army equal in power, he determined that it was more for his profite, to abstain frō battaill without daūger, then to entre into the conflict with ieopardy. fearyng least that with a rashe corage, he might ouerthrowe al his affaires whiche so effectuously proceeded. And so well aduised he turned with his army, awhile out of the waie. The duke of Bedford perceiuyng his faint corage, folowed hym by mountaines and dales, till he came to a toun in Barre, not farre from Senlys, where he found the Frēch kyng and his army. Wherefore he ordred his battail, like a man expert in marciall science, setting the archers before, and hymself with the noblemen in the mayne battaill, and put the Normans on bothe sides for the wynges. The Frenche kyng also ordered his battailles, accordyng to the deuise of his capitaines. Thus, these twoo armies without any greate doying, (except a fewe skirmishes, in the whiche the dukes light horsmen did very valiauntly) lay eche in sight of other, by the space of twoo daies and twoo nightes. But when the Frenche kyng sawe, and perceiued, how glad, how diligent and coragious the Englishmen wer to fight and geue battail, he imaged that by his taryng, one of these twoo thynges must nedes chaūce. that is to saie, either he should fight against his will, or lye still like a coward, to his greate rebuke and infamy. Wherefore in the dedde of the night, (as priuely as he could) he brake vp his campe and fled to Bray. When this flight was perceiued in the mornynge,



mornyng, the Regent could scace refrain his people, from folowyng the Frenche army, calling them, cowardes, dastardes, and loutes, and therfore, he perceiuing that by no meanes, he could allure the new Frenche kyng to abide battaill, mistrusting the Parisians, and geuyng no great credite to their iane, swete and flatteryng woordes, returned again to Paris, to assemble together a greater power, and so to prosecute his enemies.

IN this season, the Bohemians, (whiche belike had espied the vsurped authoritie of the bishop of Rome) began to rebell against his sea, which, (as Eneas Siluius doth report wer) fallē into certain sectes of heiesie. Wherefore, Martyn the fifth bishop of Rome, wrote vnto them to abstain from waire, and to be reconciled by reason, from their damnable opinions. But they, (beyng perswaded to the contrary) neither gaue eare vnto hym, nor yet obeyed his voyce. Wherefore the bishop of Rome, wrote to the princes of Germany, to invade y<sup>e</sup> realmes of Beame, as the denne of heretikes, and caue of deuilshe doctryne. Besyde this, he appoynted Henry bishop of Winchester, and Cardinall of S<sup>t</sup> Eusebie, a mā very wel borne, (as you haue hard) but no better borne then high stomacked, and yet no higher stomacked, then abundantly enriched, to be his legate in this great iorney, and to bryng out men from the realme of Englande, into the countrey of Beame. And because the warre touched religion, he licenced the said Cardinall, to take the tenth part of euery spirituall dignitie, benefice, and promociō. This matter, was declared in open Parliament in Englande, and not dissented, but gladly assented to, wherefore the bishop gathered the money, and assembled foure thousand men and mo, not without great grudge of the people, whiche daily weie with tallages and aides wried, and sore burdened. And when men, munitions, and money wer ready for his hight enterprise, he with all his people came to the sea stronde at Douer, ready to passe ouer the sea into Flanders.

BVT in the meane season, the Duke of Bedforde considering, how townes daily wer gotten, and countries honrely wonne in the realme of Fraunce, for lacke of sufficient defence and nombre of men of warre, wrote to his brother the duke of Gloucester, to releue him with aide, in that tempestuous tyme and troubelous season. When this letter was brought into Englande, the duke of Gloucester was not a lite amased, because he had no army redy to sende at that tyme: for by the reason of the Crewe, sent into Beame, he could not sodainly reyse a newe armye. But because the matter was of suche importance, and might neither be, frō day to day differred, nor yet long delaied, he wrote to the bishop of Winchester, to passe with all his army toward the duke of Bedford, whiche at that tyme had bothe nede of men and assistaūce, considering that now, all stooode vpon losse or gaine whiche thyng doen, and to his honor achiued, he might performe his iorney against the vngacious Bohemians. Although the Cardinall was somewhat moued with this countermaunde, yet least he should be noted, not to ayde the Regent of Fraunce, in so greate a cause and so necessary an entrepryse, he bowed from his former iorney, and passed the sea with all his company, and brought them to his cosyn, to the citee of Paris.

CHARLES the Frenche kyng, hauyng knowledge in the meane season by his espials, which went round about the countrey, to intise and sollicite townes and citees, to returne from the Englishe part, and become Frenche, that the inhabitātes of Champeigae and Beauuoyes ought hym greate loue and synguler fauor, and gladly coueted to renounce the subieccion of England, and to be vnder his proteccion, and also offred to open him their gates, so that they should not therby, be in ieperdy of their lifes and losse of their goodes, with all haste & diligēce remoued towarde Champeigne. The duke of Bedford beyng aduertised of his progresse, and hauyng his armie augmented, with the new aide, whiche the cardinal had of late conducted, marched forward with great spede to encountre and geue battaill, to his mortall enemy the Frenche kyng. When the duke was come to Senlys, the Frenchemen wer lodged on the Mountpilloll, betwene Senlis and Champiegne. Euery army knew of other, and euery hoste might behold other. Then the cāpes wer trenched, and the battailes pitched, and the feldes ordered. Thus, these great armies lay two daies,

nothyng

nothyng doying but with skirmishes, in the whiche the Normans sore vexed the Frenchemen. Wherefore, the lorde Regent, gaue to them many high laudes and praisynges; and determined surely the next daie, to set on the French kyng in his cāpe, if he would not remoue out, and abide battaill. But while kyng Charles did politiquely consider, what a variable lady, Fortune was, and what a sodain and vnthought chaūce of a small thyng, might do in a battaill for the detrimētes and ouerthrowes, that hē and his naciō had taken and tasted by the Englishemen, wer to them a lernyng, an example and a plaine expēfiment, to auoyde open ioynnyng, mutual cōflict, and force to force. And beside that, he had by his exploiators and spies, plain and perfect knowledge, y many and diuerse citees & townes in Fraunce, abhorryng thenglishe libertie, and aspyryng to the French bondage and native seruitude, (accordyng to the nature of Asses, whiche the more they be charged with, the more they desire) wōld, (whē they sawe their tyme) not onely rebell and retuine to his faccion and parte, but also were ready to aide and assiste hym, in recovery of, his desired realme and auncient dominion, in expellyng also the Englishe naciō, out of the territories of Fraunce. And therefore, he imagined that the duke of Bedforde was so hasty to geue hym battaill, thynkyng, that if he then wer ouercome, the game had, for the Englishemen been clely gotten, & to the Frenchemen, a perpetuall checkemate. Wherefore he determined neuer, (except very necessitie compelled or constrained him) to fight in open battaill with the Englishmen, nor by a feld to aduenture his realme with thē, of whom his predecessors so often tymes had been vanquished. Wherefore, like a carpet capitaine he in the night, remoued his campe and fled to Crespy, and yet his nobie was double to the Englishe army. The duke of Bedforde, seying that the Frenche kyng was thus cowardly retrayed, and as a man, whiche durste not once assaie the stroke of an Englishe arme, shamefully recoyled with all his power and aymie, returned agayn to Paris; sore suspectyng the deceitful faith of the politiqne Parisians. The bishop of Winchester, after the Frenche kynges flight, went into Beame, and there did somewhat, but what it was, authors kepe silence, and so do I: But shortly, he without any greate praise, and small gayne, returned into Englande, more glad of his retraite, then of his aduauysyng forward. Sone after, the bishop of Rome without his agreement, vnlegated hym, and set another in his stede & authoritie, with which doying, he was neither cōtent nor pleased.

¶ THE EIGHT YERE.

ON the vi day of Novembre, being the day of saint Leonard, kyng Henry, in the eight yere of his reigne, was, at Westminster with all pompe and honor, crowned kyng of this realme of England. At which cororacion, to reherse the costly fanē, the delicate meate, the pleasaunt wines, the nombie of conises, the sortes of dishes, the labors of officers, the multitude of people, the estates of Lordes, the beauties of Ladies, the riches of apparell, the curious deuises, the solempne banquettes, it would aske a long tyme, and very you. Wherefore leuyng the pleasaunt pastyme in England, I will retuine to the troubleous waies in Fraunce.

The viii.  
yere.

AFTER that the French kyng was fled from the duke of Bedford, (as you haue harde before) and was come to Crespy in Valoys, he was credibly informed, how the citezens of Champaigne, desired greatly to be vnder his gouernaunce and subieccion. Wherefore, he myndyng not to lese so faire an offsed prey, ceased not, til he came to the toune, where, with all reuerence and benignitie, he was receued and welcomed. And after that, were rendered to hym, the townes of Senlis and Beauoys. And the Lorde Longuenall tooke by stelth, the castle of Aumarle and slewe all the Englishemen, and in short space, the lorde Barbasan, whiche long had been prisoner in the Castle Gaylard, so muche, what with faire wordes and large promises, perswaded his keepers, that he not only deliuered his awne persone, but also caused the toune, to turne from the Englishmen, to the part of kyng Charles



his Master. Whiche kyng, although he muche reioysed, at the good successe, that Fortune had to hym sente, yet he was somwhat desperate, how to recouer his countrey from the possession of the Englishemen, except he vnknitted the knotte and league, betwene the duke of Burgoyne and them. Wherefore, he sent his Chauncellor, & diuerse Ambassadors to the duke of Burgoyne, first, excusing himself of the death & murder, of duke Ihon his father, & after, declaring to him, that there could be nothing more foule, more dishonest, nor more detestable, then, for his awne peculiar cause, & priuate displeasure, to ioyne with his ancient eneuies, and perpetual aduersaries, against his natue countrey and naturall nacion: not onely requyryng hym, of concord, peace, and amitie, but also promysing golden mountaynes, and many more benefites, then at that tyme, he was either able or could performe. This message was not so secreete, nor the doying so closely cloked, but the Duke of Bedford, therof was plainly informed. Whiche beyng sore troubled, and vtiquieted in his mind, because he sawe the power of thenglishe nacion, daily waxe lesse, he, of all thynges, first forseyng, if any losse should of necessitie chaunce, of those tonnes and countreis, whiche his noble brother, kyng Henry the fifth had conquered, in the very countrey of Fraunce, for lacke of tuition or defence yet for an ankerhold, he determined to kepe, possesse, and defende, the Duchie of Normaundy, the olde inheritaunce and auncient patrimony, of the kynges of Englande, and fro them onely, by force and not by iustice, by violence and not by right, sithe the tyme of kyng Henry the thide, (the deuilshe deuision then reinyng in the realme) wrongfully deteined, and iniuriously vsurped. Wherefore, he diligently providing, for thynges that might chaunce, appoynted gouernor of the citee of Paris, Lewes of Luxenberough, bishop of Turwine and Ely, beyng Chauncellor of Fraunce, for the kyng of Englande, a man of no lesse wit, then of birthe, leuyng with hym, a conuenient nombre of Englishemen to defende bothe the citee and territory of Paris, & the isle of Fraunce then beyng in the Englishmens possession and gouernaunce.

THESE thynges thus ordered, he departed from Paris, into Normandy, and called at Roan a parliament, of the thre estates of the duchie, in the whiche he declared vnto them, the great liberties, the manifold priueleges, the innumerable benefites, whiche they had receiued of the kynges of Englande, duryng the tyme, that they wer possessors and lordes of thesame duchie, not puttyng in obliuion, the misery, bondage, and calamitie, whiche they had sustained, by the intollerable yoke and daily tributes, continually layed in their neckes like Asses, by the cruell and coueteous Frenchemen. and puttyng them also in remembrance, how the kynges of Englande, wer not only brought furth and discēded, of the Normans blood & progeny, but wer the very true & vndoubtfull henes, to thesame countrey and duchie, lineally succēdyng & lawfully descendyng from Rollo the hardy, first duke and prince of the same dominion. Requyryng thein farther, to liue in loue and amitie amongst thein self, to be true and obedient, to the kyng their soueraigne Lorde, and to kepe their othe and promes, made and sworne to his noble brother, kyng Henry the v promysing to them, English libertie and priueleges royall. While the duke of Bedford was thus, intertaining and encoragying the Normans, Charles the new French kyng, beyng of his departure aduertised, longyng and thyrstyng for to obtain Paris, the chief citee & principall place of resort, within the whole realme of Fraunce, departed from the toune of Senlis well accompanied, and came to the toune of saint Denise, whiche he found desolate, and abandoned of all garrison, and good gouernaunce. Wherefore, without force and small damage, he entered into the voyed toune, and lodged his armie at Mountmartyr, and Abberuilliers, nere adioynyng, and liyng to the citee of Paris. And from thence, sent, Ihon duke of Alaunson, and his sorceresse Ione, (called the mayde, sent from God) in whom, his whole affiaunce then consisted, with thre thousande light horsmen, to get again the citee of Paris, either by force, or by faire flatteryng, or reasonable treatie, and after them, he without delaie or deferryng of tyme, with all his power, came betwene Mountmartyr and Paris, and sodainly, approached the gate of saint Honore, setting vp ladders to the walles, and castyng faggottes into the ditches, as though, he would with a French bragge, sodainly haue gottē the faire cite. But  
thenglishe

thenglish capitaines, every one keypyng his ward and place assigned, so manfully and fiersly with a noble corage, defended themselves, their walles and toures, with the assistance of the Parisians, that they rebuted and draue awaie the Frenchmen, & threwe doune Ione, their greate goddess, into the botome of the toune ditch, where she laie behynd the backe of an Asse, sore hurte, till the tyme that she all filthy with mire and durte, was drawen out, by Guyschard of Thienbrone, seruauant to the duke of Alaunson. The Frenche Kyng, seying the greate losse, that he had susteyned at this assaut, and accompted his pretended conquest, in maner impossible, leuyng the dedde bodies behind hym, and takyng with hym, the wounded capitaines, whiche wer of no small nombre, returned into Berry. But in the meane waie, the citezens of Laignie, became his subiectes, and made to hym an othe, promisyng to continewe from thence furth to hym, both true and obedient.

THE Duke of Bedford, beyng in Normandy, and hearyng of this sodain attempt, lost no tyme, nor spaid no trauaile, till he came to Paris. Where he, not onely thanked the capitaines, and praised the citezēs for their assured fidelitie and good will, towardes their kyng and souereigne lorde, but also extolled their hardines, & manly doynges, aboue the Staires, and high eleuantes, promisyng to them, honor, fame, and greate aduancementes. Whiche gentle exhortacion, so incoraged and inflamed the hartes of the Parisians, that they sware, promised, and cōcluded, to be fiendes euer to the kyng of Englande and his frendes, and enemies alwaies to his foes and aduersaries, makyng proclamacion by this stile. Frendes to Kyng Henry, trendes to the Parisians, enemies to England, enemies to Paris. But if they spake it with their hartes, either for teare, that Charles the Frenche kyng, should not punishe them, if he once obtained the superioritie, ouer their citee, & toune, or that thei flattred thenglishmen, to put themselves in credite with the chief capitaines, you shal plainly perceiue, by the sequelle of their actes.

SONE after these doynges, came to Paris with a greate company, Phillip duke of Burgoyne, whiche was of the Regent, and the lady his wife, honoriably receiued, and highly feasted. And after long consultation had, for recoveryng of the tounes, lately by the Fienche kyng stollen and taken, it was agreed, that the duke of Bedford, should rayse an armie, for the recovery of thesaid fortresses, and that the duke of Burgoyne, should be his deputie, and tary at Paris, for the defence of the same. After this greate businessse, thus concluded, and appoynted the Duke of Bedforde hymself, without any greate resistance, recovered again the toune of saint Denise, and diuise other Castles. And after that doen, he sent the Bastard of Clarence, to laye siege to the Castle of Toursie, beyng bothe by the naturall situation, and mannes pollicie, very strong, and in maner vnable to be beaten doune. The siege continued sixe monēthes, but in conclusion, the capitain discomfited of al releue and succor, rendered the fortresse, the life of hym and his souldiers onlysaued. Whiche offre was taken, & the castle raised, and cast doune to the grounde. Duryng this siege, sir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure hundred Englishemen, departed from Gouiney in Normandy, and rode by Beauoys, spolyng, robbyng, and wastyng the countrey, to the suburbs of Cleremont. Wherof, hearyng the Erle of thesame toune, assembled all the men of warre, of the garrisons adioynyng, to fight with thenglishmen: and so the Frenchemen with all diligence set for ward, & found their enemies in a straight place, nere vnto Beauoys. The erle of Cleremount seying that he could not hurte them, with his men of armes, by reason of the straight, came doune on fote with all his company, and fiersly set on the Englishmen. The fight was fierse, and the aduantage doubtful. But in conclusion, the archers shot so terrible, that the Frenchmen, not able to abide the smart, and gaules of the arrowes, fled a pace, and the Englishmen leuyng the straight, leped on horsebacke, and folowed the chase. In the whiche wer taken twoo hundred prisoners, and thrise as many slain. The Erle, by the swiftnesse of his horsse, escaped his enemies, and came to the toune of Beauoys and so sir Thomas Kiriell, with plentie of spoyle and prisoners, returned to Goruay, renderyng to GOD his hartie thanks, for that good chaunce and happie victory.

YET Fortune sent not this good lucke alone, for therle of Suffolk at thesame very season,



## THE IX. YERE OF

besiegyng the toune of Aumarle, wherof was capitain the lord Rambures, (after xxiii. great assautes geuen to the fortesse) had the toune and castle to hym simply rendered. Wherefore, he caused xxx. of the tounes men, for their untruthe, to be hanged on the walles, and all the rest he raunsomed, and sent the capitain into Englande, where he remained sixe yeres continually, & after by excaunge was deliuered. After this, the erle fortified the toune, with men, municions and vitale, and so by a litle and litle, the Englishmen recovered again many tounes, whiche before they had loste, without any greate losse of their people. Whiche thyng, the Frenchemen well considering unagened by what means, how to get again the toune of Laual, whiche y<sup>e</sup> lorde Talbot (before as you haue heard) gat, by scalyng in a night. Wherefore, to possesse then desired prey, they with money, and gay promises, first corrupted a Miller, that kept a Mill adioynyng to the wall, so that the Miller, suffered the lorde Hommet with thre hundred other, to passe, through his Mill into the toune, in a very darke night. When they wer entered, they slewe the keepers of the gate, and let in the Lorde Bertrand de la Ferrier, with fife hundred men of armes: whiche either slewe or toke prisoners, all thenglishemen within the toune. And shortly after, Sir Stephen de Vignoles called the Heire, toke by scalyng, the toune of Lonuiers in Normädy, and did muche damage, to all the tounes adioynyng

## ¶ THE NYNTH YERE.

The ix  
yere.

While these chaunces happened, betwene the Englishmen and Frenchemen, Philip duke of Burgoyne, married the Lady Isabell, daughter to Ihon, kyng of Portyngall, and greate aunte to the kyng of Englande. In honor of whiche mariage, he instituted and began an ordie of. xxxvi. knightes without reproche, called the ordie of the golden fleete, and deuised statutes, mantels, collers, and Ceremonies for thesame, muche like to the ordinaunces, of the noble ordie of the Garter begonne in Englande, almoste an hundred yeres before the inuencion, of this fraternitie and frëdship. On the which wife, he begat, the hardy duke Charles, father to Marie, after married to Maximihā kyng of the Romans, as (when place requireth) shalbe hereafter to you declared

IN this very season, the Englishmen in the colde moneth of Decembre, besieged the toune of Laigny, in the whiche was the Puzel and diuerse other good capitaines. But the weither was so cold, & the raine so greate and so continuall, that they, of force cōpelled, not by their enemies, but by intemperate season, reised their siege: and in their returne, the Puzell and all the garrison within the toune, issued out and fought with thenglishmen, where, (after lōg fightyng) both parties departed without either great gain or losse. After this enterprise done, the duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the erles of Arundell and Suffolke, and the lord Ihon of Luxenbrough, and with a great puissaunce, besieged the toune of Champeigne whiche toune was well walled, manned, and vitailed, so that the besiegers, must either by assault or long taryng, very or famishe them within the toune. So they cast trenches, and made moynes, and studied al the waies that they could deuise, how to compasse their cōquest and enterprise. And it happened in the night of the Assencion of our lorde, that Pothon of Xentraxles, Ione the Puzell, and fife or sixe hundred men of armes, issued out of Chāpeigne, by the gate of the bidge towarde Mowntdedier, intendyng to set fire in the tentes and lodgynges of the lord of Baudo, which was then gone to Marigny, for the Duke of Burgoyns affaires. At whiche tyme, sir Ihon of Luxenbrough, with eight other gentlemen (whiche had riden aboute the toune to serche and vieue, in what place the toune might be most aptly and conueniently assauted or scaled) were come nere to the lodges of the lorde of Baudo, where they espied the Frenchmen, whiche began to cut doune tentes, ouerthrowe paulions, and hil men in their beddes. Wherefore, shortely they assembled a great nombre of men, as well Englishe as Burgonious, and co-ragiously set on the Frenchmen. Sore was the fight and greate was the slaughter, in so

much

much that the Frenchemen, not able lenger to indure, fled into the toune so faste, that one letted the other to entre. In whiche chace was taken, Ione the Puzell, and diuerse other whiche Ione was sent to the duke of Bedford to Roan, wher, (after lōg examinaciō) she was brent to ashes. This wytych or manly woman, (called the maide of GOD) the Frenchemen greatly glorified and highly extolled, alledgyng that by hei Orisaūce was vi-tailed by her, kyng Charles was sacred at Reynes, and that by her, the Englishmen wer often tymes put backe and ouerthrowen. O Lorde, what dispraise is this to the nobilitie of Fraunce. What blotte is this to the Frenche nation. What more rebuke can be imputed to a renowned region, then to affirme, write & confesse, that all notable victories, and honorable conquestes, which neither the kyng with his power, nor the nobilitie with their valiantnesse, nor the counsaill with their wit, nor the cōmonaltie with their strenght, could compasse or obtaine, were gotten and achieved by a shepherdes daughter, a chamberleyn in an hostrie, and a beggers biat. whiche blindyng the wittes of the French nation, by reuelacions, dreames & phantastical visions, made thē beleue thynges not to be supposed, and to geue faithe to thynges impossible. For surely, if credite may be geuen to the actes of the Clergie, openly done, and cōmonly shewed, this woman was not inspired with the holy ghost, nor sent from God, (as the Frenchmen beleue) but an enchāteresse, an orgayne of the deuill, sent from Sathan, to blind the people and byyng them in vnbelife. as by this letter, sent nō the kyng of England, to the duke of Burgoyne, to you evidently shall appere.

“MOSTE dere and welbeloued vncle, the feruent loue and great affection, whiche you (like a very catholique prince) beare to our Mother holy Church, and to the aduancement of our faithe, doth bothe resonably admonishe, and frendly exhort vs, to signife and write vnto you, suche thynges, which, to the honor of our Mother holy Church, strengthenyng of our faith, and pluckyng vp by the rotes, of moste pestilent errors, haue been solemly done within our citee of Roan. It is commonly renowned, and in euery place published, that the woman, commonly called the Puzell, hath by the space of two yeres and more, contrary to Goddes lawe, and the estate of womanhed, been clothed in a mannes apparell, a thyng in the sight of God abhominable. And in this estate, caried ouer and conueyed, to the presence of our chief enemy and yours, to whom, & to the prelates, nobles, & commons of his parte she declared that she was sent from God, presumptuously makyng her vaunt, that she had communicacion personally, and visibly with saint Michaell, and a greate multitude of Angels, and sanctes of heauen, as saint Katheryn, and saint Margarete by the whiche falshode and subtiltie, she made diuerse to beleue, and trust in her faithe, promisyng to them great and notable victories, by the which meane, she did turne the hartes of many men and women from the truth and veritie, and conuected them to lyes and errors. Beside this, she vsurped a cote of armes, and displaid a standard, whiche thynges, be apperteynyng only to knightes and esquiers. and of a greate outrage, and more pride and presumpciō, she demaunded to beare the noble and excellent Armes of Fraunce, whiche she in part obtained, the whiche she bare in many skirmishes and assautes, and her biethrē also (as men report) that is to say the feld azure, a swerd, the poynt vpward in pale siluer, set betwene two flower deluces, armed with a croune of gold. And in this estate, she cam into the feld, & guided men of war, and gathered cōpanies, & assēbled hostes to exercise vnnatural cruelties, in sheding of christen blood, & stirring sedicions, and commocions emongest the people, inducing them, to perurie, rebellion, superstitiō and false error, in disturbyng of peace and quietnes, and renewyng of mortal warre. Beside this, causyng herself to be honored and worshipped of many, as a woman sanctified, and dampnably openyng, diuerse imagined cases long to relieue, in diuerse places well known and apparantly proued. Wherby, almoste al Christendom is slaughtered. But the diuine puissaunce, hauyng compassion vpon his true people, and wilyng no lenger to leaue them in perill, nor suffre thē to abyde still in waies daungerous, and newe cruelties, hath lightly permitted, of his greate mercie and clemency,

thesaid.



## THE. IX. YERE OF

thesaid puzell to be taken in your host and siege, whiche you kept for vs before Champeigne, and by youre good meane, deliuered into our obeysaunce and dominion And because we were required, by the bishoppe of the Diocese, where she was takē, (because she was noted, suspected, and defamed to be a traitor to almightie God) to deliuer to hym as to her ordinary and Ecclesiasticall iudge: We, for the reuerence of oure Mother holy Church, (whose ordinaunces we will preferre, as oure owne dedes and willes, as reason it is) and also for the aduancement of Christen faith, bayled thesaid Ione to hym, to the intent that he should make processe against her: not willyng any vengeance or punishment to be shewed to her, by any officers of our secular Iustices, which they might haue lawfully and resonable done, considering the greate hutes, damages, and incōueniences, the horrible murders, and detestable cruelties, & other innumerable mischiefes, whiche she hath committed in our territories, against our people, and obediēt subiectes. The whiche bishop, takyng in company to hym, the Vicar and inquisitor of errors, and heresies, and callyng to them, a great and notable nombre of solempne doctors, and masters in diuinitie, and lawe Canon, began by great solempniue, and grauitie, accordyngly, to procede in the cause of the said Ione. And after that, thesaid bishop and inquisitor, iudges in this cause, had at diuers daies ministered, certain interrogatories to the said Ione, and had caused the confessions & assercions of her, truly to be examined by thesaid doctors and masters, and in conclusiō generally, by all the faculties of our dere and welbeloued daughter the Vniuersity of Paris. Against whom, (the confessions and asserciōs, maturely and delibeatly considered) the Iudges, Doctors, & all other the parties aforesaid, adiudged thesame Ione, a superstitious sorceresse, and a diabolical blasphemersse of God, and of his saintes: and a persone scismaticke and erroneous, in the lawe of Iesu Christe And for to reduce and bryng her again, to the communion and company, of oure Mother holy Church, and to purge, her of her horrible, and pernicious crimes and offences, and to saue and preserue her soule, from perpetual payne and dampnacion, she was moste charitably and fauorably admonished and aduised, to put away and abhor, all her errors and erroneous doynges, and to returne humbly to the right way, and come to the very veritie of a Christen creature, or els to put her soule and body in great perell and reopeidie. But all this notwithstanding, the perelous and inflamed spirit of pride, and of outrageous presumption, the whiche continually enforceeth hymself, to breke and dissolue the vnitie of Christen obedience, so clasped in his clawes, the harte of this woman Ione, that she, neither by any ghostly exhortacion, holy admonicion, or any other wholesome doctrine, whiche might to her bee shewed, would mollifie her hard harte, or bryng her to humilitie But she aduanced and auowed, that all thynges by her done, wer well done: yea, and done by the commaundementes of GOD, and the saintes before reheised, plainly to her apperyng: Referrynge the iudgement of her cause, onely to God, and to no iudge or counsaill, of the Church militant. Wherefore, the Iudges Ecclesiasticall, perceiuyng her hard harte, so long to continue, caused her to be brought fith, in a common auditorie, before the Clergie and people, in a great multitude, there, for that purpose assembled In which presence wer opened, manifested, & declared, solemply, openly, and truly, by a master in diuinitie, of notable learyng and vertuous life, to the aduancement of the catholike faith, and extyngyng of erriours and false opinions, all her confessions and assercions, charitably admonishyng, and perswadyng her to returne, to the vniō and feloship of Christes Church, and to correct and amend, the fautes and offences, in the whiche she was, so obstinate and blinde And accordyng to the lawe, the Iudges aforesaid, beganne to procede and pronounce the indgement and sentence, in that case of right appaiteyning. Yet, before the Iudge, had fully declared the sentence, she began somewhat to abate her corage, and said that she would, reconcile her self, to our Mothe the holy Church, bothe gladly and wyllyngly The Iudges, and other Ecclesiasticall persones, gently receiued her offer, hopyng by this meane, that bothe her body and soule, wer gottē again out of eternal losse and perdition. And so, she submitted her self, to the ordinaunce of the holy Church, and with

her mouthe, openly reuoked, her errors and detestable crimes: and thesame, abiured openly, signyng with her hande, thesaid aburacacion, and reuocacion Wherevpon, oure Mother the holy Church, beeyng pitifull and mercifull, glad and reioysyng of a synner, that will couerte, willyng the strayed shepe to returne again to his folde and flocke, condempned thesaid Ione onely, to doo open penaunce But the fire of her pride, whiche was in her harte, sodainly blast out into hurtfull flames, blowen out by the belowes of enuie: and incontinent after, she tooke again, all her errors and false opinions, by her before, adured and reuoked, for whiche causes, accordyng to the iudgements and institucions of holy church, to the intent that she, hereafter should not defile, any other membre of the flocke, of our Lorde Iesus Christe. was again exhorted, and preached to openly And because she still was obstinate, in her trespasses and villanous offences, she was deliuered to the secular power, the which cōdemped her to be brent, and cōsumed her in the fire And when she saw that the fatalle daie of her obstinacie was come, she opely confessed, that the spirites, whiche to her often did appeere, were euill and false, and apparant liers, and that their promes, which they had made, to deliuer her out of captiuitie, was false and vntue: affirmyng her self, by those spirites to hce often beguiled, blynded, and mocked And so beyng in good mynde, she was by the Iustices caried to the olde market, within the citee of Roan, and there by the fire, consumed to ashes, in the sight of all the people.

THIS letter, the kyng of Englande, sente not onely to the Duke of Burgoyne, and other Princes, to declare the veritie of the matter, and the administracion of Iustice, but to admonishe all rude and ignōrant peones, in all other countries, to refraine, from the credite and belefe of the saynges, of suche prophane prophesies, and crattie imageries, as this peuishe painted Puzel was. Yet notwithstanding, this lawful processe, this due examination and publike sentence, Iho Buchet, and diuerse French writers affirme her to be a sainte in heauen But because, it is no poynt of our faith, no man is bound to beleue his iudgement, although he were an Archedeken But Paulus Emilius, a famous writer, rehersyng that the citezens of Orleans, had buylded in the honor of her, an Image or an Idole, saith, y Pius bishop of Rome, and Anthony bishop of Florence, muche merueilled and greatly wondered at her actes and doynge. With whiche sayng, I can very well agree, that she was more to be marueiled at, as a false prophetisse, and seducer of the people. then to be honored or worshipped as a saint sent from God into the realme of Fraunce. For of this I am sure, that all ancient writers, aswell deuine, as prophane, alledge these three thynges, beside diuerse other, to apperteine to a good woman. First, shamefastnesse, whiche the Romain Ladies so kept, that seldome or neuer they wer seen openly talkyng with a man. which vertue, at this day emongest the Turkes, is highly esteemed The seconde, is pitie. whiche in a womans harte, abhorreth the spillyng of the blood of a poore beast, or a sely birde. The third, is womanly behauor, aduoydyng the occasion of euill iudgement, and causes of slaundre. If these qualities, be of necessitie, incident to a good woman, where was her shamefastnes, when she daily and nightly, was conuersant with coinen souldiors, and men of waite, einongest whom, is small honestie, lesse vertue, and shamefastnesse, least of all exercised or vsed? Where was her womanly pitie, whē she taking to her, the harte of a cruell beaste, slewe, man, woman, and childe, where she might haue the vpper hand? Where was her womanly behauor, when she cladde her self in a niannes clothynge, and was cōuersant with euery losell, geuyng occasion to all men to iudge, and speake euill of her, and her doynge. Then these thynges, beyng thus plainly true, all men must nedes confesse, that the cause ceasyng, the effect also ceaseth: so y, if these morall vertues lackyng, she was no good womā, then it must nedes, consequently folowe, that she was no saint.

NOW leuyng this woman, consumed to ashes, lette vs returne agayne to the siege of Compeigne, whiche still continued Duryng whiche tyme, the Regent sente to the Duke of Burgoyne, lyng at the siege the erle of Huntingdon, sir Ihon Robsert, with a thousande Archers, whiche daily skirmished, with them of the toune, and made suche Bastiles and fortresses, that the toune must nedes be rendered, or els they within, fa-

Three properties that appertayne to a good womā.

inished.



mished. But se the chaunce, when victory was at hād Tidynges wer brought to the duke of Burgoyne, that Phillip duke of Brabante, was departed out of this worlde, leuyng behynde hym, no heire of his bodie. To whom thesaied duke pretended to be next heire. Wherefore, he takyng with hym, his best capitaines, for the recouery of so greate a duchy, departed from the siege, leuyng his poore people behynd hym, and ordeined in his place, for his leutenant, sir Ihon Luxenborough, whiche beyng of small strength and lesse courage, after the dukes departyng, aduised the Englishmen, to depart for that tyme, tyll the next sommer whiche therto at the first, would in nowise agree. But there was no remedy, for he was capitain generall, and had the ordynaunce vnder his rule, so that without that, they could nothing doo: Wherefore in greate displeasure, they returned into Normandy. After whose departure, the captain set fire in all the bastiles, and secretly departed, leuyng behynde him, diuerse peces of ordynaunce, for lacke of cariage. With which returne, the dukes of Bedford and Burgoyne, wer sore displeased: for if he had continued his siege, eight daies lenger, the tounne had been rendered, without dent of sweid. For pestilence and famine, had almoste consumed all the souldiors, and left the tounne, with out saueguard or defence.

AFTER this siege broken vp, Ihon duke of Norffolke, toke again the tounes of Dapmartyne, and the Chasse Mongay, and diuerse other tounes. And theile of Stafford, toke the tounne of Brie, in Countie Robert, and from thence, foraged al the countrey to Sens, and after toke Quesnoy in Brie, Grand Puys, and Rampellon, with many prisoners as sir Iaques de Milly, and sir Ihon de la Hay. Duryng whiche tyme the Frenchmen toke Louiers, & Villuense. And then the tounne of Melune rebelled, and had suche ayde, of other tounes adioynyng, that the Englishe souldiors, wer fayne to leaue Melune. Morret and Corbell. Thus accordyng to the chaunce of war, the one part gat, and the other lost. Thus the Englishe affaires (as you haue hard) within the realme began to waue, and waxe variable, whiche caused the Englishe capitaines, to be of diuerse opinions. For one part, beyng sory and pensive, adiudged the thynges present, light and of no moment, in comparison of them whiche they sawe likely to folowe: and another sort, adiudged that present tyme, to be moste ieopardus, and moste replect with perils: Because they sawe, the power of their enemies, now increased, and their owne strēth rather decayed, then cōserued. And so euery man studyng on this businesse, aduised secretly with hymself, what counsaill was best to be taken, and what waie was best to be folowed, to remedy these thynges, thus waueyng, in a doubtful balance. And then it was concluded, that it was moste apte and mete, for the tyme presente, that kyng Henry in his royall person, with a newe army, should come doune into Fraunce, partly to comfort and visite his awne subiectes ther: partly, either by feare or fauor, (because a childe, of his age and beaue, dooth commonly allure to hym, the hartes of elder persones,) to cause the Frenchmen to continue, in their due obeysaunce toward hym. Wherefore, after a great hoste, conuenient for that purpose, assembled, and money for the maintenance of the warre, redy gathered, and the realme sette in an ordre, and the Duke of Gloucester, appoynted gouernor (whiche duryng the kynges absence, appeased diuerse riotres, and punished many offenders,) the kyng with a great power, tooke shipping at Douer, and landed at Calice, and there taried a good space; and from thence he removed to Roan, where, with al triumphe, he was receiued, and there sojourned, till the midst of August, his nobles daily consultyng, on their greate busines, and waightie affaires.

### ¶ THE TENTH YERE.

The x. yere, IN the moneth of Nouembre, he removed from Roan to Ponthoise, and so to sainte Denice, to the intent to make his entrie, into the citee of Paris, and thence to be sacred kyng of Fraunce, and to receiue, the sceptre and Crowne of the realme and countrey.

THERE were in his company, of his owne naciō, his vnckle the Cardinall of Winchester, the Cardinall and Archebischoppe of Yorke, the dukes of Bedforde, Yorke, and Norffolke, the

Erles of Warwicke, Salisbury, Oxford, Huntingdon, Ormond, Mortayn, Suffolke, and of Gascoynes, the Erle of Longue, and Marche, beside many noble men of England, Guyan, and Normandy And the chief of the Frenche nacion, wer the dukes of Burgoyne, and Lewes of Luxenbrough Cardinall and Chauncellor of Fraunce for kyng Henry, the bishops of Beauuys and Neyon, bothe peies of France, beside the bishopp of Paris, and diuerse other bishoppes, therle of Vaudemont, & other noble men whose names were very tedious to you to here rehersed. And he had in a gard, aboute his person, thre thousand strong archers, some on horsebacke, and parte on fote And as he was comingyng, betwene saint Denice and Paris, he was met at the Chapell, in the meane waie, by Sir Simon Moruer prouost of Paris, with a greate company, all clothed in redde Satin, with blewẽ whoddes, whiche did to hym, due reuerence and lowe obeysaunce After whom, came diuerse riche and notable burgesses, of the toun of Paris, all appareled in Cimo-yne clothe. After they had doen their reuerence, they approached to the kyng, the ix worthies, sitting richely on horsebacke, armed with the armes to them apperteynyng Next after them, came the knight of the watch, for the prouost Marchauntes, and with him all the officers of the court, appareled in blewẽ, and hattes redde And in a long space after, came Master Phillip de Noruillier, chief president of the Parliament, appareled in a robe of estate and all the other presidentes of the parliament, clothed in robes of scarlet, and in like robes folowed the Lordes of the Chamber of accomptes, and of the finauce, the Masters of the Requestes, the secretaries, and Regesters, and euery cōpany, as their course came, saluted the kyng, with eloquent oracions, and hericall verses, and so conueyed hym to the gate of sainte Denice, where the prouoste, of the Marchauntes, and the Shrefes of the tounne, receiued hym with a Canapie of blewẽ veluet, richely embraudred, with flower of delices gold, and bare the same ouer hym, through the tounne, whiche on euery side, was hanged with riche clothes of Arras and Tapistrie. And at euery porte and bidge where he passed was set a pageaunt, of greate shewe and small coste, whiche, because they wer but trifles, I ouer passe, and speke but of one deuise, made before the gate of the Chastelet, wherevpon a stage stode, a goodly childe clothed with habite royall, set full of flower delices, hauyng two Crownes on his hed, representing the yong kyng, and on his right bande, stode twoo noble personages, in the aimes of Burgoyne and Flaunders and on the lefte side of hym, stode three personages, clothed in the armes, of Bedforde, Salisbury, and Warwicke, whiche to hym deliuered, the sweide of Englande Thus pagiaunt was well regarded, and highly praised From thence he departed to the palace, and offered in the Chapell, and from thence he departed, to the hous of Tournelles, and there toke his repast. And after dinner Isabel, late wife to kyng Charles, his grandfather, long before diseased And the next daie he was conueighed, to Boys de Vincennes, where, he reposed hymself, till the xv day of Decēbre on which daie, he returned to the palace of Paris And on the xvij of the said moneth, he departed from the place, in greate triumphe, honorably accompanied, to our Lady church of Paris where with al solemnitie, he was anoynted and crowned kyng of Fraunce, by the Cardinall of Winchester. (the bishop of Paris, not beyng content, that the Cardinall should do suche a high Ceremonie, in his Churche and iurisdiction) At the offering, he offered breade and wine, as the custome of Fraunce is. When the deuine seruise was finished, and all Ceremonies due, to that high estate were accomplished, the kyng departed toward the palace, hauyng one croune on his hed, and another borne before hym, and one scepter in his hand, & the second borne before hym What should I speake, of the honorable seruice, the daintie dishes, the pleasant conceytes, the costly wines, the swete Armony, the Musical instrumentes, whiche wer sene and shewed at that feast, sith all men make coniecture, that nothyng was omitted, that might be bought for golde, nor nothyng was forgotten, that by mannes witte could be inuented Yet this high and ioyous feast, was not without a spotte of displeasure, for the Cardinall of Winchester, whiche at this tyme, would haue no man to hym egall, commaunded the duke of Bedforde, to leue of the name of Regent, duryng the tyme that the kyng was in Fraunce affirmyng the chief ruler beyng in presēce, the authoritie of the substitute,



stitute, was clerely derogate accordyng to the cōmon sayng, in the presence of the high power, the smal authoritie geueth place. The duke of Bedford, toke suche a secret displeasure with this dooyng, that he neuer after fauored the Cardinall, but repugned and disdained at al thynges that he did or deuised. And so because the Cardinall would haue no temporall Lorde, either to hym superior, or with hym egall, he set furth this proude and arrogant conclusion, thorowe whiche vnhappie deuision, the glory of thienglishemen within the realme of Fraunce, began first to decaye, and vade awaie in Fraunce.

THE next daie after this solempne feast, wei kept triumphant Iustes and Turneis, in the whiche, Erle of Arundell, and the Bastard of Sent Polle by the iudgement of the Ladies, wan the price and gat the honor. When he had kepte open hous to all comers, by the space of xx daies, because the ayre of Paris, was somewhat contrariaunt to his pure complexion, he was aduised by his counsaill, to returne to Roan. But before his departure, he caused al the nobilitie, the presidēt of the parliament, the prouostes of the citee and of the Marchauntes, and the chief burgesses of the toun and citee, and al the doctors of the vniuersitie, to be assembled in his presence to whom the duke of Bedford said in this maner.

An oracion,  
of the duke  
Bedforde,  
made to the  
Parisians.

IT is not vnknownen to you all my lordes, aswell spirituall as temporall, how this noble region and famous countrey, of antiquitie called Gaule, and now Fraunce, sith the tyme of Charles surnamed the Greate, beyng bothe Emperor of Rome, and kyng of this realme, hath been accompted, reputed, and renoumed, the moste christen region, and famous seigniory, within the circle of al christendō, yea, and withun the whole part of Europe, and not vnderuynngly, for iij. causes. First, for your sincere faithe and obedient loue, toward your sauior and redemer Iesu Christ. The second, for obseruyng your fidelitie & due obeysaunce, to your kynges and soueraigne Lordes. Thirdly, for keepyng and performing your promises and agrementes, aswell by woorde as by wrytyng: from the whiche no Pagane, nor honest Christian will or should disagree. This famous renoume and immaculate honor, so long continewyng without reproche or blotte. I thinke, yea, and doubt not, but you will to the death, kepe, defend, and obserue, as your noble parentes and auncient progenitors, before you (to their ineffable praise) haue vsed and accustomed. Wherefore, sith it is not vnknownen to all you, that the noble and vertuous prince, kyng Henry the fifth, my moste derest and welbeloued brother, was the very true inheritor, and the vndoubtfull successor to the crowne of this realme of Fraunce, as cosin and heire to Lady Isabell, daughter and sole inheritrice, to kyng Phillippe the Faire. For the recouery of whiche right and title, what pain he tooke, and what charge he was at, I well knowe, and some of you haue felte, as a greate scourge to your nacion, onely provided by God, to afflict and punishe them: whiche will withhold & vsurpe, other mennes rightes, possessions, and inheritauce. But God oure sauior and redemer, (whiche wil not suffre his people, intending to conuert, to be dampned for euer, but gently calleth them to mercy and saluacion) of his greate goodnes & gentlenes, willed the holy ghost to shed and poure into the hart of the noble prince, kyng Charles, your late welbeloued and most drad souereigne lord, the knowledge of the lawfull line, and of the true pathe of the inheritauce, of the crowne & scepter of this realme. Which vertuous man, hauyng neither an harte hardened in his awne opinion, nor a mynd ambitious of Empire, (as many tyrauntes, and couetouse princes, before this daie haue had, vsed, and accustomed) for aduoydyng farther effusion of christen bloud, and for the saluacion of his soule, without battail, or stroke of weapon, was content (vpon an honorable cōposicion) to restore the lawfull inheritauce to the true heire and to rendre his title to the right lignage, & vndoubted lyne. Whiche treatie and finall composicion, was neither wantonly ouelooked, nor vnwisely ouersene. For al the noble peres, of this realme, bothe spirituall & temporall, yea, & the most part of the nobilitie, (except a certain wilde and wilfull persones) with the whole comunaltie, (in whō the very base and burden of the realme doth consist) not onely by worde, but by auncient wrytyng signed with their handes, and strengthened with the scales of their armes, here redy to be shewed, haue frankly and frely with out scruple or contradiction

diccion, agreed, and affirmed thesame By whiche composicion, (as the mirror and plain shewe and token of kyng Henries right) he was by the three estates, assigned, and allowed, as heire apparant to thesaid kyng Charles, lately deceased But cruell death seperatyng his body from his soule, long before the expectacion of his people, suffered him not to possede and enioye the title and regalitic of this his due inheritaunce, and succession royall. Yet, God willyng not the stocke, of so noble, so famous, and so vertuous a prince, to remayne bareyn without budde or flower, hath sent to hym, and frō hym to you a flourishing child, a goodly prince of bothe the noble houses, of England & Fraunce indifferently descended as who would saie, that by nature, he is neither perfect Englishe, nor perfect Frēche, but a man indifferent, called an Englishe Frenchman, and a French Englishman. Whiche noble prince, and your soueraigne Lorde, you may with glad hartes, and louyng countenaunces, se, heare, and behold. And as for his honorable behauor, & princely maiestie: fewe princes of full & ripe age, be to hym comparable, or equipollent. As for his beaute and other giftes of nature, scace Absalon can be to hym assembled. But hauyng respect to the vertuous disposicion the Godly mynd, and sincere conscience, of so noble a child and princely infant, I surely thinke, and perfectly beleue, that he is aboue all other, the blasyng Starre, and the vnmatchd Paragon. This precious stone and noble Iuell, is not onely come out of his naturall countrey, and norishyng Region, to receiue the Cloune and possession, of this his realme and dominion, but also, (like a good shepherde) to viece, se, and knowe you, as his welbeloued flocke, and moste desired subiectes and you likewise, (as louyng and obediēt vassals) to behold, and knowe your soueraigne lord and prince, to the intent, that as you, aboue all other nacions, aswel christen as Ethenicke, haue serued, loued, and obeyed, your rulers and Kynges, before these daies: so he now doubteth not but to find you as louyng to hym, as the Turtle to her make, as sure to hym as the Adamant to the stele, and as permanent in his obedience, as the hard mountayne of Olympe, which, neither craft nor engyne can either consume, or remoue. And all mistrust of your ingratitude, is clerely banished from his harte consideryng, that he knoweth, that you daily heare it preched, that you should feare God, and honor your kyng, and that he, which is in stubburnesse and obstinacie toward his prince, is disobedient towarde God. For the Prince in yearth, is the Vicar of GOD, and hedde and shepherde of Christes flocke. to whō bothe spirituall persones and temporal, be subiectes, and inferiours in al causes of rule & gouernaunce. And although some persones within this realme, seduced more by phantastical error, then obstinate arrogancy, haue takē part, and entered into amitie with Charles de Valoys, vntruly callyng himself the French kyng: yet the verie true and vndoubtful prince, and our souereigne Lorde, here beyng present, is resolved and content, to remit and pardon their offences and crimes, so that they within twelfe daies, returne to the true folde, and forsake the infected flocke, and sedious company. Wherefore, his request is at this tyme, that you, for the fidelitie, whiche you haue euer borne to hym, and for the loue, that he hath, and styll intendeth to beare to you, will vouchesafe hereafter without lettyng of tyme diligētly study and busely take pain, bothe to kepe his louyng subiectes in good ordie, and due obeysaunce towarde hym, and also to se them liue in mutuall amitie and brotherly concord, betwene them selves: not forgetting, that the olde prouerbe, whiche saeth inward discord, bryngeth realmes to ruine. Which honorable requestes, if you accōplishe and performe, (as of your very bounden duety, you be bound in deede) you shall deserue so muche fauor, of your kyng and soueraigne Lorde, that to all your honest requestes, his eares shalbe open, & to al your reasonable desires, his mouth shall not be stopped. And thus he wissheth you, health in bodies, increase in your substaunce, and to your soules, ioye and felicitie without ende perpetually.

WHEN the duke had finished and ended this his oracion, the people beyng glad and reioysyng at his saynges, cried: liue kyng Henry, liue Kyng Henry. After which crie passed, the noble men, aswell of Fraunce and Normandy, did to hym homage, and the common people, sware to hym feaultie. to whom, (although he were a child) he gaue both pleasaunt



and faire wordes, with hartie thankes, and many gratificacions, to the great admiracion of the Frenche people.

AFTER he had feasted, the nobles and commons of Fraunce within the citee of Paris, he with a great company, departed from thence, and by small iourneys came to Roan, where he celebrated with great solempnitie, the high feast of Christmas. While these noble Ceremonies wer thus in doying, in the citee of Paris, sondery chaüces, diuersely hapned in seueral places, to the displeasure of the one part, and to the gain of the other. For sir Frances Surrien Arragnoys, a noble capitain in Normandy, toke by force and pollicie, the toune of Mountarges, with a greate prey of treasure and prisoners, and therein he put a garrison, and vitailed the toune, to the greate displeasure of the Frenche Kyng. About the same season, the Erle of Arundell, beyng truly informed, that the lorde Bousac, Marshall of Fraunce, was come to Beauoys, intending to do some scate in Normädý, assembled the nombre of thre and twentie hundred men, and laied hymself priuelie, in a close place, nor farre from thesaied toune, and sent a great nombie of light horssemen, to ronne to the barriers of the citee. The Frenchmen like valiaüt men of warre, issued out, and manfully fought with the Engliishemen: whiche sodainly fled, towarde the stale. The Frenchmen, courageously folowed thankyng the game gotten on their side, but when they wer entered into the straight, therle set freshly on them, so that after long fightyng, there wer slain and taken, in maner al the Frenchmen, saue a few, whiche fled into the toune, with the Marshall. Einögest the capitaines was found prisoner, the valiaunt capitain, called Poynton of Sanctrayles, (which without delay,) was exchaunged for the lorde Talbot, before taken prisoner, at the battail of Patay. There was also taken one, called the shepherd, a simple mā, and a sely soule, whom, the Frenchmen reputed, to be of suche a holnesse, that if he touched the walle of a toune of their enemies, that incontinent, it would fall to the grounde, and ouerturne. Suche false phantastical fainers, were at that tyme much regarded, and no lesse beleued in Fraunce.

THIS chaunce succeded not, fortunatly alone: for Richard Beauchampe Erle of Warwicke had agreate skirmishe, before the toune of Gournay, where he discöfited and repulsed his enemies, and beside the carions, whiche wer left dedde on the ground, he tooke prisoners thre score horssemen, all gentlemen of name and aimes. Like chaunce of infortune hapned at thesame tyme, to Renat or Reyne duke of Barr, a greate frend to Charles the French kyng, bothe in lendyng hym money, and also in ministryng to hym aide and succors. This duke bearyng displeasure, to Anthony Erle of Vaudemont, his cosyn and kynsman, gathered together a greate armie, and besieged the toune of Vaudemont. Therle, before the dukes appoichyng, to thentent ý he would not be enclosed and compassed about by his enemies within a wall, leauyng behynde hym a conuenient crue of men of warre, to defende the toune for a tyme with all diligēce rode to the dukes of Bedford & Burgoyne, beyng then at the greate triumphe at Paris, whose part he had euer taken. After long consultacion, it was agreed that sir Ihon Fastolffe, should go with hym, hauyng in his company sixe hundred Archers, and the duke of Burgoyne sent to hym, his Marshall, called sir Anthony Doulongon, with xv hundred men. The erle of Vaudemont thus beyng accompanied, marched toward his enemies. Duke Reine, hearyng of his commyng towarde hym, was somewhat dismayed, fearyng, least if his enemies should approche to the walles, and be espied by the garrison within the toune, that, at one tyme he should be assailed before, by them that would issue out of the toune, and behind by therle and his armie. Whertore, like a hardy capitain, he brake vp his siege, and met face to face, with therle and his company: betwene whom, was a cruell and a mortall battail. The horssemen indured long, but in conclusion, the Englishe Archers, so galled the horses and so wounded the men, that the Barroys, and their friendes, wer cōpelled to flie: In whiche chace was taken, the saied duke of Barr, the bishop of Myes, the lorde of Rodemaque, sir Eueiaid of Sascabery, the Vicöit Darcy, and two hundred other, beside thre thousande men, whiche wer slaine. In this lucky tyme also, no lesse occasion of victory, was offred to the Engliishmen, beyng in another pait, if when the pigge had been profered

profered, thei had opened the poke for Robert, Lorde Willoughby, and Mathew Gough a valiaunt Welsheman, with xv. hundred Englishemen laied siege to a toune in Aniw, beyng bothe by situacion, and pollicie, verie strong and defensibile, called saint Scuceryne. The Englishmen assailed it not so couragiously, but they within, with egall audacitie, boldly made defence: so that fortune semed, to waie bothe the parties in egall balaūce. Charles the French kyng, beyng thereof aduertised, sent with all spede, the lorde Ambiose de Lore, with many noble and valiaūt personages, to aide and releue his frendes, inclosed in the toune by his enemies. This lorde de Lore, beyng capitain of the toune, made muche haste to comfort his depute and capitain within thesame, and so marched forward with greate spied. but fearyng to be sodainly compassed aboute he tained still at Beaumont, loking for the aīme and capitamcs, that should folow, and then altogetheir to set on their enemies, and so to reyse the siege. Whiles he there made his abode, and toke his leysure; the Englishmen, by their espialles, were assertened and aduertised, what progresse their enemies made, and what they intended. Wherefore, they pollitiquely provided, to fight with the one parte, before the whole puyssaunce wer ioyned. And so a greate parte of them, departed secretly in the night, toward their enemies, and found the watch so out of ordre, and ouersene, that a thousande men wer entered into the camp before they were espied. But the slaying of men and cutting doune of tentes, awaked the capitaines, whom this sodayne feare, and vnlooked chaunce so greatly abashed, that no man in maner, either could heare his fellow or hymself, or could make signe to expulse and drue out their enemies out of their campe. But when the day beganne to appeere, and the sonne had setfurth his bright beames, that all thyng might be sene and perceived, the Englishemen, geuen to couetuousnes of spoyle and desie of Rauyne, neither chaced, nor folowed their enemies, but beyng content with their prey and gayne, began to retraite toward the siege again. But se the chaunce the Frenchmen which wer commyng after, heard by the noyce of the people, that some fraie was then in hand, put the spurres to the horse, and set on their enemies, beyng laded with bagges and wallettes, of preys and spoiles. The other part, whiche before fled, returned again, and assailed their enemies. The Frenchmen egerly assailed, and the Englishemen manfully defended, whiche beyng out of ordre, wer compelled to fle, of whom, Matthew Gough and diuerse other wer taken prisoners, and yet of the other parte, many were slain, and a great nombre taken, amongest whom, was the lord of Lore, which, for all the battaile, was kept and not deuoured.

THE lord Willoughby, hearyng of this chaunce reysed the siege & departed verie sore displeased. Therefore let euery capitain take good hede of victorie, the whiche as she is harde to obtain, so she is quicke to fle awaie for it is daily sene, that he, whiche thynketh suerly, that he hath her in his handes, before he can catche her, is deceived, & ronnet into a great losse and daūger. and on the otherside, when she is gotten, (except good watche be hourelly kept) she will steale awaie, with muche hurte and detrimēt, to the first gainer. Thus the Englishmen, for the greedy appetite of gain, lost the triumphaunt victorie, whiche they had in their handes. While the Englishe and Frenche nations, thus stroue and contended, for preeminence, principahtie, yea, & for the superior power of life, by the vnreasonable rage of warre in Fraunce, the rich men were spoyled of their goodes, the spirituall persones, were taxed and brought low, the cōmon people wer slain, murdered, and trode vnder the foote, women wer defiled, virgynes wer rauished, townes wer destroyed and wasted, toune dwellers and citezens, wer robbed and exiled, beautiful buyldynges, wer cruelly brent, nothing was spared, by the crueltie of Mars whiche by fire, blood, or famyne, might be caught or destroyed, beside a hūdred more calamities, that daily vexed and troubled the miserable French nation. Although Fraunce, wer at this tyme, thus miserably afflicted: yet Englande, was not without doloure and trouble for daily Englishmen, aswel noble as meane personages, wer slain taken, wounded, or hurte, their substance was cōtinually exacted, and cōsumed for maintenaunce of the warres, so that mischiet and calamitie, was indifferent to bothe the nations, and quietnes and gayne, were expulsed & banished from them both. in so muche  
 that



that the lamentacion and dolor of bothe the cōtreis, wer heard through the whole west part of the worlde, and of their continual discencion, al Europe and Affrike, had their eares and mouthes full, so that all men, not onely marueiled that Fraunce could so muche trouble so long time sustain, but more wōdered that the realme of Englande, beyng but an Isle, was able so to scourge, plague and trouble, the large French region, for whiche cause Euginye the fourth, beyng bishepp of Rome, intending to bryng this ciuel warre, to a frendly peace, sent his Legate, called Nicolas, Cardinall of the holy crosse, into Fraunce to thentent to make an amitie, and a concord betwene the two princes and their realmes. This wise cardinall, came first to the Frenche kyng, and after to the duke of Bedford beyng at Paris exhortyng concord, and perswadyng vnitie, shewyng, declaryng and arguynge, peace to be moste honorable and more profitable to Christian princes, then mortall warre, or vncharitable discencion. Which gouernors of Christes people, ought to haue an eye, to the profite of their people, to se Iustice duly ministered, to rule theselves by reason and not by wil and to abstain frō malice, and abhoire all wrong and iniury, to whiche thynges, warre is euer enemye & cleane contray.

WHEN the Legate had thus perswaded the princes on euery part, bothe, gently answered, that they wer content to come to a reasonable ende. But when the first communication was moued, and by cōmissioners treated, their dooynge was so faire disagreeable, from their wordes, that not onely reasonable and honest condicions of peace, could be neither heard nor accepted, but more frowardnes, pertinacie, & malice was kindeled and sprong in their stomackes, then before that time had been sene. The Cardinall beyng in vtter dispaire, of cōcludyng a peace betwene the two realmes, (least he should seme to departe empty of all thynges, for the whiche he had taken so muche trauail) desired a tice for sixe yeres to come, which request, as it was to him, by bothe parties hardly graunted, so was it of the Frenchmen, sone and lightly broken, after his retune: For the Bastarde of Orleauce, newly made Erle of Dumoy, tooke by treason the toun of Charters, from the Englishemen. affirmyng by the lawe of armes, that stealyng or bryng a toun without inuasiō, or assaute, was no breach of league, amitie, nor truce. In the whiche toun, he slewe the bishop, because he was a Burgonyō, through which occasion, newe malice increased and mortal warre began again to rise and spryng.

WHILE these thynges wer doying in Fraunce, Henry Beauforde Cardinall of Winchester, was sailed again into Englande, to appease and repress certain diuisions and commocions, sprong vp, by mischeuous and peinicuous persones, within the realme, whiche vnder the colour of a newe sect of religion, coniured together, to disquiet & vex, the whole quietnes of the realme. But after that Willā Maundeulle and Ihō Sharpe wer taken, and executed by the gouernor and the kynges Iustices, the remnaunt yelded, and cōfessed their offences: wherof two articles wer these, as some men write that priestes should haue no possessions, and that all thynges, by the ordre of Charitie, emongest Christen people, should be incommon. After this sedicious coniuration, by diligent enquire, was thus quēched out, the Cardinall began to commen with the duke of Gloucester, concernyng the affanes and busines of Fraunce and suspecting that the truce would not long continue betwene bothe the realmes, (as it did not in dede) diuised, how to send more aide, and men to the Duke of Bedforde, and gathered vp more money, and treasure, for the further maintenaūce of the warres, and resistance of their enemies. Wherupon the Duke of Gloucester, called a Parliament, in the whiche, money was assigned, and men wer appointed. Duryng whiche Parliament, Iames the kyng of Scottes, sent Ambassadors, to conclud a peace, with the duke of Gloucester, which, (because the kyng was absente) referred the matter to the nj estates. After long consultacion, (not without greate arguinentes) a peace was graunted and concluded, which all men iudged, long to continue, because kyng Iames, was then vexed with ciuil warre and intestine discencion, and also the Frenchmen had taken truce, (as you haue hard) for. vi. yeres.

WHEN the parliament was finished, the Cardinall well garnished with men and money, departed

departed out of Englande, and came to Roan to the kyng, to whom also resorted from Paris, Ihon, Duke of Bedford, to debate and consult of thynges, not vnlikely to happen and chaunce. Wherefore, a greate counsaill was celebrate, within the Castle of Roan, and many doubts wer moued, and fewe waigthy thynges out of hand concluded. Some imagined, that their enemies, would not long kepe promise, nor yet obserue the truce, by them solemnly graunted consyderyng, that the Frenche hartes brente, and their iyes were very soie, to se the riche Duchie of Normandy, the faire citee of Paris and the pleasaunt Isle of Fraunce, to be brought and reduced, vnder the obeysaunce and subieccion, of thenglish nacion. Wherefore, thei would not omit, or ouerse one thyng, that souled to defence, least the Frenchmen sodainly, (not keping their promes, & brekyng the truce,) might cause thenglishmen to be in greate & perilous ieoperdy, not knowyng what counsaill to take, nor sodainly to prouide a remedy for a mischief, bothe for lacke of men and substaunce. Other wer of opinion, that nombres of men, could not long be maintained and kepte together, without breache of truce, and violatyng of peace knowyng that the handes of men, be properly geuen to spoyle, and euer redy to gain, and moste especially, when they be daily redy in harness, prone and quicke to set on their enemies. And thei fore, thei would the walled townes, to be wel manned and defended, and the rest of the army, to be sent into England, again, there to remain and tary til the tyme of the truce wer expired and ouer passed.

AFTER this disputacion, with many argumetes ended, the dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edinond late erle of Mortayn, and now by the death of Ihon duke of Somerset, (which died without heire male, leauyng behind hym, a sole donghter called Margaret, after, countesse of Richemod) elected to the name and title, of duke of Somerset, liked and approued, the first argument, & first moued reason. affirmyng best that warre must be prouided for, and that money out to be dismissed, and to aduoyde all doubtles, that a greater army, was necessary to be gathered together and assembled. When al thynges wer agreed, kyng Henry departed to Calice, and from thence to Douer, and so by easye iornes he came the xxi daie of February, to the citee of London, where he was receiued, not onely with greate pompe and triumphe, but also highly presented with giftes and money, as in the Chronicle of Robert Fabian, you maie rede at large, whiche thyng I ouer passe.

AFTER that the kyng, was departed into Englande, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, and capitain of Calice, taried behynde in the marches of Picardy: where he was informed, that certain souldiors of Calice, giudgyng at the restraint of wolles, beganne to mutter and murmure against the kyng and his counsaill, so that the toune of Calice, was like to stand in ieoperdy. Wherefore the duke, forseyng the mischief that might insue, & thinkyng it wisdom, to withstand the first mocion, caused the chieftaynes of this faccion, to be apprehended, and after due examination had, diuise were put to death, and many banished & exiled the Marches for euer. After that he had purged the toune of that vagracious and sedicious company, and had furnished it, with new souldiors & discrete men of war, he was determined, first to repaire again to Paris, but his harte would not serue hym for sith his departure; Lady Anne his wife and Duches, was departed to God, and honorably entered in the Celestyns at Paris: by whose death, and for other causes, (as partly you haue hard) the sure loue, and approued fidelitie, betwene the duke of Burgoyne, his brother in lawe and hym, began to waxe fainte and colde. For whiche cause, he bryng perswaded by the lorde Lewes of Luxenborough, bishoppe of Tyrwyne and Ely, and Chauncellor of Fraunce for kyng Henry, agreed to marye the Lady Iaquet, donghter to Peter Erle of saint Paule, and niece to the saied bishop, and to lorde Ihon of Luxenborough to the intent, that by this newe affinitye, the olde acquaintance and familiaritie, whiche he had with that noble familie of Luxenborough, should be renewed and inforced, and with a more surer knot, knit and confirmed. Whereupon he departed from Calice to Tyrwyne, where, he was highly receiued of the Erle of saint Paule, and of his biethren, and there he married, the faire and freashe lady Iaquet, of the age of xviij yeres, with all triumphe and nupciall solempnie. After whiche Ceremony ended, he returned with his newe spouse to Calice, and so into Englande, where,



he with his wife remained, vntil August next, and then returned again to Paris. The Duke of Burgoyne, (whose mynde began to incline, a hile and hile toward kyng Charles) was sore greued and angry, that the duke of Bedforde, was ioyned in affinitie, with the noble and famous hous of Luxēborough. by the whiche he sawe, that the power of the Englishmen, should be greatly aduanced. But the mariage was fully ended, and he could finde no remēdy.

### ¶ THE ELEUENTH YERE.

The xi  
yere.

WHile these thynges were doying thus, in other places the French souldiors lackyng wages, (and emōgest them, a greate nombre, whiche in hope of prey, and desire of spoyle, had cast vp the plough, and left their labor,) began priuely, (as tyme serued, and occasion gaue place) to take bothe Englishmen and Burgonyons, and ransomed and spoyled them, at their pleasures. And although they were prohibited thus to do, (duying the tyme of truce & peace) yet in conclusion, they spared not openly to robbe, spoyle, and burne. yea, & to steale townes, whiche they affirmed to be no breache of truce. The Englishmen, picked and vexed, with these open wronges, and manifest iniuries, prepared for waire, after the sixe moneth, that the truce was taken and concluded. And by this meanes, the war was renewed and begonne again. The vntrue Frenchemen, breakers of peace, and not keepers of truce, reysed a crewe of men, and sodainly tooke the toune of saint Valere, standyng in Normandy. on the Riuer of Soame. and another army, vnder the cōduct of s<sup>r</sup> Ambrose, lorde of Lore, wasted and destroyed all the countrey aboute Caen. The Duke of Bedford, not myndyng to be still in ydlenesse, sent the Eile of Aundell, the Eile of Warwickessonne the Lorde Lisle, Adane Marshall of Fiaunce, for kyng Hemy, and xii C men, with ordinance and munitions, to besiege the toune of Laigny, vpon the Riuer of Marne. Whiche Eile, with the shot of a Canon, brake the archie of the bridge, and gat from the Frenchmen, their bulwarke, and set it on fire. Diuerse assautes were attempted, but the toune was well defended. for within, wer shut vp, eight hūdred men of armes beside other meane souldiors.

THE duke of Bedford, beyng therof aduertised, gathered an armie of sixe thousande men of warre, wherof wer capitaines, Robert, Lorde Willoughby, sir Andrew Ogard, Chamberlein to the duke, sir Ihon Saluaine, Baylite of Roan, sir Ihon Montgomerie, Bailife of Caux, sir Philip Halle, Baylite of Veruoye, sir Richard Ratcliffe, deputie of Calice, sir Raufe Neuell, sir Raufe Standishe, sir Ihon Hantoide, sir Richard Euthin, sir Richard Harryngton, Bailife of Eureux, sir William Fulthoipe, sir Thomas Griffyne of Irelande, Daui Halle, Thomas Stranguish, Leonard Ornestō, Esquiers, and Thomas Gerard, whiche solde the toune of Mounstiean Faultyon, to the Frenchemen and with all thynges necessarye, came to the siege before Laigny. He, there, made a bridge of boates, and brought his ordinance so nere the toune, that to all people, it semed not long, able to résist. But the Eile of Dumrois Bastard of Orleauce, with diuerse hardy capitaines, as valiauntly repulsed, as the Englishemen assauted. This siege contynued, as fire against flame, and sometyme flame against fire. For although the Englishemen slewe moie nombre, yet they gat neither prey, nor boty. and although the Frenchemen, kepte valiantly the walles, and defended the loupes, yet they loste bothe men and capitaines, and wel long secluded from their aide and succois, til Charles the French kyng, perceiuyng this toune, to be the thre corner key, betwene the territories of the Englishmen, the Burgonyons, and his awne, and that the losse therof, should turne hym to innumerable damages and incredible hurtes, sent the lorde of Rieux, Poyton, the Heire, the lorde Gancourt, and sixe thousand men, with great plentie of vitales, to thentent, either to reise the siege, or to vitale the toune. The French capitaines, made a bragge, as though they should fight with the Englishmen, within their felde and Campe. The Englishmen would

not

net issue out, but kept themselves in good ordre, euer lokyng for, their entrie and inuasiō. The Regent perceiuyng, that thei apploched not, sente to them an herault of Armes, declaring his intent, and the corage of his company, whiche nothyng more desired, then battaill. And to shewe hymself as a capitain, meanyng that, which he offied, & not dissimulyng that, whiche he spake. he incontinent, diuided his men into three battailes, no more wisely ordered, the pollitiquely gouerned. as who would saie, come on Frenchemen, if thy harte will serue. But his aduersaries, more craftie then hardy, more pollitique then coragious, fained themselves in suche ordie of battaile, as thei wei able to do all thyng, and yet inconclusion, (concernyng marciall feates) thei did nothyng. For, while thei made a proude bragge, and a stoute skirmishe with the Englishemen, thei appoynted diuerse rude and iusticall persones, to conueye into the toune, xxx. oxē and other small vitail, but this swete gain, was sowerly paid for, if the losse with the gain, be pondered in one balauce. for hauyng regard to. xxx. leane oxen, in the conflict were slain, the lorde Sentrayles, brother to Pothon, the valeaunt capitain Ihon, brother to the lord Gawcort, and fīue other noble and valeaunt personages, beside other common people, whiche bought that bargayne, aboue the price of the common Markette. The Frenchemen, perceiuyng their infortunate chaunce, and not only consyderyng, the vnspekeable heate, whiche then worried their people, beyng in the begynnyng, of the hote moneth of August: but also, perceiuyng the Englishmen, to be planted and settled, in a place vnable to be wonne, and in a grounde, bothe daūgerous to invade, and hard to assaile, like men desperate of gain, and without hope of victory, departed to Fort. vnder Yerre, where, by a bridge of tunnes, they passed into the Isle of Fraunce. The Duke of Bedforde, (like a wise prince) not myndyng to lease the more for the lesse, nor the accident for the substaunce, fearyng that Paris and other townes, more necessary to the Englishemen, and of more estimation, would returne to his aduersaries, thynkyng if the greater power were holden, the lesse should be sone obtained, reysed his siege, and returned to Paris, nothyng lesse myndyng, then to trie his querell with dent of swerd, against his enemies. and so sent Bedford his herault, to the lorde Gawcort, and other chieftaines of his army, offeryng hym battail, and a pitched feld, within a conuenient grounde, where so euer he would, within the Isle of Fraunce, assigne or appoynt. To the whiche officer of Armes, the capitaines answered, that battail they feared not, nor the Englishe puyssaunce, thei not muche regarded, but thei saied: that tyme was to gain, and tyme was to lose, of the whiche twoo, thei doubted not to espie the one, either to their greate gain, or to their apparaunt losse. Wherupon thei sent the lorde Ambrose de Loyre, with. vii. C. horsemen, to robbe and spoyle the poore people, commyng to the faier, on the day of saint Michael the Archangell, kepte in the suburbs of the toune of Caen. But whē Daui Halle Esquier, capitain of the toune, for the duke of Yorke, issued out to fight with hym, he departed by flight, without any either botie or gain of the faier. The Frenchmen perceiuyng, that neither power, force, nor pollicie, could auaille against the Englishe nacion, determined to trippe and deceiue them, by their accustomed seruauant, called master Treason, and so by money, corrupted Piers Audebeuffe, Constable of the castle of Roan, that the Marshall of Fraunce, and the lord Fountaynes, with twoo hundred persones disguised, entered into the Castle, but thei wer sone espied, and driuen to the dongeon, where thei wer taken and yelded: wherof some wer hanged, some hedded, and some ransomed at the pleasure of the Regent: and suche ende had the traytors, whiche would by treason, rather then by battaill, obtained their prey and desired purpose.

THIS pageaunt plaid, the Regent sent Peter of Luxenborough Erie of saint Paule, and Robert, lorde Willoughby, with a competēt crue of men, to besige the toune of Saint Valerie, whiche the Frenchemen a litle before had taken. These valeaunt capitaines, not myndyng to slepe their busines, enuironed the toune with a strong siege. Within the toune wer sir Lewes de Vancort, sir Philippe de la Toure, and sir Reignold de Versailles, capitaines, with three hundred good fighting men, which by the space of iii. weekes, manfully defended



defended the same. But at the. xxi. daie they perceiuyng the fiersenes of thenglishemen, and the weakenes of themselves, (hauyng no hope of relief, nor confidence in any aide) rendered the toune, then horsse and harnes onely saued. The Erle put, in the garrison of the toune, treashe and valcaunt souldiors, and appoynted captain there, sir Ihon Awbmond: in whiche toune sodainly, (whether it wer by intecciō of the ayre, or by corrupt vitall by long liyng, whiche the tounes men did eate,) a great pestilence sprang, in the infortunate cōutrey. Whiche, after so many calamities and euill chaunces, beyng two tymes besieged by the Fienchemen, and thyrse recovered by thenglishe nacion, was now infected and corrupted, with the pestilent plague. whereby twoo partes of the people, within shorte space, wer destroyed and consumed.

AFTER this toune gotten, the Erle of saint Paule, and the Lorde Willoughby, returned to the Regent, where, they wer well welcomed. And after, thesaid Erle departed from Paris, to laie siege to the Castle of Monchas, but beyng encamped, nere to the toune of Blangy, he, by a sodain maladie, finished his daies, and departed the worlde, leauyng his seigniories, to Lewes his sonne and hene. For whiche dedde Erle, wer solempne obsequies kepte, bothe in Paris and in London, because he was fater in lawe to the Regent. In the meane season, the Frenchmen entered into the costes of high Burgoyne, and brent, toke, and destroyed tounes. for whiche cause, the Burgonyons beyng sore displeased, assembled a greate army, bothe to reuenge their querels, and also to recouer again the tounes, from them iniustely taken: to whom, (as to his frendes) the duke of Bedfoide, sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, and sir Thomas Kiriell, with a conuenient company of souldiors, whiche enteryng into the laundes of Laonoys, wer encoūtreth with a great nobie of their enemies, but by whose force, (after long fight) the Frenchmen wer slain and dispersed: wherof wer left dedde in the feld, an hundred and sixtie horsemen, beside prisoners, whiche after in a fury, wer all killed and put to destruccion.

### ¶ THE. XII. YERE.

The. xii.  
yere.

While these chaunces thus happened in Fraunce, Ihō lord Talbot, gathered together, a crue of chosen men of war in England, to the nombre of viii. C. & sailed into Normandy, and passed by Roan toward Paris, and in his way, he toke the strong Castle of Ioung, betwene Beauuys and Gisors, and caused all the Frenchmen within to be hanged on the walles, and after, raised and defaced the Castle, and came to the Duke of Bedford, to Paris. The presence of which renowned capitain, (a maruelous thyng it is to se) so incorage the hartes of the English nacion, that thei thought, nothyng able to resist their puyssaunce, and so discouraged the hartes of the Frenchemen, that thei wer in doubt, whether it wer better to fight, or to fle. And this was not without a cause: for surely, he was a chosen capitain, & in marcial feates, a man fully instructed, and his corage and practise in warre, was fearful to the Fienche nacion, and to his awne cōutremen, an especial hope and a sure defence. When this hardy Baron, had comonned with the Regent, and agreed what war he should take, without long delay or prolongyng of tyme, he departed from Paris with his army, and besieged the Castle of Beaumont vpon Oise, wherof was capitain, sir Amadour de Vignolles, brother to the Heire. Whiche castle was sone rendered, vpon condiciō. After that, he regained without long siege, the tounes of Creile, the bridge of saint Maxens, the new toune in Esnoy, Crespy in Valoys, and Cleremoūt in Beauuys: and so with greate riches, and fatte prisoners, he returned again to Paris. Thus, prosperous successe happened, not to the lorde Talbot alone: but also thesame very season, therle of Arundell, toke the Castle of Bomelyne, and raised it to the ground, and after, tooke by force the Castle of Dorle, and from thence came to saint Seleryne, where the lorde Ambrose of Lore, was capitain, which issued out, and fought with the Englishmen so egerly at the firste, that he droue them backe. an arowe shot by fine  
force.

force. But the Erle so incorage his men, that they toke newe corages to thein, and set so fierly on the Frenchemen, that they slewe a greate nombre, and droue the remnaunt into the toune.

AFTER this victory, he besieged Louiers, wherof was capitain, the Heire, and his brother, which rendered the toune, without stroke or assaute. For all this good lucke, therle forgat not to returne, to the toune of S. Seleryne, but assembled a great army, and enuironed the toune about with a strong siege. Whē he had lien there almoste. iij monethes euery daie attempting or dooyng somewhat, for the performauce of his enterprise, in conclusion at the thre monethes ende, he gaue so fierce an assaut, that by force he entred the toune, and slewe Ihon Allemagne and Gullam sent Aubyne, the chief capitaines, and viii C. other men of warie, and the Children of the lorde Lorc, wer taken captiues. he replenished and fortified the toune again with newe men, and municions, and made there capitain, sir Ihon Cornwale. Whiche acte thus accomplished, he departed, and came before the strong toune of Sillye, and there pitched his campe. The inhabitauntes of thesame, somewhat dismayed with the chaunce that late happened to the toune of S. Seleryne, deliuered to him pledges, vpon this condicion: that if thei wer not rescued, within. xxx daies nexte insuyng, then they, (their lifes saued) should rendre the toune, into his possession: whiche offre was taken. The capitaines within the toune, sent a post to the French kyng, to aduertise hym of their hard chaunce, which incontinent sent to them, Arthur, Erle of Richemond, (but after some writers, Ihon duke of Alaunson) with a greate company of men. When therle sawe the Frenche succors appere, he restored again f pledges to the gouernors of the toune, and issued out of his campe, takyng a place moste mete and conuenient for to abide battaill, for whiche he sore thirsted and longed. The Duke or the Erle, (take whiche you list) liyng by a brooke side, whiche a man might stride ouer, seying the Englishemen, so warlike and strongly embattaile, thought it not for his profite, to geue battaill, or to sette forward: but in the dedde time of the night, cowardly fled, and with shame returned although some Frēche writers affirme, that he loked that the erle of Arundell, should haue geuen hym battaill, and because he profered not forward, therefore the Frenchmen departed. This appereth to be an apparaunt lye, and a Frenche bragge: for if they came to rescuwe the toune, why did not they geue battaill, & so driue awaie the Englishmen from the toune? If they came to fight, why departed they without any stroke stricken? But it semeth that thei came, to make a Frenche face, and for to do nothyng. For thei without skirmishe or succoyng the toune, departed in the night secretly, (as you haue hearde.) When thei within the toune knew, that their succors failed, thei rendred themselves, to the mercy of therle of Arundell, which gently receiued thē, & leauyng a garrison in the toune, departed to Mauns, and in the meane waie, toke the Castles, of Mellay and saint Laurēce. About this tyme, the lord Willoughby, and sir Thomas Kirnell, returnyng with great victories out of the parties of Burgoyne, tooke in their waie, the toune of Louiers, and furnished it, bothe with men, and municions.

EMONGEST so many good chaunces, some euill are accustomed to fall and happen, or els the gayners, will not knowe themselves. So it happened that a greate nōbre, of rude and rustical persones in Normady, dwellyng by f sea coast, either prouoked, or intised therunto, by the Frenche kyng, or desirous of alteriacion and change, (whiche thyng the common people muche couete and desire) made an insurreccion, and put on haireis, & by force expelled certain garrisōs, out of their houldes, and toke certain townes publishyng and proclaimyng opely, that their onely purpose and intent was, to expel and banish, the whole Englishe nacion, out of their cōtreys and coastes. Wherefore, it maie evidently appere, that the blacke Ethiopians, or the blacke coloured rauē, wil soner turne their colouris, than the vniuersal people, bred in Fraunce will hartely loue, or inwardly fauor, an Englishe borne child. And yet, the Normans of long tyme, louingly and gentely, haue obeyed to the subieccion of Englande, and haue of the Englishe nacion, been wel accepted and regarded, but now thei,



forgettyng their duetie, and remēbryng their hurtes, did not doubt, to rebell against their prince and soueraigne Lorde.

- THIS mischeuous cōpany, thus frantiquely gathred together, with all spede marched toward Caen, to the intent there, bothe to assemble a greater nombre of people, and also to consult, what way they should folow in their newe begon attēptate. But the dukes of Yorke & Somerset, which then wer hyng in Normandy, hearyng of this vngacious faccion & tronbelous cōmocion, & hauyng knowledge by their espials what iorney they intended to take: incōtinent without delay, sent therle of Arundell and the lorde Willoughby, with vj M. archers, and. xij. hundred light horsse, to staie and kepe them, either for setting furthe, or makyng farther progresse. Therle of Arundell goyng one waie, appoynted the Lorde Willoughby, with two thousande Archers, and a certain nombre of horsemen, to go afore hym, to lye in watche and stale, secretly by the waie, to stop the iorney and passage of the rebelles, whē they should approach. The lorde Willoughby, couertly couered hymself and his company, sendyng worde to the Erle, of the place where he lay, to thentent that he might make a signe and a token, (when tyme should be most luckey and fortunate,) to inuade & set on their enemies. Whiche thyng doen, therle folowed at the backe, the ragged route and mischeuous multitude, as a man, that draue the deare before him into the buckestalle, or the sely coners into the secrete hay. When the ignoraunt multitude, approched nere to the place of the stale the Erle made a token, and shot a gonne for a signe. Then the Lorde Willoughby, set on them before, and the Erle behynde, shotyng so fiersly, that the dastarde people, partly amased with the sodain chauce, and partly, galled and wounded with the shot of the arrowes, threwe awaie their harness: desiryng nothing but death. Therle of Arundell, (moued with compassiō) caused his souldiors to leaue of & staye, from farther murther or blood shedyng; & apprehendyng such, as he thought, to be the ledars and chief stirrers of the people, let the other retorne home flankly & frely: but yet there were a.M. and more slain, before the souldiors, could be brought again vnder their standerdes.

AFTER this commocion appeaced, and the sodain rage in the beginnyng staied and bridled, diligēt inquirie was made of the malefactors, and suche as wer found guilty, by diuerse terrible executions, (accordyng to their desertes,) miserably ended their traiterous lifes. Duryng which rebellion, Peter Rokefort and his cōpany, gat by treason the toun of Deape, & diuerse other houldes, therunto adioynyng. After the Erle of Arundell, had obtained so many conquestes, and notable victories (as you haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last worke and extreme labor, of his liuyng daies. For the duke of Bedford, beyng informed, that his aduersaries, had sodainly surprised & takē the toun of Rue, and therein had put a garrison, which sore vexed the cōūtreis of Ponthiew, Arthoys, and Boleuoys, sent word to therle, that he without delaye, should besiege thesaid toun. Therle obeyed to his cōmaundement, and incontinēt, sente for all the people vnder his gouernaunce, & in his marchyng forward, came to Gourney, where he heard tel, how y there was a certain Castle, nere Beauuoys, called Gerborye, whiche either by force of rasyng, or violence of weather, was sore decayed and defaced. And because this place was opportune and very necessarie, to prohibite, let and stop thenglishmen, to make sodain runnynges in, or rode into the countrey of Beauuoys. Charles the Fiēche kyng commaunded sir Stephen de Veignolles, commonly called the Heire, to se the castle reedefied and fortified. Thesaid sir Stephen with a great company, came to the grounde, and lackyng neither stuffe necessary, nor artificers sufficient, in small tyme erected the Castle, and began to defend the fortresse. The erle of Arundell, beyng crediblie informed of their dooynges, and perceiuyng that this newe edificacion, was very preiudicial to the Englishe part, determined first to take the Castle supposyng litle or **no** resistence, therein to be shutte vp, but he was deceiued, for there was the Heire, with many good and valeaunte capitaines. The Erle with fife hundred horsemen, encamped hymself in a litle close, not farre from the Castle. the Frenchemen, which wer thre thousande men, perceiuyng that the Erle and his horses wer wery, and that his archars wer not yet come, determined for their aduauntage to set on him, before the cōmyng of his footmen, whiche they knewe

knewe to be litle more, then a mile behynde the Erle. Wherefore, for a pollicie, they set furthe fiftie horsmen, as though there were no mo in the Castle. The Erle perceuyng that, sent furth sir Randolfe Standishe, to encountre with them, hauyng in his company a hundred horses: the Frenchemen fought coiagiously a while, and sodainly came out all the remnaunte, and slewe sir Randolfe Standishe, and all his company, and boldly set on the Erle and his bande, whiche manfully defended them, so that the Frenchmen gat litle aduantage, for al their great nombre. The Heire perceuyng the hartes, corage and defence of the Englishe people, caused thre Culuerynes to be shot emongest theim, wherof, one strake the Erle on the ancle, and so brake his legge, that for pain he fell from his horse, then the Frenche men entered emongest the Englishe army, and tooke the erle, beyng on the grounde, prisoner, and sir Richard Woodville, and sixe score more, and there wer slain almoste twoo C. The remnaunt saued them selves aswel as thei might. The Erle was caried to Beauoys, wher, of this hurte he shortly died, and was buried in the friers Minoirs. He was a man of a singuler vertue, constancie and grauitie, whose death in so troubelous a worlde, did sore appall the hartes of his nacion. By this infortune, Rue was not besieged, nor Gerborie taken, suche is the chaunce of warre, thus Lady Fortune daily turneth her whele, and mightie Mars, often varieth his countenaunce, so that one tyme the Englishemen gat by assaut and yieldingyng, diuerse strong townes, Castles, and piles. At another season, the Frenche people, somtyme by bargain, somtyme by assaut, obtained thesaid citees and fortifications again, or other in their stede. Whiche daily attemptes, I omit and ouer passe, because in this, no notable acte, nor greate Warlike feate was doen or committed. For small thynges, require litel wrytyng, and fewe actes, require lesse speakyng. For I assure you, that he, which should write the negligent losses, and the polittique games, of euery citee, fortresse, and turrett, whiche were gotten and loste in these daies, should fatigate and wery the reader, more with volumes, then queares and the hearer, more with triflyng woordes, then with notable matter. Wherefore sithe in all myne authors, I finde no matter, either greatly necessarie, or muche conuenient to be spoken of concerning any high enterprise. I therefore, leauyng bothe the nacions, daily studyng how to greue, and gain of the other, will turne againe to other thynges accidentall whiche chaunced in this. xii. yere.

ABOVT the moneth of Iune, Ihon duke of Burbon and Auerne, taken prisoner at the battaill of Agyncourte xviii. yeres paste, (as you haue before heard) now payng his ransome, whiche was xviii M.l sterlyng and hauyng ready prepared all thynges necessary, for his triumphaunt returne into his countrey, was taken with a mooste sore and greuous feuer, whiche shortely vnbodyed his soule, in the citee of London, on the daie appoynted, for his depaiture into Fraunce whose corps was enterred, in the Grey Friers of thesaid citee. So by this, euery creature maie se. that man purpogeth & God disposeth. I may not forget a chaunce whiche happened this yere, to the example of princes, and a spectacle of gouernors. For the deuill hymself, to set farther diuision betwene the Englishe and Frenche nacion did apparell certain catchepoules, and Parasites, comonly called titiuls and tale tellers, to sowe discord and dissencion, betwene the dukes of Bedford and Burgoyne, not fawnyng trifies nor phantasies, but thynges of reproche, repugnaunt to bothe their honors, estates, and dignities, with the whiche, each of them was as well pricked, as hastily spurred, so that all loue, betwene them ceased, all affinitie was forgotten, and all olde familiaritie was cast by disdain. into the caue of obliuio. Suche a pestilent breath hath Flattery, and suche mischif ensueth, of Princes light credence. This grudge was perceued, by their mutuall frendes, whiche by charitable exhortacion and Godly aduertisement, exhorted them, to renewe their old loue and familiaritie, and to mete and enterueu, in some place decent and conuenient. The Duke of Bedforde, gladly condiscended, to come to sent Omers, beyng the duke of Burgoyne's toune, and thither, accordyng to his appoyntment, he in honorable estate, came and resorted, and likewise did the duke of Burgoyne. The duke of Bedford, beyng Regent of Fraunce, & sonne, brother and vncl to kynges, though that the duke of Burgoyne, should first haue visited and saluted him: duke Philhp on the other part, beyng Lord & souereigne of the



toune, iudged it not mete, nor to stande with his honor, to go to hym, where he was lodged, but was content, by entreatie of fiendes, to mete with him in a place indifferent, betwene bothe then haiberowes. whiche offer was not accepted, & so, bothe parties departed discontent, & neuer after sawe or commoned with other. What should I speake of the corage of these two proude princes, the duke of Bedford myndyng to haue no pere, and the duke of Burgoyne, willing to haue no superior, by whose proud disdain, and enuious discord, shortly England lost, and Burgoyne gayned not long, as you shall perceiue, in this history ensuyng.

## ¶ THE. XIII. YERE.

The xiii  
yere.

THE Bastard of Orleans, called the erle of Dumoys, the lorde Rocheford Marshal of Fraunce, with other in the beginnyng of this. xiii. yere, tooke the toune of sainte Denise by treason, and skirmished with them of Paris, and leauyng behynd hym a greate garrison, tooke the toune of Howdone, and the bidge of sainte Maxence by composition, and at that tyne was taken the toune, of Pount Meulane, by sodain scalyng of twoo fishermen. which entered vp at a common priuie, standyng on the walle Thus tounes vn-walled, wer preys to rauinous men of war, so that the poore inhabitauntes within them, (not beyng able to kepe their fidelitie or allegaunce, when sheilde and defence lacked,) were constrained and compelled, to yeilde and rendie themselves, to the more power, and vpper hande. least they beyng nedy and innocent people, should be vexed and turmented, with the vnreasonable men of warre: So that in all Christendome, no Region was more vn-quiete, more vexed, more poore, nor more to be pitied, then the couñtre of Fraunce. And although the rude and poore people, suffred many plagues and aduersities. yet the souldiours prospered not in all thynges. For although pley & spoyle sometyme refreshed their mindes, and did comfort their stomackes, yet some tyme they wer slain, taken, and licked vp, or they were ware. For every prince studied, and circumspectly compassed, how to kepe, defende and releue, the citees and tounes, of their seuerall faccion, and priuate fidelitie. Wherefore, when sacietie of slaughters, and aboundaunce of murthers, had replenished the stomackes, of bothe the nacions, and that bothe in generall, perceiued their hurtes, pondered their losses, and considered their ruynes, and daily afflictions: although their stomackes wer haute, and their hartes stony, yet they waxed softe, priuely inclynyng to peace, and wishyng concord, and not without an vrgente cause: For all thynges necessary to mans liuyng, penurie shewed her self furth, and aboundaunce was hidden in a caue. The corne feldes laie vntilled, the meddowes wer ouer troden, the woodes wer spoyled, so that all men went to harneis, and no man to the plough. The churches were seldome vsed for deuocion, but many tyemes spoyled, for desire of gayne. These, and suche innumerable mischiefes, caused bothe the people, beyng enemies, to desire peace, and yet the one part, disdained opely to offre it, or the other priuily to receiue it.

THE crye and noyse of this peillous and insaciabie warre, was blasted through Europe, detested through Christendome, and especially, at the Counsaill of Basill, where then themp-  
peror Alberte, and all the princes and potestates of Christendome, or their deputies, were assembled, for the vniõ of the vngraciousscisme, in the vsurped sea of Rome vntruly, and against all scripture, called saint Peters sea. Wherefore the Emperor and the temporal princeis, supposyng the exhortacion of Spirituall fathers, should more profite emongest the twoo high stomacked, and proude encoraged nacions, of Englande and of Fraunce, desyred Eugeny then bishop of Rome, to be the author and arbitrer, of that great strife and contention: so that by his meanes, counsaill and exhortacion, the weapon might be taken out of the handes, of twoo sp innumble nacions, which neuer would yeild or bowe, the one to the other, neither yet, once heare of abstinence of fighytyng, or refusing from warre: so much were their hartes hardened, and so princely were their stomackes. And one thyng, muche  
put

put them in hope, of some good conclusiō, because the duke of Burgoyne was willing, (so that it wer not of his awne suite,) to returne and reconcile himself, to Chailes, his mortall enemye and aunient aduersary. Wherefore, by authoritie of this generall Counsaill, two discrete persones, called the Cardinales of saint Crosse, & Cypres, came to the towne of Arras in Arthoys, whither, were sente for the kyng of Englande, Henry Beauford Cardinall of Wynchestei, Henry, Archebishop of Yorke, Willm de la Pole Eile of Suffolke, and Iohn Hollande Erle of Huntyngdon, with diuerse other knightes and Esquiers: and for the Frenche kyng, were there present, Charles Duke of Burbon, Lewes Erle of Vandosme, Arthur of Brytaine Constable of Fraunce, the Archebishop of Reys, and sir Phillip Harcourt. There, was the duke of Burgoyne, in proper persone, accompanied with the duke of Gelders, and the Erles of Estampes, Lygnye, saint Paule, Vaudemont, Neuers, & Daniel, sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallaunt company

VPON the daie of the first session, the Cardinal of saint Crosse, declared to the three parties, the innumerable mischiefes, the multitude of incoueniences, whiche had succeeded, through al Christendom, by their daily discord and continuall discencion: exhorting and requiring the for the honor of God, for the loue that they bare to the setting furthe of Christes religion, and for the aduancement, of the publike wealthe of all Christendō, that they would laye all rancor apart, repress all wrath and anger, and conform themselves to reason, and to Godly concoide, by the whiche, they should receiue, honor, profite, and continuall quietnesse, in the worlde, and of God, a reward euerlastyng. After whiche admonicion, thus to them geuen, and after diuerse daies of communicacion, euery part brought in their demaund, whiche wer moste contrary, and hard to come to a good conclusion. The Englishemen required, that kyng Charles should haue nothyng, but at the bande of the kyng of Englande, and that not as duetie, but as a benefite, by hym of his mere liberalitie geuen, and distributed, to whiche the Frenchmen answered, that kyng Charles would haue the kyngdom, frākely & frely, without begging it, of another man: requirying the kyng of Englande, to leaue the name, Armes, and title of the kyng of Fraunce, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitain and Normādy, and to forsake Paris, and all the townes, whiche they possessed in Fraunce, betwene the Riuers of Loyre and Soame, beyng no percell of the Duchie of Normandy. The Englishemen, loth to lease so good a boty as Paris, did not esteeme and allowe, the demaundes of the French Ambassadors and they on the otherside, couetyng and desirying, to obtaine again the renoume and glory of their Region, whiche was Paris, would in no wise condescend, to any part of the Englishe requestes. Thus, the pride of the one part, and the ambition of the other, letted concord, peace, and quietnes. The Cardinals, seying the frostie hartes, and hardened myndes of bothe parties, determined not, to dispute the titles, but offered to them, honest and reasonable condicions, of truce and peace, for a season: whiche articles bothe parties, either for fiowardnes, or for disdain openly refused. In so muche as, the Englishmen in greate displeasure, departed to Calice, and so into Englande. One writer affirmeth, that they beyng warned of a secrete conspiracie moued against them, sodainly remoued from Arras, and so sailed into their countrey.

WHILFS this treatie of peace, was thus in comunicacion at Arras, the lorde Talbot, the Lorde Willoughby, the lorde Scales, with the Lorde Lisle Adame, and hie thousande men, besieged the towne of S Denise, with a strong bande. The Eile of Dumoya hearing therof, accompanied with the Lorde Lohac, and the lorde Bucill, & a great company of horsemen, haisted thitherward, to rayse the siege, and in the meane waie, they encountered with sir Thomas Kiriell, and Matthew Gouthie, ridyng also toward S. Denise, betwene whom, was a great conflict, and many slain on bothe parties: but sodainly came to the aide of the Frenchmen, the garrison of Pout Melance, which caused the englisshemen to returne, without any great arme or damage, sayung that Matthew Gouth, by fouderyng of his horse, was taken and caried to Pount Melance. Duryng whiche fight; the towne of saint Denise, was rendered to the lorde Talbot, and the other lordes, whiche caused all the walles to be raised, and abated doune to the ground, sayung the walles of



the Abbay, and a toure called Venyn. After this toune gotten, the Lorde Willoughby, left sir Ihon Ruppelley at Pounthoyse, & departed to gouerne Paris, whiche then began to smoke, and sone after, brast out in flame, (as you shall shortly, apparauntly perceiue). After whose departur, thenhabitaines of Pounthoyse rebelled, & droue out thenglishmen by very force, and rendered themselves subiectes to king Charles. This toune was small, but the losse was great, for it was the very conuenient kaye, betwene Paris and Normandy, so that now the gate betwene them bothe, was set open and the passage at large.

LET vs now again, returne to the counsaill at Arras. After the Englishe Ambassadors wer departed, the Frenchemen and the Burgonyons, began familiarly to common of a peace, and talke of an amitie, to the whiche mocion, Phillip duke of Burgoyne, was neither deisse nor straunge for he in the beginnyng of his rule, being muche desirous to reuenge and punishe the shamefull murder doon to his father, and to kepe hymself in his high estate, and preeminence, began to be associate, and to reigne with thenglishe power, and to serue the kyng of Englād thinking, that by his amity and ioyning, that he should neither harme nor huite, the common wealth of the countrey, whereof at that tyme he baie the whole rule, nor yet lose one iote or poynt, of his authoritie, or gouernaunce. But when it happened, contrary to his expectacion, that the kyng of Englande, by the right course of inheritance, tooke vpon hym the whole rule and gouernaunce, within the realme of Fraunce, and ordered by the aduise of his counsaill, all causes, iudgements, warres, and cōcordes, & that the duke iudged, that he was not had in great confidence, nor in perfite truste, as he thought, because the Duke of Bedfōrde, would not suffice the toune of Orleans, to be rendered to hym, (as you before haue heard) He therefore imagined, & determined with hymself, to returne unto the pathe again, from the whiche he had straied and erred, and to take part, and ioyne with his awne bloud and nacion: so that some honest meane, might be sought by other, and not by hymself, least peraduenture by his awne sekying, he might bind himself in condicions hurtfull, & sore inconueniences, to the Frenche kyng, and also be noted of vntruth, and traiterous behauor, toward the king of Englande and his nacion: to whom he had done homage, leage, and sworn fealtie. Now this Counsaill, was to hym a cloke for the rayne, as who should say, that he sought not amitie, of the Frēche kyng, (whiche thyng in his harte, he moste coueted and desired) but was therunto persuaded, by the generall counsaill, and by the bishop of Rome, whom it was reason, in all honest requestes, that he should submitte hymself, and humbly obey. And so, shadowed with this counsaill, without long argument or prolongyng of tyme, he tooke a determinate peace, and a finall conclusion, vpon these condicions: that he should haue to hym deliuered, the counteis of Arthoys, Ponthiew, and Bullonoys, and the townes of Amience, Corby, Mondidier, Heron, saint Quintyne, & Abbeule, with many other seigniories, & superiorities, whiche be not for my purpose to rehearse. Prouided alwaie, that the French kyng, payng in redy money, to y duke or his heires, m.c. crownes, should haue thesaied townes and countres, to be redeliuered again: and many other thynges, the Frenche kyng graunted, to the duke of Burgoyn, whiche after, he was not able to performe, nor accomplishe, for he had no power, to make deniall to the duke, of any demaund or request, whiche the Duke either phantasied or moued: as who would saie, that he thought in himself, that suche an aduersary, whiche desired so honest, and so reasonable condicions, (consideryng the state of the tyme, and the occasion, of concorde, moste apparauntly offered to hym,) ought neither to be refused nor cast away, the whiche chaunce, was to hym lucky and fortunate. for surely, y thyng forsene and loked for, succeded and toke place, as you shall perceiue. This concorde, was so pleasaunt to the Frenche kyng, that he not only sēt for hym. but as a swane that swimmeth after her make, met hym in proper persone, at the citee of Reynes, and (after long cōmunicatō) standing vp vpo his fete, said to him these wordes

DVKE Phillipp cosin, and pere of Fraunce, with all my harte welcome; and at your coming, my harte is fulfilled with ioy, and my spirtes be refreshed with solace, for now, all doubte of the recovery, of my lande and seigniori, is clerely banished, and fully abandoned: considering

consideryng that I haue now, ioyned and vnited to me, the principall pere, the moste noble prince, (nexte to the Croune) and the moste valeaunt capitaine, that hath been, or is, in our daies, sene, or knowen, whom the nobilitie honor, the chualrie fauor, and the poore commons loue, and daily desue to beholde. So that all men loue, and embrace you, aboue all creatures, and worship and reuerence you, aboue all Lordes, because you, beyng a straying shepe, are now returned, to your olde flocke, and like a man wanderyng out of the pathe, are now brought again, to the right waie, and true limite. For surely, this text was euer beaten muche in my hedde that euery realme, deuided emongest themselfe, should turne to desolaciō, and that all discord, should bring pouertie, and that of all discension, should succede misery: whiche intolleeable calamities, I euer iudged to ensue, by the discorde and contrauersie, betwene vs twoo. But now the sore is cured, and the ship brought into the sure hauen: trustyng perfectly, and nothyng mistrustyng, but by your heale and aide, we shall expell, cleane pull vp by the rootes, and put out, all the Englishe nacion, out of our realmes, territories and dominions. And if you helpe vs (as you maie) and if you aide vs, (as you be able) we here promise you, in the worde of a pynce, to be yours, yea, so yours, that al ours, shalbe yours, at your commaundement and desire, not as ours, but as yours, to doo and spende at your pleasure. To the whiche, the duke of Burgoyne answered, that he would let scape nothyng, that appertayned to his duetie, nor forget any poynt, whiche might tūne to his dishonor.

WHEN this league was sworne, and this knot was knit, the duke of Burgoyne, to sette a vayle; before the kyng of Englandes eyes, sent Thoisson Dor, his kyng at Armes, to kyng Henry with letters. that he, beyng not only waxed faint, and wried, with continual warre, and daily conflictes, but also chafed daily, with complaintes and lamentacion, of his people; whiche, of the Frenchemen, suffered losse and detriment, embaydyng and rebukying hym openly, affirming that he onely was the supporter and mainteyner, of the Englishe people, and that by his meanes and power, the mortall warre was continued and sette forward, and that he more diligently studied, and intentiuely toke pain, bothe to kepe, and maintain thenghishemen in Fraunce, and also to aduaūce and promote their desires, & intentes, rather then to restore kyng Charles his cosyn, to his rightful inheritaunce, & paternal possession. by reason of whiche thynges, and many other, he was in maner compelled and constrained to take a peace, and conclude an amitie with kyng Charles, exhortyng kyng Henry, with many flatteryng wordes, when honest and reasonable condicions wer offered, to take thē, and to make an ende of the warre, which so long had continued, to the decay of bothe the realmes, and to the effusion, of Christen blood; be side the great displeasure of almighty God, whiche is the author of peace and vniue. promising hym his aide, and furtheraunce in that behalfe, with many gloryng and flatteryng wordes, whiche I passe ouer.

HERE is to be noted, that the Duke of Burgoyne, which thought hymself by this concord in maner dishonoured, and spotted with infamy sente his letters to the Kyng of Englande, rather to puike and excuse hymselfe, of his vntruth and infidelitie, (yea of perjury, if a poore man maie vse that terme, of so greate a pynce) to thentent that it should appeare, that he, by cōpulsion, and not by voluntarie affeccion, was turned to the French part. not for any malice or displeasure, whiche he bare to kyng Henry, or to the Englishe nacion. This letter was not a litle loked on, nor smally regarded of the kyng of England, and his sage counsaill not onely for the waightines of the matter, but also for the sodain chaunge of the man, & for the straūge superscription of the letter, which was. To the high and mighty Prince, Henry, by the grace of GOD Kyng of Englande, his Welbeloued cosyn: Neither namyng hym kyng of Fraunce, nor his souereigne lorde, accordyng as, (euer before that tyme) he was accustomed to do. Wherefore all they, whiche wer present, beyng sore moued with the craftie deede, & vntrue demeanor of the duke, (whom they so muche trusted) could neither tempei their passions, nor moderate their yre, nor yet bridle their toungues but openly called hym traytor, deceuer, and moste inconstant prince. But when the rumor of the Dukes returnyng, was published emongest the common people, they lefte woodes and went to stripes for



they beyng moued and picked, with this vnhappy tydynge, ran fiersly vpon all the Flemynge, Hollanders, and Burgonyons, which then inhabited within the citee of London, and the suburbes of thesame, and slewe and hurte, agreate nombre of them, before they, by the kynges proclamacion, could be prohibited, to leaue of and abstain, from such violence, and iniurious doying for the kyng nothyng more mynded, then to saue innocent bloud, and defende them, whiche had not offended

AFTER the letter twise redde, and wisely brooked, he willed the officer at Armes, to tell his master, that it was not conuenient, nor honorable for hym, to be enemye to the Englishe nacion, without cause or occasion geuen, but his duetie, (all thynges consydered) was to haue kept his auncient truthe and oulde allegeaunce, rather then to be the occasion, of newe waire and freashe discencion: aduertisyng hym farther, that it was not the poynt of a wise mā, to leaue and let passe, the certain for the vncertain, admonisyng hym also, not to myngle and myxe his safetie and surenesse, with the vnstablesse and vnsuretie of his newe alye, and cosyn, kyng Charles. When the messenger was departed, the kyng of England and his counsaill, thought and determind, to worke some displeasure to the duke, and to set some conspiracie, against hym in his awne countrey. Wherefore by rewardes, they did suborne and corrupt certain gouernōrs and rulers, of townes and cities, within the dukes countreys and dominions, (which nacions surely, be euer proclue & ready, to commocion and rebellion) But the Gantoys, whiche of that feate euer bare the bell, and wer the common rysers, against their souereigne lordes, some of them imagynyng, that the power of the Englishmen, was not long like to continue, within the realme of Fraunce, more for feare, then loue of their Duke, sat still and moored not, but let other townes alone, whiche sore troubled the Dukes wittes, and a greate while, did disquiet and vexe his senses.

THIS yere the xiiij. daie of September, died Ihon duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, a man, as polittique in peace, as hardy in warre, and yet no more hardy in warre, then mercifull, when he had victory, whose bodye was, with greate funerall solempnitie, buried in the Cathedrall church of our Lady, in Roan, on the Northside of the high aulter, vnder a sumptuous and costely monument. whiche tombe and sepulture, when kyng Lewes the xj. sonne to this kyng Charles, which recouered again Normandy, did well aduise and behoulde, certayne noblemen in his company, hauyng more youthe then discrecion, and more enue in their hartes, then consideracions of their parentes, counsailed hym to deface and plucke doune the tombe, and to cast the deede carcasse into the feldes affirming, that it was a greate dishonor, bothe to the kyng and to the realme, to se the enemye of his father, and thus, to haue so solempne & riche memorial. Kyng Lewes answered again, sayng what honor shall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monumēt, and to pull out of the ground and take vp, the deed bones of hym, whō in his life, neither my father, nor your progenitors, with all their power, puyssaunce, and frēdes, wer once able, to make fle one foote backward, but by his strength, witte, and pollicie, kepte theim all out of the principall dominions, of the realme of Fraunce, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandy: wherefore I saie, first, God haue his soule, & let his body now lye in reste, whiche, when he was a liue, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all and as for the tombe, I assure you, is not so decent, nor conuenient for hym, as his honor and Actes deserued, although it wer muche richer, and more beautifull.

#### ¶ THE. XIIIJ. YERE.

The xiiii.  
Yere.

AFTER the death of this noble prince, and valeaunt capitain, the bright sunne, that commonly shone in Fraunce faire and beautifully vpon the Englishmen, began to be cloude, and daily to waxe darker for the Frēchmen seyng the chief capitain taken awaie, began not only to refuse their obedience, and loyalte, which they had sworne, and promised to the kyng of Englande, but takyng swerde in hande, rebelled, persecuted, and openly defied the Englishmen,

Englishmen, yet all these mischaunces, not one poynt abated; the valeaūt courages of the Englishishe people. for they nothing mistrustynge God, nor good Fortune, set vp a newe saile, and began the warre new again, and appoynted for regent in Fraunce, Richard duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard erle of Cambridge. Although the duke of Yorke, bothe for birthe and corage, was worthy of this honor and preferment, yet he was so disdained of Edmond duke of Somerset, beyng cosin to the kyng, that he was promoted to so high an office, (whiche he in verie deede, gaped and looked for) that by all waies and meanes possible, he bothe hindered and detracted hym, glad of his losse, and soley of his well dooynge, causynge hym to linger in Englande, without dispatche, till Paris and the floure of Fraunce, were gotten by the Frenche kyng. The duke of Yorke, perceiuyng his euill will, openly dissimuled that, which he inwardly thought priuely, eche workynge thynges, to the others displeasure. This cancard malice, and pestiferous diuision, so long continued, in the hates of these twoo princes, till mortall warre consumed them bothe, and almoste all their lynes and ofsprynge, as within few yerres you shall perceiue and se.

THE Normans of the countrey of Caux, beyng somewhat hatened, by the death of the duke of Bedforde, began a newe rebellion, and slewe diuerse Englishmen, and robbed many praty townes, whiche wer of kyng Hēries faccion & part, & toke the toune of Harflew by assaute, and diuerse other townes. The lorde Talbot beyng aduertised, of this rebellion, sent for the Lorde Scales, sir Thomas Kniell, and the loude Hoo, whiche afflicted and plagued the people of Caux, that they slew aboute fife thousand persones, and brent all the townes, and villages in the countrey, not beyng walled, so that in that parte, was neither habitacion nor tillage, for all the people fled into Britayne, and all the beastes of the countrey, wer brought to Cawdebec, wher a good shepe was sould for an Englishishe peny, and a kowe for xii pence. Daily was skirmishynge & fightynge in euery part, in so muche that the Lorde Scales with foure hundred Englishemen, discomfited at the Rye beside Roan, the Heire and fiftene hundred valeaunt Frenchemen, and sir Richard Reignold de Fountaynes, sir Aleyne Gerond, Alayne de Monsay, and Geffrey Grame capitain of the Scottes, and thre hundred, and mo wer taken prisoners, beside seven faire and pleasaūt couisers. But this victorie staid not the hates of the Frenche nacion, for their myndes were so full of treason, and their malice so greate against the Englishemen, that many townes turned, to the parte of kyng Charles, without conquest or desue, and diuerse were sould for couetousnes, and many were deliuered by treason, as Depe, Boys de Vyncennes, and other.

HERE is one especiall poynte to be noted, that either the disdayne emongest the chief peres of the realme of Englande, (as you haue hearde,) or the negligence of the kynges counsaill, (whiche did not with quicke sight, forese and preuent thynges for to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of Fraunce, betwene the riuers of Soame and Marne, and in especiall of the noble citee of Paris. For where before tynes there were sent ouer, for the aide and tuicion of the townes, and citees, brought vnder the obeysaunce, of the English nacion, thousandes of men, apte and mete for the warre, and defence now were sent into Fraunce, hundredes, yea scores, some rascall, and some not able to drawe a bowe, or cary a bill. For the lorde Willoughby, and the bishop of Tyrwyne, whiche had the gouernance, of the greate and large citee of Paris, had in their company, not two thousande Englishmen. Whiche weakenes kyng Charles well perceiued. Wherefore he appoynted Arthur of Britayne, the Erle of Dumoy's Bastarde of Orleance, the Lordes de la Roche, and Lisle Adame, and other valcaunt capitaines, aswell Burgonyons as Frenche, to go before Paris, trusting by the fauor of certain citezens, with whom he had greate intelligence, and knewe the Englishemennes power and doynge, shortly to be lord of the citee and toune, without any greate losse or battail. So these capitaynes came before the citee of Paris, but perceiuyng, that all thynges succeded not, accordyng to their expectaciō, returned to Mount Marter, and the next daye, sodainly set on the toune of saint Denise, where, the Englishemen manfully defended them selves, but beyng oppressed with so greate a multitude, they wer compelled to fle into the Abbaye, and into the Toure of Venyn, for succor



and refuge in whiche conflicte two hundred Englishemen wer slain, and the rest, vpon a reasonable composicion, rendered the toune, and departed to Paris

THOMAS Lorde Beaumont, whiche of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued out of Paris, with sixe hundred souldiors, onely intendyng to se, and vieue the doynges and nombre of the Frenche armye, but he was soqainly espied, and compassed aboute so, that within a small space, he was discomfited and taken, and with hym foure score prisoners, beside two hundred which wer slain on the feld, and the remnaunt chased to the very gates of the citee. The Parisians and in especiall the Master of the Halles, and some of the Vniuersitie, and Michael Laillier, and many notable burgesses of the toune, (whiche, euer with an Englishe countenance, couered a Frenche harte) perceiuyng the weakenes of the Englishemen, and the force and strengthe of the Frenchemen, signifiyng to the Frenche capitaines, their mindes and intentes, willed them to come with all diligence, to receiue so riche a prey to them, without any difficultie, offred and geuen. The Constable delayng no tyme, came with his power, and lodged by the Charter-hous and the houle Lisle Adame, approchyng the walles, shewed to the citezens, a charter, sealed with the greate seale of kyng Charles, by the whiche he had pardoned them their offences, and graunted to them all the old liberties and auncient priuileges, so they would hereafter be to hym, obedient, true, and seruiceable. Whiche thyng to them declared, they ranne about the toune, cryng sanct Denise, hie kyng Charles. The Englishemen perceiuyng this, determined to kepe the gate of S Denise, but they were deceived, for the cheynes were drawn in every streate, and women and children cast doune stones, and scaldyng water on the Englishemennes heddes, and the citezens persecuted them, from streate to streate, and from lane to lane, and slewe and hurt, diuerse and many of them. The bishop of Tyrwyne, Chauncellor there for kyng Henry, and the lord Willoughby, and sir Simon Mouier, toke great pain, to appease the people, and repress their furie but when they saw, that all auailed not, they withdrew themselves, to the Bastell of sanct Anthony, whiche fortresse, they had well vitailed and furnished, with men and munitions.

WHILES this rumor was in the toune, theile of Dumoye & other scaled the walles, and some passed the Riuer by boates, and opened the gate of sanct Iames, at the whiche the Constable with his banner displayed entered, at whose entre, the Parisians wer very glad, and made greate ioye. The bishop and the Lorde Willoughby, with their small copany, defended their fortresse, tenne daies, lokyng for aide, but when they sawe that no comforte appered, they yelded their fortresse, so that they & theirs, with certain baggage, might peaceably retuine to Roan, whiche desire was to them graunted. Then as they departed, the Parisians rayled, mocked, and taunted the Englishmen, with the moste spitefull wordes, and shameful termes, that could be inuented or deuised. so that all men made apparauntly perceiue, that their hartes neuer thought, as their toungues vttered. For notwithstanding their obeysaunce and fidelitie, sworne to Kyng Henry, and nothyng regardyng the finall composicion, to the which they had sette their common seale, when they sawe the Englishmen at the weakest, they turned the leafe and sang another song. declaryng to all men their inconstaunt hartes, their waueryng mindes, and vntrue demeanor. Thus was the cite of Paris brought again into the possession of the French kyng, which, ther altered officers, and ordained lawes, at his pleasure, for the surety & safegarde of hym, his realme, and people

AFTER this glorious gain, the Frenche kyng besieged the toune of Crayle, vpon Oyse, wherof sir William Châbelayn, was capitain, whiche, with five hundred Englishmen, issued out of the toune, and after long fight, discomfited his enemies, and slewe two hundred, and toke a greate nombre prisoners the remnaunt not hkyng their market, departed to Champeigne, and other tounes adioynyng. Duryng whiche season, xii. Burgesses of the toune of Gysors, solde it for money to Poyton of Xantrayles, but he had not the Castile deliuered. Wherefore with all his power, he besieged thesame, wherof the Lorde Talbot beyng aduertised, sent for the lorde Scales, and they bothe with. xviii. hun-

dred men, rescued the Castle, toke the toune, and discomfited their enemies, and slewe of them aboue foure hundred persones. Now was the the old prouerbes verified, that he that comineth a daie after the laire, cometh to late, and when the stede is stollen, it is no bote to shutte the stable dore. For when Paris, saint Denise, saint Germainys in Lay, and many other townes in Fraunce, were taken and betrayed, for lacke of succors and sufficient garrisons, then the duke of Yorke appoynted at the parliament before, to be Regent of Fraunce, and by the disdaine and enuie of the duke of Somerset, and other, not nill now dispatched, was sent into Noimandy, with eight thousande men, and in his company, the Erles of Salisbury, and Suffolke, and the Lorde Fauconbridge, and diuise valeaunt capitaines. When he was landed at Harflewe, the Erle of Salisbury, besieged the Castle of Chamboys, whiche shortly was to hym rendered. Then the Duke remoued to Roan, where he set good orders, and did greates iustice in the countrey, wherfore the Normans in their Chronicle, highly extoll and muche magnifie hym, for that poynte howbeit, they saie, that he gat by long siege, the toune and Abbay of Fecāpe, and did none other notable act, duryng the tyme of his rule and gouernaunce.

PHILLIP Duke of Burgoyne whiche, (as you haue heard) brake bothe his othe and promise with the kyng of England, imaged with hymself, that the Englishmen were like shortly, to be expulsed out of al the townes on that side the sea, and that they had no certain refuge nor place to resort to, out of ieoperdy, but onely the toune of Calice. Wherefore he assembled his counsaill, and the heddes of the cities and townes of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, and Zelande, in the toune of Gaunt, wher was declared to them, the right, title, and interest, that he had to the toune of Calice, and the countie of Guysnes, as a very patrimony, belongyng to his inheritaunce shewyng farther, that thesaid toune was the golffe, and swallower vp, of all the golde & siluer of his countries and dominions, for asmuche as ther, was the staple of wooles, tynne, leade, and other marchaundise, for the whiche, the Englishmen would take no common curraunt money, but only gold and siluer, to the greates impouerishment of his seignories, and Regions: sayng farther, that Calice onely was the common stop, betwene his countreys and Britayne, and Spayne, so that Southward, nor Westwarde, his subiectes could not passe, without the daungier of that toune. Wherefore these detrimetes considered, he determined, (if they would assent) shortly to reconer and conqueir, that toune and the countie of Guisnes. To this purpose all the counsaill, and comon people, not onely agreed, but also promised aide, bothe of men and money. Lorde how the Fleminges bragged, and the Hollanders craked, that Calice should be wonne and all the Englishmen slain, swearyng, and staryng, that they would haue it within thre daies at the moste. thynkyng verely, that the toune of Calice, could no more resist their puyssaunce, then a potte of double beere, when they fall to quaffyng.

TO tel you what ordenaunce was new cast, what poudre was bought what engynes were devised, what harnais was prouided, what vitale was purveyed for this greates enterprise. I will not combe you in rehersyng euery thyng peticulerly because the Flemynges write, that the prouision was more then tounge could speake, or harte could thinke yet you maie beleue as you list. These doynges were not so priue, but sir Ihon Radcliffe duptic of the toune of Calice, was ther informed and shortly of thesame, aduertised kyng Henry, and his counsaill, whiche incontinent sent thither, the Erle of Mortayne sonne to the Duke of Somerset, and the Lorde Cammays with xv. C. men, and greates foyson of vitale, whiche issued out of Calice, and came before Grauelyne, where they wer encountred with a greates nombre of Flemynges, whiche were shortly discomfited, and foure hundred of them slain, and sixe score taken prisoners, and caried to Calice. And within twoo daies after, the Englishmen draue by fyne force, the lordes of Wauerayn and Bado, to the barriers of Arde, & discomfited the company to the nōber of xv. C. and slewe. vij. valeaunt capitaines, and toke many gentlemen prisoners. Phillip duke of Burgoyne, abidyng still in his high & warlike enterprise, assembled together of Flemynges, Pycardes, Hollādars, and Henowiers a great army, to the nombre of xl. M. so well armed, so wel vitled, so wel furnished with ordenaunce,



& so well garnished in al thynges, that thei thought in their hartes, and blasted emongest them seltes, that the Calicians, would leaue the toune desolate, & fle for their sauēgard, hearyng onely the appoichyng of the Gauntoys. But thei reckened before their host, and so paid more then their shotte came to. When this gallant army, was passed the water at Grauelyn, the duke intending to begin his greate conquest, besieged and assauted the litle and poore Castle of Oye, whiche hauyng in it but. L. souldiors, of the whiche. xii sold their lues derely, the remnaunt compelled by necessity yelded themselves symple to the duke, whiche to please the Gauntoys, beyng of the moste puissaunt cōpany in his army, liberally gaue to the bothe the Castle and the prisoners, as a signe and token of good lucke, and fortunate victory. Whiche rude & beastly peisons, nothyng expert in warre, or lawes of Armes, not only rased and abated the Castle, but also hanged xxix of the captiues, & had so dooen with all the remnaunt if the duke, (disdaimyng their cruelte) had not intreated for the rest.

AFTER this victory, litle honorable and lesse profitable, the Pycardes besieged the Castle of Marke, and thice tymes assauted it, more to their losse, then gayne. The Englishemen within, whereof sir Ihon Geddyng was captain, set out the banner of saint George, and rang the belles, to the intent to haue succors from the toune of Calice. But the capitaines there, myndyng not to lese the more for the lesse, nor the substaunce for the accident, wished them good lucke, and good fortune without any aide sedyng. For doubt of the dukes great army & power, The souldiors within Marke, beyng but twoo hundred and sixe, seying no hope of succor, and desperate of Comfort, rendered themselves to the duke vpon condicion that their liues and lymmes should be sauēd, and so thei wer conueyed in suer custody, to the toune of Gaunt, and the castle of Marke was rased and defaced.

AFTER this act dooen, the duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the Duke of Cleues, the Erle of Estampes, the Lordes of Dantoyng, Croy, Cresquy, Humyers, and many other valeaunt Barons, & knightes, with his greate army, came before the toune of Calice, and placed his siege about thesame, moste to his aduantage, and to the moste displeasure of his enemies. He gaue three great assautes to the toune, but his people wer not so fierce to assaut, but thenglisheinen wer as quicke to defend. so that he gainyng so litle at these iii enterprises, was contēt to abstain frō farther appoichyng toward the walles. At the first assaut the Henre, whiche was come to se the duke of Burgoyne, was sore wounded and hurte. Beside this, the duke had daily one great iye sore, which was by cause that at euery tyde, shippes arrived in the haven, out of England, openly before his face, laden with victail, municions, and men and also the Calicians would for the nounce, putte out cattail into the marish, vnder the toune walles, to thetēnt to prouoke the Flemmyngs to come within their catchyng, and daungier, whiche beyng couetous of prey and gayne, often aduentured, and seldome returned again for many by this meanes wer taken prisoners, but many mo slain with ordonaunce. The duke one day rode about, to vīue and behold the situacion, and the walles of the toune, to thetēnt to take his moste aduantage, either by assaute or shot of ordonaunce. He was quickly espied and with the stroke of a Canon, a triōpeter whiche rode next before him and three hoisses in his company, wer slain out of hande. When he sawe that all thynges succeeded not to his purpose, he fiste set the Lorde of Croy, and a conuenient nombre, to besiege the castle of Guynes, where thesaid captain gat litle profite, and did lesse harme. And after deuised how to stoppe the haven, so that no succors should entie there, and also to prohibite the within the toune, to make any egresse or rode outward, and so by this meanes, to famishe and compell them to yield, and rendie the toune. This deuise was set forward, and nothyng slepte for iij great hulkes wer laden, with great square stones, semented & reyned together with lead, to thetēnt that they should lye still, like a moūt and not to seuer a sūder. These shippes with the remnaunt of the dukes nauie, wer cōueyed into the mouth of Calice haven, and in a full sea by craft and pollicie, were sounke doune to the ground, but whether God would not that the haven should be destroyed, either the conueyers of the hulkes, knewe not the very channel, these foure great shippes at the lowe water, laie openly vpon the sandes,

without any hurte doyng to the rode or chānel, which whē the souldiers had perceued, they issued out of the toune, and brake the shippes, and caried bothe the stones and the tymbre into the toune, which serued them well, to their fortificaciōns. The seconde deuise was also accomplished, whiche was a strong bastell, set on a litle mountayne, furnished with. iij. C. men and muche artilarie, whiche fortesse did let thenglishmen to issue out, when they would, to their greate displeasure and disturbaunce.

WHILES these thynges wer in doyng, there arriued into the dukes army, an herault of England called Pembroke, belongyng to the duke of Gloucester, whiche declared to the duke of Burgoyne, that the Protector of England his master, (if God would send him winde and wether) would geue battail to hym and his whole puyssaūce, either there, or in any other place, within his awne countrey, where he would appoynt. but the daie he could not assigne, because of the inconstancie of the wind, and mutabilitie of the aie. The duke (like a noble man) aunswered the herault saie to your master, that his request is both honorable and reasonable, howbeit, he shall not nede to take pain, to seke me in myne awne countrey, for (GOD wilyng) he shall finde me here, till I haue my will of the toune, ready to abide hym, and all the power that he can make. After this aunswere made, the Heraulte was highly feasted, and had a cup and a hundred golden gyldens, to hym deliuered for a rewarde, and so returned to Calice. After whose departure, the duke called a greate counsaill, in the chief pavilion of the Gaunttoys, and there declared bothe the heraultes message and his aunswere, desirynge them to regard his honor, the estimacion of their countreis, and the honesties of themselves, and like men to receiue their enemies, and valeauntly to defende their aduersaries, promisyng to them victory, gain and perpetual glory. Loide how the Fleminges thicatened, how the Pycardes craked, and how the Hollanders sware that thenglishmē should be killed and slain, promisyng to the duke rather to dye then to fle, or to be recleaunt. Whiles this great matter was in consultacion, the Calicians, not well contented with the bastell, whiche the Duke had newly builded, issued out of the toune, in a great nombre, part on foote, and part on horsebacke. The footemen ran to assaut the bastille, and the horsemen, went betwene the army and the assailaūtes, to stop the ayde and succors whiche might come. The alarmy was sounded, in-somuch that the Duke in proper persone, was comyng on foote to releue his people, but by the meanes of the horsmen, he was staied and kept backe a space, in the whiche delaye of tyme, the Englishmen by fine force gat the place, and slewe Clx. persones, the remnaunt were taken prisoners, and defaced the fortesse, and set it on fire carryng with them, al the ordinaūce and artilerie, into the toune of Calice, to the great displeasure, of the Duke and his counsaill. The nexte daie after, there sprang a rumor in the army (no man could tell how) that the Duke of Gloucester with a greate puyssaunce, was all ready embarked and shipped, and would arriue at the nexte tyde, and come doune befoie Calice and raise the siege. What was the very cause, I cannot truly write but surely, the same night the Duke fled awaie, and sent in all hast to the Lorde of Croye, to reise his siege befoie Guynes, whiche tidynges were to hym very ioyous, for he neither got nor saued so these two capitaines departed, leauyng behynde, bothe ordinaunce, vitall, and greate riches. The Frenche writers, to saue the honor of the Duke of Burgoyne saie, that there was a certain discord and commocion, emongest the Fleminges and duche nacion affimyng, that the great lordes and the Pycardes, (whom the Frenchemen greatly extoll) would betraye and sell the Fleminges, and their frendes, & that, for thesame cause, in a greate fury they cried, home, home, & would not tary, for no request the Duke could make, nor no exhortaciō that could be giuen and so by their misgouernaunce, the Duke was enforced to raise his siege, and to departe. The Flemishe authois affirme the contrary, sayng that they wer ready to abide the comyng of the duke of Gloucester, but the duke of Burgoyne fearyng to be trapped, betwene the duke of Gloucesters army befoie, and the garrison of Calice behynde, so that he could escape by no waie, fled away in the night, geuyng to them no wainyng befoie. So that for lacke of tyme, and cōuenient space, to lade and cary their stuffe, and beyng commaunded to retire with all speede and diligence, they were compelled to lose and leaue behynde them



them, their vitail, and tentes, to their great losse and detriment. Now it is at your liberties, (gentle reders) whether you will geue credite to the Frenchmen, (whiche wer absent, and no doers inthe acte) or to the Flemynges, (which were partakers of the losse and dishonor.) But the infallible veritie is, that he fled the. xxvj date of Iuly in the night, and the next daie in the mornyng, the duke of Gloucester, landed in Calice hauen, and straight went into the Campe, where his enemies, the night before were lodged, and there he founde many goodly peaces of ordenaunce, and inesppecially one, called Dygeon, named after the chief toune of Burgony, beside pauliōs, wine, beere, meale, and innumerable vitail.

THE Duke of Gloucester, seying his enemies reculed, hauyng in his company. xxv. M. men, entered into Flaunders, burnyng houses killyng suche as would resist, destroyng the countrye on euery parte, setting fire in the townes of Popoynche and Baillens, and wasted the suburbs of many faire citees, and in al this waie, thei lost no man, nor sawe any creature appere, to defend the countrye. After, they passed by Newe Castle and destroyed Rymes-ture, and Vallō Chappell, and then entered into Arthoys, to Arques, & Blandesques, setting fire in euery part where thei came. Thus they passed by saint Omers to Guysnes, and so to Calice at sixe weeks ende, where they were well refreashed. for in all this iorney, they had litle plentie of good bread, whiche caused muche faintnesse, and diuerse diseases in the army. When the Duke of Gloucester, had sufficiently plagued and wasted the countreys of the Duke of Burgoyne, & brought great preyes of beastes and spoyle, to the toune of Calice, he setting there all thynges in good ordre, returned in to England, where he was aduertised, how Iames kyng of Scottes, contrary to his othe, league and promise, had besieged the Castle of Rokesborough, with thirtie thousande men, whereof sir Raufe Graye was capitain, whiche manfully defended it xx. daies, but the Scottish kyng beyng aduertised that the Erle of Northumberland, was commyng to fight with hym, fledde with no lesse losse, then dishonor, to his toune of Edenbrough.

#### ¶ THE XV. YERE.

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AFTER this dangerous businesse finished, and for a time ended, by meane of frendes, and desire of Princies, a truce or abstinence of warre for a certaine tyme, was moued betwene the Kyng of Englande, and the duke of Burgoyne, for whiche cause wer sent to Grauelynne for the kyng of Englande, the Cardinall of Wynchester Henry Beauford, Ihon Lorde Moubrey Duke of Norffolke, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned and honorable personages and for the duke there appered the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lorde of Croy, and diuerse other. At whiche treatie, a truce was taken for a small tyme, and for a lesse space obserued. Whiche abstinence of war, was concluded betwene the kyng of Englande, and the duchesse of Burgoyne, (enterlessyng the duke and his name) Some thinke that the kyng of England, would neuer enter in league with hym, because he had broken his promise, wrytyng, and fidelitie, written, scaled, and sworn to hym, and to his father. Other imagined, this to be doon by a cautell, to cast a myst before the Frenche kynges eyes, to the intent he should beleue, that this feate was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his counsaill, and so he was not bounde to accomplishe, any acte or thyng doon in his wifes treatie. Thus you may se, that princes sometyme, with suche vain gloses, and scornefull exposicions, will hide their doynge and cloke their purposes, to thentent that thei would not, either be espied, or plucke their hedde out of the collar, at their pleasure. But, (as the common prouerbe saith) he, whiche is a promise breaker, escapeth not alway free: for it is well sene, that daily it chaunceth, bothe to princes and meane persones, that for breakyng of faithe, and not keepyng of promise, many displeasures arise, and innumerable inconueniences ensue.

ABOVT this season, Katheryne quene and mother to the kyng of England, departed out of this transitory life, & was buried by her husband, in the minster of Westmyenster. This woman, after the death of kyng Henry the fifth her husband, beyng young and lusty, folowyn

folowyng more her awne appetite, then frendely counsaill, and regarding more her priuate affection, then her open honour, toke to husband priuily, a goodly gentilman, & a beautyful person, garnished with many Godly gyftes, both of nature & of grace, called Owen Teuther, a mā brought furth and come of the noble lignage, and aūcient lyne of Cadwaleder, the laste kyng of the Brytons, by whome she conceuyed and broughte forth. in goodly sonnes, Edmond, Iasper, and another, whiche was a monke in Westmynster, and liued a small tyme, and a doughter, which in her youth departed out of this transitorie life: After whose deathe kyng Henry, because they were his bretherne of one wombe descēded, created Edmonde, erle of Rychemonde, and Iasper, erle of Pembroke, whiche Edmond engendered of Margaret, doughter and sole heyre to Ihon, duke of Somerset, Hēly, which after was king of this realme, called king Henry the seuenth, of whom you shal heare more hereafter. Thys Owen, after the death of the Quene his wife, was apprehended and cōmitted to ward, because that contrary to the statute made in the. vi. yere of this kyng, he presumptuously had married the Quene, without the kynges especiall assent, and agrement, out of which pryson he escaped, and let out other with him, and was agayne apprehendyd, & after escaped agayne.

THE duchesse of Bedford sister to Lewes, erle of saint Paule, myndyng also to marye, rather for pleasure thē for honour, without cōsail of her frendes, maryed a lusty knyght, called sir Richard Wooduile, to the great displeasure of her vncle the bisshop of Tyrwyne, and the erle her brother: but they now coulde not remedie it, for the chaūco was cast and passed. This sir Richard was made Barō of Riuers, and after erle, and had by this Lady, many noble sonnes, and faire daughters: whereof one was Lady Elizabeth, after Quene of Englande, married to Kyng Edward the fourth, (as here after you shal perceiue.)

WHILES this mariage was celebratyg, Iane late Quene of Englande, and before Duchesse of Britayne, doughter to the kyng of Nauar & wife to kyng Henry the. iii. died at the manner of Haueryng, and was burned by her husband at Canterbury, in which time disceased the countesse of Warwicke, and Henry Archebishop of Yorke

I thought here to omit and ouerpasse, the regainyng and conquest of the strong-toune of Harflew, once Englishe and after, (by craft) turned to the Frenche part, except the Frenche writers more then the English authors, had made mencion, and remembraunce, of the reduccion of the same. For they saie and affirme, that the Duke of Somerset, accompanied with the Lordes of Fauconbridge, Talbot, sir Francis Surrien Arragonoys, Mathew Gough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Haringtō, Walter Lumbrike, Ihon Geddyng, William Watton, Esquieres, and Thomas Hylton Balife of Roan, with a great puissance of the Englishe partie, compassed about and besieged the toune of Harflew, bothe by water, and by land. The capitaine within the toune, was called sir Ihon Destonteule, and sir Robert his brother, with other to the nombre of sixe hundred good fightyng men. The assaillautes lost no tyme but made trenches, and cast diches, bothe to assaute the toune, and also to let the Frenche succors, that they should neither approche, nor ayde, the citezens shut in & besieged. Diuerse assautes wer geuen, which wer manfully resisted: but more to the losse of the defenders, then the assauters. Beside this, the englishemen laied greate ordinaunce, before the gate of the toune, whiche continually vexed the inhabitaūtes, and ouer threwe buyldynges, and destroyed mancions: so that neither house, nor high way was sure, or refuge to the townemen. This siege endured long, to the greate discomfiture of the people: whereof they aduertised the Frenche kyng and his counsaill, whiche sent thither the erle of ewe, therle of Dumoys, called the Bastard of Orleauce, the valeaunt Bastard of Burbon, the lorde Gaucort, sir Giles of sent Symon, and the chief capitaines of all his realme, with foure thousand men, bothe pollitique and proued. This valeaunt armie passed the Riuier of Soame betwene Amyas and Corby, not mistrusting to gette that, whiche they lost and left behynd them, and so thei came before the toune, and diuided theselves in seuerall partes, to their moste aduauntage: dailie skirmishyng with the englishmen, but nothyng preuaillyng, & so for feare of losyng honor, and desperacion of gain, the florishyng Frenchemen, returned again with



much labor, and litle profit. The capitaines of the toune seying theire pillers broken, and their chief aydeis discomfited, rendered the toune to the duke of Somerset, whiche made there capitaines, Thomas Paulet, William Lymbrike, Christopher Barker, and George sent George, whiche many yeres, (till the deuision beganne in England) manfully & valeauntly defended the toune, and haue but afterward, when the saied duke was Regent, and gouernor of Normady, he not onely loste the toune, but also the citee of Roan, the Einpeire and chief iuell of the saied Duchie, with many other citees and fortresses, whiche he, more by entreating, then threatenynge, might still haue holden vnder his subiection. But all men haue not wit alike, nor all rulers be not of one condicion and pollicie. For this duke Edmond, gatte this toune with great gloiy, when he was but a deputie, vnder the Regent, and after, beyng gouernor himself, lost the same, and all the whole duchie, to his greate slaunder and infamy, (as hereafter you shall perceiue). But, who can preuent fortunes chaunce, or haue spectacles to se all thynges to come, or chaunces that be present: sayng God disposeth that man purposeth, and that all worldely deuises, and mannes cogitacions, be vncertaine and euer vnperfite.

ALTHOUGH I haue long talked of Fraunce, yet I may not forget the double dealing, & craftie demeanor, of Iames Kyng of Scottes: whiche beyng, (as you haue heard) late prisoner in Englande, not onely was garnished with learning and Ciuilitie, (whiche thynges, wer rare and straunge before that time, within the realme of Scotland) but also set at libertie, and honorably sent home. And to the intent that his amitie might be perpetuall, and that loue might continually succede betwene bothe the realmes, by his meane and accord firste, his greate rauensome was abridged, and diminished, and after, he was ioyned in marriage, with one of the blood royal, to the intent that he, and his heires, should be vnited and knit, to the progeny of England, with an indissoluble knot, like the twisted tree, whiche cannot seuer, and like the hard flinte, whiche will not waxe soft. yet this vngentle prince, and forgetfull frend, puttyng in obliuion, bothe the dutie of his obeysaunce toward his souereigne and liege lorde, and the oth and promise, that he made to kyng Henry, when he did to hym homage, and liege at the Castle of Wyndesore, (as before you haue heard) turned his backe to his frend and kynsman, and looked to f French part, which neuer did hym honor nor profite, not onely sendyng into Fraunce daily, aide & succors against the Englishe nation, but also by newe alliaunce, sought and practised waies and meanes, how to ioyne hymself with forein princes, to grieue and hurte his neighbors and adioynautes, of the realme of England. And although his awne power wer small, to do to them any great damage, yet he thought that he, being loked in suche noble houses, should the lesse feare the malice of his enemies vpon whiche feble foundation, he concluded in marriages the one with Lewes the dolphin sounne to Charles the French kyng, and the other with Fraunces duke of Britayn. Whiche marriages, were not desired for loue or riches, but onely for ayde, to resist and drue out the Englishmen out of Fraunce. For the Lady Margeret married to the dolphin, was of suche nasty complexion and euill sauiory weathe, that he abhorred her company, as a cleane creature, doth a cation: whereupon she conceiued suche an inward grief, that within fewe daies after she ended her daies. Although this lady had suche impedimentes, (as you haue heard) yet her sister Isabell, married to Fraunces duke of Britayne, lacked, neither excedyng beautie, nor pleasaunt breath. but as for wit, womanhod, and Ciuile behavior, she neuer had, nor excised. Wherefore, when the duke before his marriage, was by his counsaill admonished, to refuse and forsake so innocent a creature, he, more moued with her faire face, then her womāly wisdom, answered, that it was ynough for a woman, to iudge the difference betwene the shute and the dublet of her husbände, and to knowe hym in the daie, from another man.

FOR these marriages, kyng Iames demanded of his commons a greate subsidie or tallage, whiche was sore gjudged at, and in manner denied. so that he married them, with faie promises, and ayde and succor against the Englishmen. rather then with bagges of money, or chestes of plate. This forein alliaunce litle profited, or auayled the realme of Scotland,

Scotland, nor this new amitie, defended not kyng Iames: for Walter Steward erle of Athole, (whiche pretended a title to the Croune, by reason that he was begotten of kyng Robert the seconde, by his firste wife, and by whose occasion, Robert duke of Albany, murdered Dauid duke of Rothsay, elder brother to this kyng Iames, as in the story of kyng Henry the fourth, you haue heard declared) after the coronaciō of kyng Iames the first in Scotlande, earnestly solicited hym to putt to death, duke Murdo, and all the offspryng of Robert first duke of Albany, trusting, that after he had destroyed that line, (which was a stop in his waie) to inuent some meane how to destroy the kyng and his children, and so to obtaine the croune and preeminence of the realme. Wherefore, he perswaded Robert Steward his nephew, and Robert Glame his cosyn, and diuise other, to murther and sley the kyng then souereigne Lorde, whiche therto by deuilshe instigacion incensed and procured, came to the toune of Perth, (commonly called S. Ithōs toune) and there entred into the kynges priuy chambre, and slewe first diuerse of his seruantes, whiche made resistancce, & after killed the kyng with many mortall strokes, and hurte the Quene, whiche, in defence of her husband, kelled one of the traytors. When this vngacious deede was blowen about the toune, the people rose in greate plumpes, and found out the princequellers. and them brought to straight prisone, whiche afterward, (accordyng to their desertes) were with most terrible tormentes, put to death and executed

AFTER Iames the first, succeeded Iames the seconde, his eldest sonne, whiche fearing sedicion and ciuile discord, vexed more his awne nation, then the Englishe people.

NOW leauyng Scotland, let vs returne to the busines of Fraunce. Whiles the Scottes wer compassyng, how to destroy then kyng. The lorde Talbot, with a greate company, laied siege to the Castle of Tankerulle, whiche after foure monethes, was to hym simple rendred, and gyuen vp. This toune was no greate gain to the Englishemen. for in the meane season the Frenche kyng in his awne persone, besieged the strong toune of Monstreau Faultios, whereof Thomas Gerard was capitain whiche, more for desire of rewarde, then for feare of enemies, sold the toune to the Frenche kyng, and had of him greate giftes, and good chere, whiche afterward was well knowen, to his shame and reproche. This toune had been rescued, or the Frenche Kyng foughten with all, if one chaunce had not happened: for the duke of Yorke was discharged of the office of Regent, and the erle of Warwicke preferred to thesame, so that the duke of Yorke liyng at Roan, would haue gladly rescued the toune, if his authoritie had not surceased, and the Erle of Warwicke could not, for the wind was so cleane cōtray to him, that he and his army, taried for the winde aboue tenne wekes. And so betwene the discharge of the one, and the charge of the other, this toune of Mōstreau, was deliuered and solde

THIS presente yere, was a parliament kepte at Westminster, in the whiche wer diuerse and notable conclusions ordained and taken, aswell for the preseruacion of peace and concord at home, as for the maintenaūce of warre, and hostilitie in outward regions in the whiche parliament, (who so will loke on the actes) shall perceiue that one act made, for byyng & sellyng by strāgers, was profitable to the publike wealth of this realme, if it wer wel kept, (as a few good actes or none be either by the negligēce of ꝑ gouernors, or by the insolencie & pride of the people)

NOW must we speake somewhat of Charles the Frenche kyng whiche after he had gained again the citce of Paris, and diuerse other townes, was so puffed vp with pride, that he thought it but a trifle, to conqueure Normandy, and expulse all the Englishe nation, out of his countreys and seignories. Wherefore, he sent Arthur of Britayn, Constable of Fraunce, & Ithō duke of Alāson, into Normandy with a great army, whiche besieged the toune of Auaūches, standyng vpō the knop of an hill, nere to the Britishe sea, bothe well walled and well manned. While they laie there long, lile gettyng and muche spendyng, the lorde Talbot with a valeaunt company of men, approched nere the Frenchemen, and encamped themselves, in the face of their enemies, to prouoke and entise them to battaill and fight. The Frenchmen refusing this offre, kept themselves within their trenches, daily



## THE XVI. YERE OF

fortifyng and repairyng their campe. The Englishemen perceiuyng their doynges, remo-ued their army halfe a mile farther, geuyng their enemies rome to issue out and to fight, but all this litle auailed. for the Frenchemen laye still and stirred not. The lorde Talbot, seyng their faint hartes, reysed his feld, and in the open sight of them all, entred into the toupé, and the next daie issued out, and founde the Frenchemen ridyng abrode, to destroye the plain countrèy, whom he enuironed, bet, and discomfited, slaying many, and takyng diuerse prisoners. Although the Frêchemen gat neither honor nor profite by this iorney, yet they enterprised a greater matter for Ponthon of Sentrayles and the Heire, with diuerse other capitaines, and a great nombre of Frenchmen, hauyng promise of certain Bur-gesses of Roan, to be let secretly into the toune, came forward to a village called Ryse, and there lodged. The lorde Talbot, the lorde Scales, and sir Thomas Kiriell, hearyng of their approche, set out of Roan at midnight, and with greate pain, came to Rise in the mornyng so couertly, that the Frenchemen, beyng sodainly surprised and set on, like men madd and amased, ran away, & fled in the chase wer taken the lorde of Fontaynes, sir Alleyne Geron, sir Lewes de Balle, &c. lx. knightes and esquires, beside other, and there wer slain, two hundred and mo. the Heire beyng sore wounded, by the swiftnes of his horssse, escaped very narrowly. The Englishmen returned to the toune of Rise, and found there a greate nombre of horsses, and other baggages, whiche thei ioyously brought with them to Roan.

## ¶ THE XVI. YERE.

The xvi.  
yere.

ON the sixt daie of Nouembre, this present yere, the erle of Warwicke, as regent of Fraunce, passed the sea, after he had been seuen times shipped and vnshipped, and landed at Humfewe, with a. M. freashe souldiors and came to Roan, and then the duke of Yorke, returned into Englande, neither wholly pleased, nor halfe content. For he secretly smelled, that some men, priuely disdained his aduancement, and enuied his promociō. yet, (like a wise man) he kept his toung close, whatsoeuer his harte thought. Betwene the chaunge of these two capitaines, the duke of Burgoyne, (whiche sore enuied the glory of the Englishmen) besieged the Castle of Croytoy, with tenne thousande men and mo, hauyng with him greate plentie of gonnès, and goodly ordenaunce. The Erle of Warwicke hearyng of this scate, sent the lord Talbot, the lorde Fawconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir Ihon Mountgomery, Thomas Limbrike, Thomas Chādos, Daui Halle, and diuerse other knightes and esquiers, and many tall yeomen, to the nombre of fīue thousand men, whiche passed the Riuer of Soame, beside the toune of S. Valeiy: for the passage of Blāch Taque, was very daūgerous to go through, because the duke of Burgoyne had laied there ordinaunce, and other engyns, to let, trouble and stoppe the Englishemen to go ouer at that foorde. And yet, where the lord Talbot passed, his men went in the water vp to the chinne, so glad wer the men to rescue their felowes. When the duke of Burgoyne was enformed of the approchyng of the lorde Talbot and other, he with all his power, sauyng foure hundred, whiche wer left in a bastile, by hym there newly buylded fled to Abbeuile, whiche bastile was sone gained, and the men within, either slain or taken.

AFTER this toune receiued, the lorde Talbot sente woorde to the duke of Burgoyne, that he would vterly wast and destroy the couētre of Pycardy, except he, (like a valeaunt prince) would geue him battail. And accordyng to his promise, he brent townes, spoyled, and slewe many people in Pycardy, but for all his doynges, the duke would not appere, but staid awaie from Abbeuile, and fled to Amyas. So the Lorde Talbot was. xx. daies full, in the countreis of Pycardy, and Arthoyse, destroyng and burnyng, all that they could se or come to, and after departed. And in the meane season, sir Thomas Kiriell had gotten all the dukes cariages, and ordenaunce, and left asmuche vitale in the toune of Croytoy, as would seruesix hundred men a whole yere, and conueyed the remnaunt in safetie,

safetie, to the erle of Warwicke, which not onely receiued the capitaines, with good semblance, and louing cheare, but also highly magnified their actes, and muche praised their hardnesse.

AFTER this enterprise achieved, Henry Erle of Mortaine sonne to Edmond duke of Somerset, arriued at Chierbuege, with foure hundred archers, and thre hundred speres, and passed through Normandy, till he came into the Countie of Mayne, where, he besieged a castle, called S. Anyan, in the whiche wer three C. Scottes, beside Frenchemen. This Castle he toke by a strong assant, and slewe all the Scottes, and hanged the Frenchmen, because they wer once sworne English, and after, brake their othe and after he gatte also another Castle, twoo miles from saint Iulians, called Alegerche, which was shortly after recouered, and the Loide Cameuys, whiche came to the rescue of thesame, in the meane wale was trapped and taken. Thus the victory flowed some tyme on the one parte, and sometyme on the other, but the treason of the Frenchmen, far surmounted in gettingyng, bothe the pollicy and strength of the Englishe capitaines for by the vnt ruth and perfidy, of the very Burgesses and inhabitants of the townes, of Meaux in Brie, and S. Susanne, thesame wer sold and deliuered to the Frenche parte, in the ende of this sixtene yere.

¶ THE. XVII. YERE.

WHAT should I reherse the great tempestes, the sharpe blastes, the sodain pries, the vnmesurable wyndes, the continuall raynes, whiche fell and chaunced this yere in England: si the suche tormentes be bothe naturall, and of God, at his pleasure diuersly ordered and altdred. Of these vntemperate stormes, rose suche a scarcety, that wheat was sold at iiii. s. iiii. d. the busshell, wine at. xii. d. the gallon, Bay salt at xiiii. d. the busshell, and malt at. xiii. s. iiii. d. the quarter, and all other graynes, wer sold of an excessiue price, aboue the olde custome.

The xvii.  
yere.

IN the moneth of Iune, the Erle of Huntyngdone, (as Stewarde of Guyen) with twoo. M. archers, and foure hundred speres, was sente into Gascoyne, as a suppliment to the countrey, and the commons of thesame. For the kyng of England and his counsaill, wer enformed that theile of Dumoys, lay on f. fronters of Tholose, secretly by rewades and faire promises, entisyng and prouoking diuerse townes in Guyen, to become French, and leaue thenglishe naciō. Wherefore, this erle (like a polittique warrior) altered not onely the capitaines, in euery toun & cite, but also remoued the magistrates, and chaunged the officers, from toun to toun, and from rowme to rowme, so that by this meanes at that tyme, the erle of Dumoys, lost bothe trauaile and cost. In thesame moneth also, sir Richard Wooduile, sir William Chāberlain, sir William Peyto, and sir William Story, with a M. men, wer sent to stuffe the townes in Normandy, whiche surely at that tyme, had therof greate nede: for thenglish capitaines, had smal confidence in the Normās, and not to much, in some of their awne nacion. For that harlot bribery, and hei felowe couetuousnes, ran so fast abrode with French crounēs, that vnneth any creature, (without an especial grace) could hold either hād, close, or pursse shut, suche a strong peicer is money, and suche a gredie glotton is auarice. You haue heard before, howe that kyng Charles harte by gettingyng of Paris, was set vpon a merie pyne, and thought daily that all thynges more and more, would bothe applie to his purpose, and folowe his appetite. Whiche inuented imaginacion, sodainly bothe deceiued hym, and also appalled his haut corage, and abated hym somewhat of his proude stomacke. For sodainly there rose a strange storme. and a quicke piric, so mischieuous and so pernicious, that nothyng more execrable, or more to be abhorred, could happen in any Christian Region. Whiche sedicious tempest, if wise counsaill had not with all spede repressed, no doubt, but kyng Charles, and the whole publique wealthe of Fraunce, had been turned vp, and cleane ouerthrowen



ouerthrowen. For Lewes Dolphyn of Vyen, and heire apparaunt to kyng Charles, a yong prince, of a froward stomacke and euil condicions, desirynge libertie, and to be out of ward and rule, with such as wer of his nature and condicions, began to conspire against his father and souereigne lorde. The chief of this vngacious faccion with hym, wer Ihō Duke of Alaunson, and Ihon Duke of Burbon. These confederates gathered together a greate power, and the Dolphyn tooke vpon hym, the rule and gouernaunce of the realme, orderynge causes, not in his fathers name, nor by his authoritie, but after his awne will, affection, and phantasie. When kyng Charles his father, had knowledge of this vnnaturall disobedience, and insolent and proude doynges, he was (& no maruel) greatly moued with this sodain commociō thinkynge hymself borne, & predestinate to trouble, remēbryng, that it was no smal thyng, in his awne cuntry so many yeres, both with straungers, & with his awne naciō, to fight and strue for rule and dignitie, but now to be cōstrained, to contend & make war, with his awne sonne and welbeloued child, for the Croune and regiment, of his realme & dominion. Yet these thynges did not bryng hym, beyng a man of greate wit, and counsaill, daily troubled and vnquieted with calamities and displeasures, into vtter despaire, or extreme wanhope but like a polittique priuce, determinyng to withstand and resist the smoke at the beginnyng, before the fire & flame blast out abrode, called together all suche, as he had either in greate confidence, or especiall fauor, communicatyng to them, all his inward thoughtes, and priue cogitacions. After long consultation had, it was agreed by the most parte, that this sore was more mete to be cured, by polittique and wittie handelyng, rather then by force, and dent of sward. Wherefore, letters wer written, and postes wer sent to euery citee and borough, straightly prohibityng all and synguler persones, either to heare, or obey, any pcept or commaundement, set furthe or published, by the dolphyn hymself, or by other, or in his name, and all offences doen in that confederacie, wer by open proclamacion, frely forgeuen and remitted. And beside this, diuerse graue and sage persones, wer sent to the dolphyn, and his ailes, to common and cōclude a peace, and reconciliation, betwene the Frenche kyng and them, declaryng to them, that then ciuile war, and inward disencion, was the very meane to cause then enemies, vtterly to plague and destroy their natue cuntry, whiche was almoste desolate, and brought into subieccion, by the continual warre practised before. By which meanes and perswasions, the knot of this sedicious facciō, was losed and dissolved: and the kyng with his sonne, and other confederates. openly agreed and apparauitly pacified. And so the spryng of these mischuous secte, was stopped and repulsed, or the flodde had any thyng increased, or flowen farther.

THE Englishmen (whiche euer sought their aduantage) hearyng of this domestical disunion in the realme of Fraunce, raised an armye, and recovered again diuerse townes, whiche wer stollen from them before, by the French nacion and made great prouision, to recouer again the citee of Paris, but when they heard, that the dolphyn was returned again to his father, and that all his mates, wer ioyned with the French kyng, they left off from that enterprise, and reuoked their purpose.

#### ¶ THE. XVIII. YERE.

The xviii  
yere.

IN the moneth of Nouembre this presente yere, there was suche a great Frost, and after that, so depe a Snowe, that all the ground was covered with white, and all the diches hardened and frozen, whiche weather put the Englishmen in comfort, to recouer again the toune of Ponthoise, by the Frenche kyng gotten before, by corruptyng with money, diuerse Burgesses of the toune. Wherefore, the Englishmen beyng clothed all in white, with Ihon lorde Clifforde their capitain, came in the night to the diches, and passed them without daungier, by reason of the Froste, and sodainly scaled the walles, slewe the watche, and tooke the toune, with many profitable prisoners. When this toune was thus gotten, lorde Richard Beauchampe  
erle

erle of Warwicke and Regent of Fraunce, died in the Castle of Roan, and was conueyed into England, and with solempne Ceremonies, was buried in his College of Warwicke, in a verie solempne and sumptuous sepulture.

THEN was the duke of Yorke again, made regent of Fraunce, whiche accompanied with theire of Oxford, the lorde Bouchier, called erle of Ewe, Sir Iames of Ormond, the Lorde Cheton, and diuerse other noble men, sailed into Normandy. Before whose arrivall, the Frenche kyng beyng sore greued with the takyng of the toune of Pounthoyse, assembled a great army, and besieged thesaid toune hymself, and made round about it bastiles, trenches, & diches, and daily shot ordenaunce, and gaue therunto, diuerse gicate and fiece assautes. But Ihon lorde Clifford like a valeaunt capitain, defended the toune with suche valeauntnes, that the Frenchemen rather lost then gayped. The duke of Yorke at his landyng, hauing true knowledge of this siege, sent for the lorde Talbot, and a great nombre of souldiors, and so came nere to the toune of Pounthoyse, and there encamped hymself, and sent woorde to the Frenche Kyng, that he was there, ready to geue hym battaill, if he would come out of his campe and Bastiles. Kyng Charles was ruled by his counsaill, whiche in no wise would suffice hym to aduenture his persone, with men of so lowe and base degree: biddyng hym remembre, that losses he and his ancesteirs had susteyned, by geuyng to the Englishemen battaill whiche thyng they principally desire, willyng hym to kepe his ground still, and to bid them entie at their perell, and in the mean season, to stoppe the passage of the Riuer of Oyse, so that no vitale could be brought to the Englishe army by that way, by whiche meanes, he should not onely obtene his purpose, but also cause the Englishemen to recule backe again, for lacke of vitale and succors. The Duke of Yorke perceiuyng, that the Frenche kyng was nothyng mynded to fight, determined to passe ouer the Riuer of Oyse, and so to fight with hym in his lodgyng, wherupon he remoued his campe and appoynted the lord Talbot and other, to make a countenaunce, as they would passe the Riuer by force at the gate of Beaumont, and appoynted another cōpany with boates, of tymbre & ledder, and bidges made of cordes and ropes, (whereof he had greate plentie, caried with hym in Chariottes) to passe ouer the riuer by neth the Abbey. While the lord Talbot made a crye, as though he would assaile the gate, certain Englishmen passed the water ouer in boates, and drew the bridge ouer, so that a greate nombre wer comen ouer, or the Frenchmen them espied. When they sawe the chaunce, they ran like mad men, to stoppe the passage, but then labor was loste, and all their pain to no purpose for the moste parte of thenglishe people wer sodainly transported, in so muche that they chased their enemies, by fine force into the toune again, and toke sir Guylliam de Chastell, nephue to the Lorde Canehy, and diuerse other gentlemen prisoners. The Frenchmen seying their damage irrecuperable returned to the Frenche kyng, accomptyng to hym their euil chaunce & vnlucky fortune, which therewith was not a litle displeasaunt. and well perceiuyng, that if he taried the cōmyng of thenglishmen he was like to be either in greate reperiety, or sure to susteine muche dishonor and greate damage. Wherefore he remoued his ordinaunce into the bastile of S. Matyn, whiche he had newly made, and leauyng behynd hym the lorde of Cotigay Admirall of Fraunce, with thre M men to kepe the bastiles, dislodged in the night from Maubuisson, and came to Poissy: for if he had taried styll in that place, the lorde Talbot with certain of his trustie souldiors, whiche passed the riuer of Oyse in small lether boates, had either slain or taken hym in his lodgyng, the same night. The Englishemen the next daie in good ordre of battaill, came before the toune of Pounthoise, thinkyng there to haue founde the Frenche kyng, but he was gone, and in his lodgyng, they founde greate riches, and muche stuffe, whiche he could not haue space, to conuey, for feare of the sodain inuasion. Then the Duke of Yorke with his company, entered into the toune, and sent for newe vitall, and repaired the toures and bulwerkes about the toune, and diuerse tymes assailed the Bastile of the Frenchemen, of the whiche he passed not greatly, because they wer not of power, either to assaut, or stoppe the vitales or succors from the toune. The Duke lyng thus in the toune Pounthoise, was aduertised, that the Frenche kyng and the dolphyn, with all the nobilitie of Fraunce,



Fraunce, wer lodged in Poissye, wherfore he intending once again to offre hym battaill, left behynd hym there, for capitain, sir Geruays Clifton, with a thousande souldiors, and remoued his army and came before Poysye, and set hymself and his men in good ordre of battaill, redy to fight. There issued out diuerse gentlemen, to skirmish with the Englishemen, but they wer sone discomfited, and foure valeaunt horssemen wer taken prisoners, and diuerse slain. The Englishemen perceiuyng the faynte hartes, and colde corage of their enemies, whiche nothyng lesse desued, then to encountre with the English nacion in' open felde, dislodged from Poysye, and came to Mante, and sone after to Roan.

WHEN the Regent and the lorde Talbot, wer returned again into Normandy, the Frenche kyng (for all this euill lucke) forgat not the toune of Ponthoise, and firste he considered, what charges he had susteined, bothe duryng the tyme of the siege, and also in makyng bastyles, trenches, and other deuises. and after remembered, that his people, and especially the Parisians (to whō this toune was an euill neighbor) would rayle and saie, that he was not able, or lacked corage, to gette so small a toune, or to discomfite halfe a hādfulk of amased people. Wherfore these thynges set in ordre, he assembled all his puyssaunce, and returned sodainly again to Ponthoise: where, he firste by assaute gat the church, and after the whole toune, and toke the capitain prisoner, and diuerse other Englishemen, and slewe to the nombre of foure hundred, whiche derely sold their lifes: for one Frenche writer affirmeth, that the Frenche kyng lost there, thre. M. men and mo, and the whole garrison of the Englishemen, was onely a. M: so thei gayned the toune, but they gat no greate boty of men. When the fame of this victory was blowen abrode, the hartes of the tounes men, began to appall, in somuche, that Melune, Corbuell, Eureux, and diuerse other tounes, yelded and turned at a proude crake, or a Frenche bragge, without stroke stricken, or any blowe gyuen.

AFTER these hote rages, the wether began to wax more temperate for kyng Hēry and kyng Charles, wer agreed, to send Ambassadors, to counmen and treate some good peace & conclusiō, betwene them, & their realmes. So the kyng of England, sent the Cardinall of Wynchester, with diuerse other noble personages of his counsaill, to Calice, with whom was also sent, Charles Duke of Orleance, yet prisoner in England, to thentent that he might be bothe the author of y peace, and procurer of his deliuerance. The Frenche kyng, sent the Archebishop of Reyns, and the Eile of Dumoys. and the Duke of Burgoyne, sent the lorde Crenecur, and diuerse other, because that the duke of Orleance was passed the sea with the English Ambassadors, they would mete in none other place to comen, but in Calice. The Frenche Ambassadors perceiuyng their mynde, came to Calice, where the duke of Orleance, gently receiued therle of Dumoys (his bastard brother) thankyng him hartely for his pain taken, in gouernyng his cōutrey duryng the tyme of his captiuitie and absence. Diuerse communicacions wer had, aswel for the deliuerance of the duke, as for a finall peace: in somuche, that after muche consultancy, and lile doying, another tyme was appoynted for a newe assembly, and euery parte to declare to their souereigne, the request and desire of the other. So these Ambassadors toke their leaue and departed, and theglasse commissioners conveyed again the duke of Orleance into England, whiche had nothyng then to paie his rāusome, & yet he could not be deliuered, without paiement. The cause why these cōmissioners did not agre, was, (as the Frenche writers saie) that the Englishemen demaunded, not onely to haue and possesse peaceably the ii. Duchies of Aquitayn and Normandy, to their kynges & princes discharged of all resort, superiortie, and souereigntie, frākly and frely, against the realme of Fraūce, the kynges and gouernors of thesame for euer: but also required to be restored to al the tounes, citees, and possessions, whiche they, within. xxx. yeres next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of Fraunce. The Englishemen, thought that they demaunded but right and reason: and the Frenchemen, thought their request to be most hurtfull to their realme, and aūcient glory. So both parties, rather myndyng to gain or saue, then to lose, departed for that tyme, (as you haue heard). After which diet proroged for a tyme, Phillip Duke of Burgoyn,

goyn, partly moued in cōscience, to make some amendes & recompence to Charles duke of Orleance (then beyng prisoner in Englande) for the death of duke Lewes his father (whom duke Ihon, rather to this duke Phillip, shamefully slewe, and cruelly murdered in the citee of Paris, (as in the tyme of kyng Henry the fourth, is plainly mencioned) And partly entending the aduancement of his niece, lady Marie daughter to Adolphe, Duke of Cleue, by the whiche alliance, he trusted surely to knit, suche a firme knot and frendly amitie with the Duke of Orleance, that all olde rancor should cease and all discorde should be forgotten and in then places, concorde should be stablished, and perpetuall loue embraced) sente messengers into Englande, to the saied duke, declaryng to hym his good will, deuise, and entent. Thinke not but this message, was ioyous to a captiue, beyng out of his natieue countrye, and naturall seignorie, by the space of. xxv. yeres? Suppose you that he, which nothyng more coueted and desired, then libertie and discharge, wold refuse so honorable an offre? Imagin you that a prince of a bloud royal, brought into thraldome, restrained frō libertie and luyng, farie from kyn and father, & farther from fiēdes, would not geue his diligent eare to that mocion, by the whiche he might be restored, bothe to his auncient preheminance, possession and seignory? Yes, yes, you maye be sure, he neither cōsulted on the matter, nor deferred the aūswere, but therunto gently agreed. What should I saie more? As some writers affirme, foure hundred thousande Crownes were paid for his deliuerance, although other saie, but thre hundred thousande: and so he was deliuered out of Englande into Fraunce at that tyme, bothe speakyng better Englishe then Frenche, and also sweariug, neuer to beare Armure against the kyng of Englande. After his arriuall in Fraunce, he came to the Duke of Burgoyne, his especiall frend, gratifyng and thankyng hym of his libertie and deliuerance and accordyng to his promes and cōuencion, married the faire lady in the toune of Saint Omeis, on whom he begat a sonne, whiche after was Frenche kyng, and called Lewes the. xii. After his deliuerance from captiuitie he forgat not his vncle Ihon Erle of Angolesme, whiche had been as a pledge in England, for the debt of Duke Lewes of Orleance, his father, sithe the laste yere of kyng Henry the fourth, (as in his story is declared) but made frendes, borrowed money, and morgaged land, and so set him in libertie, and brought hym into his countrye. This Ihon, engendered Charles, father to Fraunces, the firste of that name, whiche after the death of Lewes the. xij. obtained the Croune of Fraunce.

HERE is to be noted, that olde rancor newly appeased, will commonly spryng out again: for all the vnhappie deuision, betwene the two noble families, of Orleance and Burgoyne, wer by this greate benefite and marriage, for a tyme geuen ouer and put in Oblivion, and so continued by the space of. xx. yeres and more, yet their children and cosyns, within, not many yeres after, fell so farr at square, that the house of Burgoyne, was spoyled of the fairest flower of his garland, (as you shall here afterwarde, at large declared) and in especiall, in the tyme of kyng Fraunces the firste, the verie heire of the house of Orleance, whiche not onely continually vexed with mortall warre, Charles the fift Emperour of that name, lineall successor to Phillip Duke of Burgoyne but also did asmuche as in hym laye, to deprive thesaid Charles of his honor, and possessions, (as men writyng their lifes, will hereafter declare) The Frenche writers affirme, that this Duke of Orleance, was deteyned thus long in captiuitie, by reason that the Englyshemen, gayned yerely by hym, greate somes of money, by reason of his greate and liberall expenses, whiche he made daily in the realme of England. If this be true, I report me to all indifferent and reasonable persones, for who will spende his goodes frely, in the lande of his enemye, whiche maye by pinchyng and bearyng a lowe saile, waxe riche and be set at libertie? Or who is so proude to wast & consume his substaūce, in luyng prodigally, that maye with the sparyng of thesame be deliuered out of captiuitie and bōdage? But surely it is apparaunt, that the reuenues of his seigniories, wer neither able to raunsome hym, nor to mainteyne hym in pōpceous estate: partly, because the Englyshmen possessed diuerse townes, belongyng to his Duchy and partly, by reason that the rentes wer scarce able to defende his possessions, against the inua-



sions of the English nacion, and Burgonions But the very cause of his long deteinyng wer two-one, the lacke of money, the second and the principall cause, was this, that you haue heard before, how that Ihon Duke of Burgoyne father to Philippe, shamefully and cruelly, caused Lewes Duke of Orleunce, father to this Duke Charles, (of whom we nowe speake) to be murthured in the citee of Paris. for the whiche murder, all the alies and frendes to the Duke of Orleunce, had enuie against the house and familie of Burgoyne, in somuche that the saied Duke Ihon beyng measured with the same measure, that he met with all, was likewise tyrannously murdered on the bridge of Monstreu Faultyou, (as you haue also heard declared before) For whiche cause, and for to be reuenged of so heynous an act, duke Phillip sonne to thesaid Ihon, not onely ioyned hymself in league and amitie with the Englishe nacion, but also did homage, and sweare fealtie to Kyng Henry the fifth, as to his kyng and souereigne Lorde for whiche cause, the Englishemen entending to kepe the duke of Burgoyn, as a trusty treasure, and sure Iuell, perceiued, that if they deliuered the duke of Orleunce, and set hym at libertie, he would not cease to vexe and trouble the duke of Burgoyne, in reuenging the detestable muider, committed by his father against his parent whetore, bothe for the surety and sauegard of the duke of Burgoyne, and also to do hym pleasure, they kept still the duke of Orleunce in Englande, demaundying suche raunsome, as he was neither able, nor could finde meanes or waies to paie But after that the duke of Burgoyn, (like an vntrue prince, and vn honest gentleman) had broken his promes, not kept his faith, and was turned to the Flenche part, the counsaill of the kyng of Englande, studied and deuised, how to deliuer the duke of Orleunce, to do displeasure to the duke of Burgoyn Duke Phillip perceiuyng, what mischief was like to rise if he wer redeemed, and set at libertie without his knowledge, to preuente the matter, to his greate coste and charge, practised his deliuerance, paid his raüsome, and ioyned with him, amitie and alliance, by marriage of his niece, (as before is rehearsed) and by this meanes, was Duke Charles of Orleunce, restored to his libertie, whiche had been prisoner in England, from the daie of saintes, Crispine & Crispinian, in the yere of our Lorde M CCCC xv. to the monethe of Nouembre, in the yere, a thousand foure hundred and fourtie.

## ¶ THE XIX. YERE.

The XIX  
yere.

IN the begynnyng of this. XIX. yere, Richard duke of Yorke Regent of Fraunce, and gouernor of Normandy, remembryng the greate charge, and weightie office to hym deliuered and committed, determined (after long consultacion) to inuade the territories of his enemies, bothe by sondery armies, and in diuerse places, to thentent that the Frenche people beyng vexed within their awne couñtre, and peculiar dominion, should make no rodes nor enter-nynges, into the Duchie of Normandy the returnyng whereof, was somewhat suspicious. This deuise for that season, semed bothe profitable and necessary, wherefore, without long delayng of tyme, he sente Robert Lorde Willoughby, with a greate crue of souldiors, to inuade and destroye the countrey aboute Annas, and Ihon lord Talbot was appoynted, to besiege the towne of Deape, and he hymself, accompanied with Edmond duke of Somerset, set forward into the Duchie of Aniou The Lorde Willoughby, accordyng to his commission, entered in the countrey to hym appoynted, and to thentent that his commission should not be espyed, nor knowen, he straightly forbade and inhibited all maner fire, & of burnyng of townes, whiche is the moste open and plain token of war, and inuasion. By reason wherof, the pore paysautes & rustical people goyng abrode, without feare or suspicion of euill, wer ouerronne or taken with the horssemen, or they could attain to any towne, or forcelet. so that innumerable people wer slain, & taken or they heard any tydynges of their enemies approchyng. The Frenchmen in the garrisōs adioynyng, astonied at the clamor and cry of the poore people, issued out in good ordre, and manfully set on their enemies. The fight was soie, and the victory long doubtfull. But inconclusiō, the Frenchmen seyng their people

in the forefront of the battail, to be killed without mercie, like men desperate, turned their backs and fearfully fled, the Englishmen folowed and slewe many in the chace, and suche as escaped the sweard, wer robbed and spoyled, by Lewes Eric of saint Paule, whiche was comyng to ayde the Englishe nacion. In this conflicte were slain, aboue sixe C. men of aunes, and a greater nombre taken. So the Lorde Willoughby, like a victorious captain, with riche spoyle and good pusoners, returned again to the citee of Roan. The dukes of Yorke and Somerset, likewise entered into the Duchie of Aniou, and Countie of Mayne destroying townes, spoylyng y<sup>e</sup> people, and with great prey and profite, repaired again into Normandy. The Duke of Somerset, not filled with this gain entered into the Marches of Britayne, and tooke by a fierce assaute, the toun of Gerchie, appertenyng to the Duke of Alanson, and spoyled and brent thesame, and after that, departed to Ponzay, where he scourned two monethes, thō whence he sent daily men of war, which destroyed & wasted the countreys of Aniou, Traonnoys & Chantagonnys.

THE French kyng in all haste, sent the Marshall of Loyache, with iii. M. men, to resist the muasions of the duke of Somerset, whiche captain determined to set on the duke and his people, in the dedde tyme of the night. This enterprise was not so secret, but it was reveled to the duke, whiche marched forward, and mette the Frenchemen hal e ware, and after long fight, them by fine force manfully discomfited, and slew a hundred persones and mo, and tooke captives lxxi. whereof the chief wer the lorde Dausigny, sir Lewes de Buell, and all the other almoste, were Knightes and esquires. After this encountre, the Duke tooke the toun of Beaumot Le Vicount, and manned all the fortresses, on the Frontiers of his enemies, and with riche boties and wealthy captives came again to the Duke of Yorke.

DURING these fortunate chaunces & victories, the lord Talbot also, the vndered chieftain & māly warrior, enuoned the toun of Deape, with depe trenches and terrible mountaynes, and did set vp vpon the mount de Poulet, a strong and defensible Bastile, at whiche tyme, was capitain of thesame toun, Charles de Maritz, a man of more force in battail, then polittique in defence of a siege. for the Englishemen beyng a small nōbre, had to them deliuered with faire wordes, and fainte strokes, the castle of Charlemesnyll, and diuerse other fortresses, adioynnyng to the toun. During the siege, many encounters were had, and many great assautes geuen, thenglishmen sometyne saued, and sometyne gained, but the moste losse lighted on the Frenchemen for a while. But of iii. capitaines sent furth at one tyme, (as you before haue heard) all cannot returne with egall honor, and even botie. For the lorde Talbot perceiuyng the toun of Deape, to be strongly defended, both with men, vitale, and ordonaunce, and that he lacked all thesaid furnitures for the accomplishyng of his stoute enterprise, deliuered the custody of the Bastile, with the gouernaunce of the siege to his Bastarde sonne, a valeaunt young man, and departed to Roan, for ayde, money, and munitions. The Frenche kyng, was quickly aduertised of the lord Talbots absence, and of the estate of the Englishemen: wherefore without delaye, he meanyng not to lose so great a prey, sent his eldest sonne Lewes dolphyn of Vyen, accompanied with the Bastarde of Orleans, called the erle of Dumoys, and diuerse other nobles of Fraunce, to the nombre of xv. thousande persones, well armed, and no lesse garnished with all thynges necessary for their purpose. Three daies they assayed the Bastile, and so many tynes they were put backe, but poulder failed in the fortresse, and weapon wherewith to defend, was very scant, so that in conclusion, the Englishmen wer vanquished, and the Bastile taken and in it, the Bastard Talbot, sir William Peytow, and sir Ihon Repeley, whiche were shortly after redemed. The othr Englishesouldiors seyng the Bastile gayned, stood all dare in good ordre of battail, and in the night, polittiquely returned to Roan, without losse or damage. At this assaute, the Frenchemen say, that they slewe two hundred Englishemen, and deny not, but they lost fve hundred persones, and by this meanes, the one nacion loste the Bastile, and the other saued the toun, to the greate displeasure of the Lorde Talbot, whose presence



would asmuch asailed at this attempte, as his absence was losse and detrement to his fiendes, and felowes in war and chualrie. But gain is not alwaies perdurable, nor losse alwaies continuall.

WHILE these thynges wer a doying, Phillip Duke of Burgoyne, hauyng an enuious hart, at the glory and fortunate successe of the Englishe people, intending to bereue them of one of their assured fiendes, called Lewes of Luxenborough erle of saint Poule, made sharpe war vpon his countreis, and toke diuerse townes, and fortresses from hym, so that in conclusion more for feare, then for loue, he vtterly refused his faith and promise, made to the duke of Bedford his brother in law and turned to the Frenche parte, and became a luke warme enemy to the realme of England. The losse of this fiend and necessary neighbor, not a litle greued Kyng Henry and his counsaill. Howbeit, they made suche peruciaunce and prouision, by descrete counsaill, that if he of euil will, would do them litle good, yet he of malice should doo to them no greate hurte or damage.

THE Englishe capitaines beyng in Guyen, hauyng knowledge of the valeaūt doynge of their counteymen in the realme of Fraunce, determined to do some notable and noble enterprise, on the French costes adioynyng to Aquitayn & so, they besieged the strong toune of Tartas belongyng to the lorde Delabreth, their old and auncient enemy. The capitaines and gouernors of the toune, consideryng their weaknesse, and the force of the Englishemen, toke this appoyntment with the Englishe capitaines, that the toune should remain neuter, and for the assurance therof, they deliuered Cadet the sonne of the lorde Delabreth in pledge, vpon this condicion: that if the lorde Delabreth, would not assent to their agreement, then he should signifie his refusall, to the Englishe capitaines, within thre monethes next ensuyng and he to haue his pledge, and then to do their beste. The Frenche kyng, at the request of the lordes of Guyen, whiche wer not able to defende themselves, toke this matter in hand, and caused the lord Delabreth to certifie his disagreement to the lorde Huntynghdone, lieutenant for the kyng of Englande, in the Duchie of Aquitayne. And to please the great Lordes of Guyen, he assembled lx M. men. and came to Tholose, and so to Tartas. to whom the chieftaines of the toune, seyng no succors comyng, rendered the toune, and Cadet Delabreth, which was left there as a pledge, was deliuered. The French kyng after the yeldyng of Tartas, remoued to saint Seuer, a strong toune in Gascoyne, but smally peopled with men of warre, which he toke by force, and slewe thre hundred persones, and toke sir Thomas Rampstone prisoner. After this toune gained, he with all his power besieged the cite of Arques, and toke the Bulwarke of the same, whiche was smally defended, and sone gotten. The inhabitants of the toune began sore to be afiaied, and came to the lorde Mountferrant, captain for the kyng of England, requiryng hym to haue mercie vpon them, and to rendre the toune to the Frenche kyng, vpon some honest couenaunt or cōposicion. The capitaine perceuyng the faint hartes of the Gascoynes, & knowyng that without their ayde, he was not able to resist the puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng, toke an agreement and departed with all the Englishe crue to Burdeaux, where he found the erle of Longue, Capdaw of Bueffe, and sir Thomas Rampstone, whiche was a litle before deliuered.

AFTER this, the fortresses of Ryoll and Mermandie yelded them to the Frenche kyng. Although these townes thus submitted them to hym, yet he had them not long, nor made much taryng in the Duchie of Guyen, for the Englishemen not onely prohibited the Gascoynes, to minister to his armie, viandre and sustenance, but also gat into their handes and toke suche vitayles, as wer conueyed to him, from Tholose and Poytiers. So that in maner constrained with famyn and lacke of prouision, he retired his army again into Fraunce. After whose departure, the Englishe capitaines recouered again the citee of Acques, and the other townes by the French kyng gained, and toke prisoner his lieutenant, called Reignault Guillam the Burgonyō, and many other gentlemen, and all the meane souldiors, wer either slain or hanged.

WHILE the Frenche kyng was in Guyen, the lorde Talbot toke the toune of Couchete, and

and after marched toward Gayllardon, whiche was besieged by the Bastarde of Orleance Erle of Dumoys: whiche Erle hearyng of the Englishmennes approchyng, reysed his siege and saued hymself. A litle before this enterprise, the Frenchemen had taken the toune of Eureux, by treason of a fisher. Sir Fraunces Arragonoys hearyng of that chaunce, apperpeled sixe strong men, like rustical people with sackes and baskettes, as carriers of corne and vitaille, and sent them to the Castle of Cornyll, in the whiche diuerse Englishemen were kept as prisoners. and he with an imbushement of Englishemen, laye in a valey nye to the toirtresse. These sixe companions entered into the Castle, vnsuspected and not mistrusted, and straight came to the chambre of the capitain, & laied handes vpō hym, geuyng knowledge therof to their imbushement, whiche sodainly entered the Castle, and slew and toke all the Frenchemen prisoners, and set at libertie all the Englishemen, winche thing doen, they set all the castle on fire, and departed with great spoyle to the citee of Roan. Thus the lady victory, somtyme smiled on the Englishe part, and somtyme on the Frenche side. Thus one gayned this daie, and loste on the nexte. Thus Fortune chaunged, and thus chaunce happened, accordyng to the olde prouerbe, sayng, in war is nothyng certain, and victory is euer doubtfull.

¶ THE. XX. YERE.

NOW let vs leaue the marciall feactes, the mortal strokes, and daly skirmishes, practised betwene the English and Frenche nacion in the Region of Fraunce, and speake alittle of a smoke that rose in England, whiche after grewe to a greate fire, and a terrible flame, to the destruction of many a noble man. You haue heard before, how the Duke of Gloucester sore grudged at the proude doynges of the Cardinall of Wynchester, and howe the Cardinall likewise, sore enuied and disdayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloucester, and how by the meanes of the duke of Bedforde, their malice was appeaced, and eche was reconciled to other, in perfite loue and amitie, to all mens outward iudgements. After whiche concord made, the Cardinall and the Archebishop of Yorke, did many thynges without the consent of the kyng or the duke, beyng (duyng the minoritye of the prince) gouernor & protector of the realme, wherwith the duke, (like a true harted prince) was neither contente nor pleased. And so declared in wrytyng to the kyng, certain articles, wherein the Cardinall and the Archebishop, had offended bothe the kyng and his lawes, the true tenor, here after ensueth.

The. xx.  
yere.

¶ A complaint made to Kyng Henry the. vi. by the Duke of Gloucester, vpon the Cardinall of Winchester.

THESE bee in parte, the poyntes and Articles, whiche I Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, for my trouthe and acquittall, saied late, I would geue in wrytyng (my right doubted Lorde) vnto your highnes, aduertisyng your excellēce, of suche thynges in partie, as haue been doen in your tendre age, in deiogacion of your noble estate, & hurt of both your realmes, & yet be doen and vsed daly.

FIRST the Cardinall, then beyng bishop of Winchester, toke vpō hym the state of Cardinall, which was nayed and denyed hym, by the kyng of moste noble memory, my lord your father, (whō God assoyle) sayng, y he had as lefe set his croune beside hym, as to se hym weare a Cardinall hat, he beyng a Cardinall. for he knewe full well, the pride and ambition that was in his person, thā beyng but a bishop, should haue so greatly extolled hym into more intollerable pride, when that he were a Cardinall. And also he thought it against his fredome, of the chiefe Chuiche of this realme, whiche, that he worshipped, as duely as euer did prince, that blessed be his soule. And howbeit, that my saied Lorde  
your

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your father, (whom God assoyle), would haue agreed hym to haue had certain clerkes of this land Cardinals, & to haue no bishoprikes in Englande, yet is intent was neuer to do so great derogacion to the Chuiche of Cāterbury, to make them that wer his suffraganes, to set aboue their Ordinary and Metropolitau, but the cause was that ingenerall, and in all matters whiche might concerne the weale of hym, and of his realme, he should haue proctors of his nacion, as other kynges Christen had, in the couite of Rome, and not to abide in this lande, nor to be in any parte of his counsailes, as been all the spirituall and temporall, at parliamentes and other great counsailes, when you list to call them. and therefore, though it please you to do hym that worship, to set hym in your prync counsaill after your pleasure, yet in your parliament, wher euery Lorde bothe spirituall and temporall, hath his place, he ought to occupie but his place as a bisshope.

3 ITEM thesaid bisshope, now beyng Cardinall, was assoyled of his bishopricke of Wynchester, wherupon he sued vnto our holy father, to haue a bulle declaratory, notwithstanding he was assūpt to the state of Cardinall, that the sea was not voyde, where in deede it stode voyde by a certain tyme, or thesaid bulle were graunted, and so he was exempte from his ordinary, by the takyng on hym the state of Cardinall, and the churche bishopricke of Winchester, so standyng voyde, he tooke again of the Pope (you not learned therof ne knowyng wherby he was fallen into the cace of prouision) so that all his good was lawfully and clearly forfeited, to you my right doubted Lorde, with more as the statute declareth plainly for your aduantage

4 ITEM it is not vnknown to (you doubted lord) how through your landes it is noysed, that thesaid Cardinal and tharchebishop of Yorke had and haue the gouernaunce of you and all your lande, the whiche none of your true liege men, ought to vsurpe nor take vpon them And haue also estranged me your sole vncle, my cosyn of Yorke, my cosyn of Huntynghdon, & many other lordes of your kin, to haue any knowledge of any greate matter, that might touche your high estate, or either of your realmes. And of Lordes spirituall, of right, the Archebisshope of Cantourbury, should be your chief counsaier, the whiche is also estranged and set a side. And so be many other right sad Lordes, and well adured, aswell spirituall as temporall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lorde, and of your realmes, like as the experience and workes shewen clerely and euidently, more harme it is.

5 ITEM in the tendre age of you, my right doubted Lorde, for the necessitie of an armie, thesaid Cardinal lent you .iiii. M. l. vpon certain luels, prised at xxii. M. marke, with a letter of sale, that and they wer not quited at a certain daie, you should lese them The said Cardinall seyng your money redy to haue quited your luels, caused your treasurer of Englande, at that daie beyng, to paie thesame money, in parte of another armie, in defiaundyng you, my right doubted lord, of your said luels, kepyng them yet, alwaie to his awne vse, to your right greate losse, and his synguler profite and auaille.

6 ITEM thesaid Cardinal, then beyng bishop of Winchester, & Chauncellor of Englād, deliuered the kyng of Scottes, vpō certein appoyntmentes (as maie be shewed,) presumptuously, & of his awne authoritie contrary to the acte of Parliament I haue heard notable men of lawe say, that they neuer heard the like thing doen among thē, whiche was to great a defamaciō to your highnes, & also to wedde his niece to thesaid kyng, whom y my lord of notable memory, your father, whō God assoile would neuer haue so deliuered. And there as he should haue paid, for his costes xl. M. l. thesaid Cardinall, Chauncellor of Englande, caused you to pardon hym therof x. M. marke, wherof the greater some he paid you, right alitle, what, I reioice me to your highnes

7 ITEM, where thesaid Cardinal lent you, my redoubted lord, great & notable some he hath had & his assignes, the rule & profite of the porte of Hāpton, wher the Customers been his seruātes, wher by likelihode & as it is to be supposed, he standyng the chief marchaunt of wolles of your lande, that you bee greatly defrauded, and vnder that rule what Wolles and other marchaundise haue been shipped, and maie be from tyme to tyme, hard

hard is to esteme, to the great hurte, and preiudice of you my right doubted Loide, and of all your people.

ITEM, howbeit that thesaid Cardinall, hath diuerse tymes, lent you great sommes of money, si the tyme of your reigne, yet his loene hath been so diffiered and delaied, that for the moste part, the conuenable season, of themployng of the good lente, was passed So that litle frute or none come thereof, as by experience, bothe your realmes, haue sufficiently in knowledge. 8

ITEM, where there was Ieuelles and plate, preised at a xi M l in weight, of thesaid Cardinall, forfented to you my right doubted lorde, he gat hym a restorment therof, for a loene of a litle percell of thesame, and so defrauded you wholly of theim, to your greate hurte, and his auale, the whiche good might greatly eased your highnes, in sparyng as muche of the poore commons. 9

ITEM, the Cardinall beyng feoft of my said lorde your father, (whō God assoyle) against his entent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, thre. C markes of liuelod, where that his will was, that and she wer wedded, within a yere, then to haue it, or els not, where in deede it was twoo or iii yerres after, to your great hurt, & diminishyng of your inheritaunce 10

ITEM, notwithstanding y thesaid Cardinall, hath no maner of autheritie nor interest into the crowne, nor none may haue by any possibilitie, yet he presumeth and taketh vpon hym in partie, your estate royall, in callyng before hym, into greate abusion of all your lande, and derogacion of your highnes, whiche hath not been sene nor vsed, in no daies heretofore, in greater estate then he is, without your expresse ordenaunce and commaundement 11

ITEM, thesaid Cardinal, nothyng consideryng the necessitie of you my right doubted Loide, hath sued a pardon of dismes, that he should paie for the Church of Wynchester, for terme of his life, geuyng therby occasion to all other Loides spirituall, to drawe their good will for any necessitie, to graunt any disme, and so to laie all the charge vpon the temporaltie, and the poore people. 12

ITEM, by the gouernaunce and labor of thesaid Cardinal, and archebishop of Yorke, there hath been loste and dispended, muche notable and greate good, by diuerse Ambassadors sent out of this realme First to Arras, for a feigned colourable peace, where as by likeliness it was thought & supposed, that it should neuer turne to theeffectual auale, of you my right doubted Lorde, nor to your saied realmes, but vnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduersary, & the duke of Burgoyne For els your partie aduerse, & thesaid duke, might not well haue foud meanes nor waies, to haue cōmoned together, nor to haue concluded with other, their cōfederaciōs & conspiraciōs, made & wrought ther then, at y tyme, against your highnes, whereby you might haue (right doubted lorde,) the greater partie of your obeysaunce, aswell in your realme of Fraunce, as in your Duchie of Normandy, and muche other thyng gone greatly, as through thesaid colourable treatie, and otherwise, si the death of my biother of Bedford, (whom God assoyle.) 13

ITEM, now of late was set another Ambassador to Calice, by the labor and counsaill of thesaid Cardinall, and Archebishop of Yorke, the cause why of the beginnyng, is to me your sole vnclē, & other lordes of you kyn and counsaill vnknown, to your greate charge, and against the publique good of your realme, as it openly appeareth The whiche good if it bee employed, for the defence of your landes, the marchaundises of the same, might haue had other course, and your said lādes not to haue stande in so greate mischief as they do. 14

ITEM after that, to your greate charge and hurte, of bothe your realmes, thesaid Cardinall and Archbishop of Yorke, went to your saied toun of Calice, and diuerse Lordes of your kyn, and of your counsaill in their felowship, and there, as there was natural warre, betwene the duke of Orleauce, & the duke of Burgoyne, for murder of their fathers, a capitall inemnitie like to haue endured for euer, thesaid Cardinall & Archbishop of Yorke, licenced and suffered, thesaid duke of Orleauce, to entreate and common a part, with the counsaill 15



counsaille of your saied aduersaries, aswell as with the Duchies of Burgoyne, by which meane, the peace and alliaunce was made, betwene the two dukes, to the greátest fortifying of your saied capital aduersaries, that could be thought, and cōsequently (my dear redoubted lorde,) to your greatest charge, & hurt to both your realmes. Vnder colour of whiche treatie, your saied aduersaries, in meane time wan your citee of Meulx, & the cōtrey therabout and many diuerse rodes made into youre Duchie of Normandy, to the greátnoyssaunce and destruction of your people, as it sheweth openly

- 16 ITEM thesaid Archebishop of Yorke, sent with other into this your realme, from the saied Cardinall, after communicacion had with your aduerse partie, at your saied town of Calice, made at his commyng into your notable presence at Wyndstore, all the swasion and colour, all mocions in the most apparaūt wise that he could, to induce your highnes to your agrement, to the desues of your capitall aduersaries, as I saw there in your noble presence, of his wrytyng, at whiche tyme, as I vnderstode, it was his singuler opinion, that is to say: that you should leaue your right, your title, & your honor of your crowne, & nominaciō of you kyng of Fraūce, duryng certain yeres, and y<sup>e</sup> you should vterly abstaīn you and be content, onely in wrytyng, with, rex Anglie, &c to the greate note of infamie y<sup>e</sup> euer fell to you, or any, of your noble progenitors, since the takyng of thein first, the said title & right, of your realme and crowne of Fraunce, to which matter in your presence ther, after y<sup>e</sup> it had liked your saied highnes, to aske myne aduise therupon, with othe of your bloud and cōsail, I answered and said, that I would neuer agree me therto, to die therfore, and of thesame disposicion I am yet, & will be while I liue in consciencie of your honor, and of your othe made vnto your saied crowne, in tyme of your coronacion there.

- 17 ITEM thesaid Cardinall & Archebishop of Yorke, haue so labored vnto your highnes, that you should entende to a newe daie of conuencion, in Marche or Aprill next commyng, where it is noyed to be more against your worship, then with it. And where it was euidēt to all the world, that the rupture and breakyng of thesaid peace, should haue fallen heretofore, of your aduerse partie, because of the great vntrouthes. Now by the meane it is like-peraduenture, to be laied vnto the verie greate slaundre of you my doubtēd Lorde, like to come to none other purpose nor effecte, then other conuencions haue doen afore tyme. And so by subtilities and counsaill of your saied enemies, your land (they in hope and trust of thesaid treatie, not mightely nor puyssauntly purueyed for shalbe like vnder the coloure of thesame treatie, to be brent vp and destroyed, lost and vterly turned from your obeysaunce.

- 18 ITEM it is saied, that the deliuerance of thesaid Duke of Orleauce, is vterly appointed by the mediacion, counsaill, and steryng of thesaid Cardinall and Archebischopp of Yorke, and for that cause diuerse persons been come from your aduersaries into this your realme, and thesaid duke also brought to your citee of London, where as my lord your father (whom God asoile) peysyng so greatly the inconueniences, and harme that might fall, onely by his deliuerance, concluded, ordered and determined in his last wil vterly in his wisdomē, his cōquest in his realme of Fraūce. And yet then it is to be doen by as great deliberation, solempnitie and suretie, as may be deuised or thought, and seyn, now the disposicion of your realme of Fraunce, the puissaūce and might of your enemies & what ayde they haue gotten against you there, aswell vnder the colour of thesaid treatie as otherwise, what maie or ought to be thought or said, for that laboryng thesaid duke (a thynges considered) by suche perticular persones, the lordes of your bloud not called ther unto, I reposit me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto thesaid wise trewe men of this your realme

- 19 ITEM where that every true counsailor, specially vnto any kyng or prince, ought to trouthe and of dutie, to counsaill, promote, encrease, prefer, and aduaunce the weale and prosperitie of his lorde: The said Cardinall, beyng of your counsaill (my right doubtēd lorde) hath late purchased of your highnes, certain great landes and liuelode: as the cas

tle and lordshup of Chiike in Wales, and other lādes, in this your realme, vnto whiche I was called sodainly, and so in escheuyng the breakyng & losse of your armies then again, scyng none other remedy, gaue ther vnto myne assēt, thinkyng that who that euer labored, moued or stered the matter firste vnto your Lordeship, counsailed you neither for your worship nor profite.

MORE thesaied Cardinall hath you bounde a parte, to make hym a sure estate of all the saied landes, by Easter nexte commyng, as could bee deuised by anye learned counsaill, or elles that suretie not made, thesaied Cardinall, to haue and reioye to him, and his heires for euermoie, the landes of the Duchie of Lācastre, in Norffolke, to the value of. vii. or viii. C. markes, by the yere, whiche thyng semeth right staunge and vsene, and vnhard waies of any liege man, to seke vpon his souereigne lorde, bothe in his enheritaunce and in his luelles, and good For it is thought, but if right & extreme necessitie caused it, there should, nor ought no such thynges to be doen fro which necessitie (God for his mercy) euer preserue your noble person, wherfore my redoubted lord, seyng that ye should be so counsailed, or stirred to leaue your crowne and enheritaunce in England, & also by fraude and subtile meanes, as is afore rehersed, so to lose your luelles. In my trouthe and in myne acquittall (as me seemeth) I maie not nor ought not, counsaill so greate an hurte to you and to all your lande.

ITEM, it is not vnknown to you my right doubted lorde, how often tymes I haue offered my seruice, to and for the defence of your realme of Fraunce, and duchie of Normādy, where I haue been put therfro, by the labor of thesaied Cardinall, in preferringg other after his singuler affectiō, whiche hath caused greate parte, of thesaied Duchie of Normandy, aswell as of your realme of Fraunce to be lost, as it is wel knownen, and what good (my right doubted lord) was lost on that army that was last sent thether, whiche thetyle of Mortayn, your counsaill of Fraunce, hath well and clerely declared to your highnes, here beforne.

ITEM, my right doubted Lorde, it is not vnknown, that it had not been possible to thesaied Cardinall, to haue comen to the greate riches, but by suche meanes, for of his Churche it might not rise, and enheritaunce he had none Wherefore my right doubted Lorde, sithe there is great good behouefull at this tyme, for the weale and safegard of your realmes, the pouertie, necessitie, and indigence of your liege people, in highnes vnderstande, like it vnto your noble grace, to conside thesaied lucar of thesaied Cardinall, and the greate deceipts, that you be deceuied in, by the labor of hym, and of the Archebischop, aswell in this your realme, as in your realme of Fraunce, and dutty of Normandy, where nerther office, lifelode, nor capitain maie be had, without to greate a good geuen vnto hytn, wherby great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue been the causers of, for who that would geue moste, his was the price, not considering the merites, seruice, nor sufficiānce of persones Furthermore it is greatly to be considered, how, when thesaied Cardinall, had forfeited al his good, because of prouisiō, as the statute, ther vpo more plainly declareth, by hauyng the rule of you my right doubted Lorde, purchased hymself in greate defraudation of your highnes, a charter of pardō, the whiche good and it had be wel gouerned, might many yeres haue sustained your warres, without any talage of your poore people

ITEM, my redoubted Lorde, where as I write moche thyng, for the weale of you and of your realmes, peraduenture some will say and vnderstande, that I woulde, or haue written it, by waye of accusement of all your counsaill, whiche God knoweth, I do not. for your highnes may well se, that I name them, that be causers of the sayed inordinate rule wherfore, considering that the sayd Cardinal & Archebischop of Yorke been they, that pretende the gouernaunce of you, and of your realmes and lordshippes: Please it vnto your highnes, of your right wisenesse to estraunge them of your counsaill, to that entent, that men maye be at their fredome, to say what they thinke of truth.

FOR truth, I dare speake of my truth, the poore dare not do so. And if the Cardinal & the Archbischop of Yorke, may afterward declare theselves, of that is, and shalbe sayed



of them, you my right doubted lorde may then restore them agayn to your counsaill, at your noble pleasure.

WHEN the kyng had heard these accusaciōs, he cōmitted the hearynge therof, to his counsaill, wherof the moste parte were spiritual persons, so what for feare, and what for fauour the mater was wynded at, and calyed out, and nothyng sayde to it: and sayre contaunce was made to the duke, as though no displeasure had ben taken, nor no malice boine, either in hait or in remembraūce agaynst hym. But venyme will once breake oute, and inward gudge will sone appeare, whiche was this yere to all men apparaunt: for diuers secret attemptes were aduaūced forward this season, against the noble duke Hūfrey of Glocester, a farre of, whiche in conclusiō came so nere, that they bereft hym both of lyfe and lande, as you shall hereafter more manifestly perceyue. For first this yeie, dame Elyanour Cobhā, wyfe to the sayd duke, was accused of treason, for that she, by sorcery and enchaūtmēt, entended to destroy the kyng, to thentent to aduaūce and to promote her husbāde to the crowne vpon thys she was examined in saint Stephens chappel, before the Bisshop of Canterbury, and there by examinacion conuict & iudged, to do open penance, in. iij. open places, within the cite of Lōdon, and after that adiudged to perpetuall prisone in the Isle of Man, vnder the keypyng of sir Ihon Stāley, knyght. At the same season, wer arrested as ayders and counsailers to the sáyde Duchesse, Thomas Southwel, prieste and chanon of saūcte Stephens in Westmynster, Ihon Hum priest, Roger Bolyngbroke, a conyng nycromancier, and Margerie Iourdayne, surnamed the witche of Eye, to whose charge it was laied, ý thei, at the request of the duchesse, had deuised an image of waxe, representyng the kynge, whiche by their soicery, a lile and litle cōsumed, entendyng therby in cōclusion to waist, and destroy the kynges person, and so to bryng hym death, for the which treison, they wer adiudged to dye, & so Margery Iordayne was brent in smithfelde, & Roger Bolyngbroke was drawen & quartered at tborne, takyng vpō his death, that there was neuer no suche thyng by them ymagined, Ihon Hum had his pardon, & Southwel died in the toure before execution. the duke of Gloucester, toke all these thynges paciently, and saied litle.

## ¶ THE. XXI. YERE.

The. xxi.  
Yere.

THE counsaill of Englande, forgat not the late enterprise of the Frēche kyng, doen in the duchie of Guyen, wherfore, to fortifie the countrey, least he peraduenture, would attempt againe alike iorney, they sent thether sir William Wooduile, with. viii. hundred men, to fortifie the frontiers, till a greater armie might be assembled: And farther made publique proclamacion, that all men which would transporte, or cary any corne, chese, or other vitale, into the parties of Acquitain, should pay no maner of custome or tallage, whiche licence caused that countrey, to be well furnished of all thynges necessarie and conuenient. About this season, the kyng remembryng the valeaunt seruice, and noble actes of Ihon Lorde Talbot, created hym Erle of Shrewesburie, and with a company of three M. men, sente hym againe into Normandy, for the better tuicion of the same, whiche neither forgat his dutie, nor forslowd his businesse, but daily laboured & hourelly studied, how to molest & damage his enemies

IN this yere, died in Guyen the Countessé of Comyng, to whom the Frenche kyng, and also the Erle of Arminacke, pretended to be heire, insomuche, that the Erle entered into all the landes of thesaid lady, as very inheritor to her of right, and tooke homage of the people of the countrey. But to haue a Rowland to resist an Oliuer. he sent solempne Ambassadors to the kyng of Englande, offeryng hym his doughter in mariage, not onely promisyng hym siluer hilles, and golden mountaines with her, but also would be bound, to deliuer into the kyng of Englandes handes, all suche castles and townes, as he or his auncestors detened from hym, within the whole duchie of Acquitayn or Guyen, either by conquest

of his progenitors, or by gyfte or deliuey of any Frēche kyng · offryng farther, to aide the same kyng with money, for the recouery of other citees, within thesaied duchy, from him and his auncestors, by the Frenche kynges progenitors, the lorde de Albrethe, and other lordes of Gascoyn, iniustely kept and wrongfully withhoulden. This offre semed bothe profitable, and honorable to kyng Henry and his realme, and so the Ambassadors, wer bothe well heard, and louyngly entertained, and in conclusion, with a gentle aunswere (not without great rewardes) they departed into their cuntry: after whom wer sent for the conclusion of thesaied mariage into Guyen, sir Edward Hulle, sir Robert Roos, and doctor Ihon Grāfton deane of sanct Seuerines with an honorable company whiche (as all Englishe Cronographiers affirme) bothe concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the young Lady The Frenche kyng was not ignorant, of all these conclusions, wherefore disdaining, that the Erle of Arminacke, should bothe vsurpe against hym, the Countie of Comyng, and also ioyne hymself, with his mortall enemy, the kyng of Englande, to recouer his right, and to punishe his rebell, he sent Lewes his eldest sonne dolphyn of Vyē, into roueigne with a puissaunt army, whiche sodainly toke the Erle of Arminacke, at the Isle in Iordayne, and his yongest sonne, and bothe his daughters, and by force obtained the countreis of Arminacke, Louuergne, Roueigne and Moulleson, beside the citees of Seuerac and Cadenac, and chased the Bastarde of Arminacke out of his cuntry, and cōstituted gouernor of all those seigmories, sir Theobald de Walpergne, bailif of Lyon. So by reason of this infortunate chaūce, the mariage concluded was differred, yea, and so long differred, that it neuer toke effect, as you shall heare more plainly declared.

¶ THE. XXII YERE.

THUS, while Englande was vnqueted, and Fraunce sore vexed, by spoyle, slaughter, and burnyng, all christendom lamented the continuall destrucción of so noble a realme, and the effusion of so muche Christen blood, wherefore, to appeace the mortall warre, so long contineuyng betwene these twoo puyssaunt kynges, all the princes of Christendom, so muche labored and trauailed, by their orators and Ambassadors, that the frostie hartes of bothe the parties, wer somewhat mollified, and their indurate stomackes, greatly asswaged. So there was a greate diete appoynted, to be kept at the citee of Tours in Tourayne, where, for the kyng of Englande appered, William de la Pole erle of Suffolke, doctor Adame Molyns, keper of the kynges priuie seale, and Robert lorde Roos, and diuerse other. And for the Frenche Kyng were appoynted, Charles Duke of Oileāuce, Leues de Burbon erle of Vandosme, and greate Master of the Frenche kynges housholde, sir Piers de Bresell Stewarde of Poytou, and Bartram-Beauriau, Lorde of Precignye. There were also sente thither, Ambassadors from the Empire, from Spayne, from Denmarke, and frō Hungary, to be mediators betwene these twoo princes. The assemble was geate, but the coste was muche greater, in somuche that every parte, for the Honor of their Prince, and praise of their cuntry, set furth themselves, aswell in fere, as apparel, to the vttermoste poynte and highest prike. Many metynges wer had, & many thynges moued to come to a finall peace, and inutvall concord. But inconclusion, for many doubtēs and greate ambiguities, whiche rose on bothe parties, a finall concoird could not be agreed, but in hope to come to a peace, a certain truce aswell by sea as by land, was concluded by the cōmissioners, for. xviii. monethes, whiche afterward, againe was prolonged, to the yere of our Lorde M<sup>ccc</sup>. C. xlix. if in the meane season it had not been violated & broken, as here after shalbe declared.

IN the treatyng of this truce, the Erle of Suffolke, extending his cōmission to the vttermoste, without assent of his associates, imaged in his phantasie, that the nexte waye to come to a perfite peace, was to moue some mariage, betwene the Frenche kyngs kynsewoman, and kyng Henry his souereigne: & because the Frenche kyng had no daughter of ripe age, to be coupled in matrimony with the kyng his Master, he desired to haue the Lady Margariet,



cosyn to the Frenche kyng, and doughter to Reyner duke of Anjow, calling hymself kyng of Scicile, Naples, and Hierusalem, hauyng onely the name and stile of the same, without any peny profite, or tote of possessiō. This marriage was made straunge to therle a good space, in somuche that he repented hym of the first mocio, but yet like a bold man, entending not to take afoile in so greate a matter, desisted not still, daily to sollicite and aduance forward his cause. The wily Frenchemen, perceiuyng the ardent affection of the erle, toward the conclusion of marriage, declared to hym that this marriage, was not like to come to conclusion, as he desired, because the kyng his Master, occupied a greate parte of the Duchie of Anjow, and the citee of Mauns, and the whole Countey of Mayne, apperteynyng (as they saied) to kyng Reyner, father to the damosell

THE erle of Suffolke (I cannot saie) either corrupted with bribes, or to muche affectionate to this vnprofitable marriage, condescended and agreed to their mocion, that the Duchie of Anjow, and the countie of Mayne, should be released and deliuered, to the kyng her father, demaundyng for her marriage, neither peny nor farthyng. (as who would saie) that this newe affiaite, excelled riches and surmounted gold and precious stone. And to the intent that of this truce might ensue a finall concorde, a daie of enteriue or metyng was appointed, betwene the two kynges, in a place cōuenient, betwene Charters and Roan. When these thynges wer concluded, the Erle of Suffolke with his company, thinking to haue brought ioyfull tidynges, to the whole realme of Englande, departed from Toures, and so by long iornies, arriued at Douer, and came to the kyng to Westminster, and there openly before the kyng and his counsaill, declared how he had taken an honorable truce, for the sauēguard of Normandy, & the wealth of y realme, out of whiche truce, he thought, yea, and doubted not, but a perpetual peace, and a finall concorde, should shortly proccade and growe out. And muche the sōner, for that honorable marriage, that inuincible alliaunce, that Godly affinitie, whiche he had concluded omitting nothyng, whiche might extoll & set forth, the personage of the Ladie, nor forgetting any thyng, of the nobilitie of her kinne, nor of her fathers high stile as who would saie, that she was of suche an excellent beautie, and of so high a parentage, that almoste no king or Emperōr, was worthy to be her make. Although this marriage pleased well the kyng, and diuerse of his counsaill, and especially suche as were adherentes, and fauours to the erle of Suffolke, yet Humfrey duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realme, repugned and resisted as muche as in him laie, this new alliaunce and contriued matrimonie alledgyng that it was neither consonant to the lawe of GOD nor man, nor honorable to a prince, to infringe and breake a promise or contracte, by hym made and concluded, for the vilitie and profite of his realme and people, declaryng, that the kyng, by his Ambassadors, sufficiently instructed and authorised, had cōcluded and cōtracted, a marriage betwene his highnes, & the doughter of therle of Arminacke, vpon condicions, bothe to hym and his realme, asmuche profitable as honorable. Whiche offers and cōdicions, the said erle sith his commyng out of his captiuite and thraldome, is redy to yelde and performe, sayyng that it was more conueniente for a Prince, to marie a wife with riches and frendes, then to take a make with nothyng, and disherite himself and his realme of olde rightes and auncient seignories. The duke was not heard, but the Erles doynges, were condescended vnto, and allowed. Whiche facte engendered suche a flame, that it neuer wente oute, till bothe the parties with many other were consumed and slain, to the great vnquiēnes of the kyng and his realme. And for the performance of these conclusions, the Frenche kyng sent the Erle of Vandosme, greate Master of his house, & the Archebishop of Reyns, first pere of Fiaunce, and diuerse other into England, whiche wer ioyously receiued, and frendly entayned. Which Ambassadors, after instrumentes on bothe parties, sealed and deliuered, (not vnrewarded) returned into their countrey. When these thynges were thus doen, the kyng, bothe for the honor of his realme, and to assure to hymself, more speciall frendes, he created Lorde Ihon Holand Erle of Huntingdon, Duke of Excester, as his father was, and Humfrey Erle of Stafford, was made Duke of Buckyngham, and Henry Erle of Warwicke, was erected to the title of Duke of Warwicke, and the Erle of Suffolke, made, Marques of Suffolke,

Suffolke. whiche Marques with his wife, & many honorable parsonages of men and women, ed, bothe with apparell and Ieuels, hauyng with them many costly chariottes, & selitters, sailed into Fraunce, for the conueyaunce of the nominated Quene, into of England. For kyng Reyner her father, for al his long stile, had to short a ide his doughter honorably, tō the kyng her spouse.

¶ THE. XXIII. YERE

THIS noble company, came to the citee of Toures in Tourayne, where they were honorably receiued, bothe of the Frēch kyng, and of the kyng of Scicile. Wher the Marques of Suffolke, as procurator to Kyng Henry, espoused thesaid Ladie, in the churche of saint Martyns At whiche inamage were present, the father and mother of the bride, the Frenche kyng hymself, whiche was vnle to the husbande, and the Frenche quene also, whiche was awnte to the wife There wer also, the dukes of Orleauce, of Calaber, of Alaunson, and of Britayn. vii. Erles, xii. Barons. xxi. Bishoppes, beside knightes and gentlemen. There wer triumphaunt Iustes, costly feastes, and dehcate banquettes, but all pleasure hath an ende, and euery ioye is not continuall. So that after these high solempnities finished, and these honorable ceremonies ended, the Marques had the Ladie Margaret to hym deliuered, whiche in greate estate, he cōueyed through Normandy to Deape, and so transported her into Englande, where she landed at Portesmouthe, in the monethe of Aprill This woman excelled all other, aswell in beaute and fauor, as in wit and pollicie, and was of stomack and corage, more like to a man, then a woman. Sone after her arriuall, she was conueyed to the toune of Southwike in Hamshire, where she, with all nupciall Ceremonies, was coupled in matrimony, to kyng Henry the. vi. of that name After whiche manage, she was with greate triumphe, conueyed to London, and so to Westminster, where vpō the. xxx. date of May, she, with all solempnitie thervnto apperteynyng, was Crouned Quene of this noble realme of Englande. Who so would knowe, the costly receipt, the pleasaunt companie, the gorgeous apparell, the diuersitie of Instrumentes, the straūge pagiauntes, the behamour of the Lordes, the beaune of the Ladies, the sumptuous feast, the delicate vian-der, the marcial iustes, the fierce turnais, the lustie daunces, & the miniō sōges, which wer shewed, setfurth and practised at her coronacion, let hym loke in the Chronicles of London, & of Robert Fabian, and there he shal finde thē set furth at the full.

THIS marriage semed to many, bothe infortunate, and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for many causes First the kyng with her had not one peny, and for the fetchyng of her, the Marques of Suffolke, demaunded a whole fistene, in open parliament also for her marriage, the Duchie of Aniw, the citee of Mauns, and the whole cōutie of Maync, were deliuered and released to Kyng Reyner her father, whiche countreis were the very stayes, and backestandes to the Duchy of Normandy. Furthermore for this marriage, the Erle of Arminacke, toke suche great displeasure, that he became viter enemy to the realme of Englande and was the chief cause, that the Englishmen, wer expulsed out of the whole duchie of Aquitayne, and lost bothe the countreis of Gascoyn and Guyen. But moste of all it should seme, that God with this matrimony was not content. Foi after this spousage the kynges frendes fell from hyni, bothe in Englande and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his realme, fell in diuision emongest themselves, the commons rebelled against their souereigne Lorde, and naturall Prince, felde wer foughten, many thousandes slain, and finally, the kyng deposed, and his sonne slain, and this Quene sent home again, with as-muche misery and sorowe, as she was receiued with pompe and triumphe, suche is worldly vnstablences, and so waueryng is false flattering fortune.

DVRYNG the tyme of this truce, Richard Duke of Yorke, and diuerse other capitaines, repaired into England, bothe to visite their wives, children, and frendes, and also to consulte, what should be doen, if the truce ended.

¶ THE.



## ¶ THE. XXIIIJ. YERE.

The. xxiii.  
Yere.

FOR the whiche cause, the kyng called his high court of Parliament, in the whiche above all thynges, it was concluded, diligently to forsee, that Normandy should be well furnished and strongly defended, before the terme of the truce should be expied for it was openly knownen, that the French kyng, was ready in all thynges, to make open warre, if no peace or abstinence of warre, wer agreed or concluded. For whiche consideracion, money was graunted, men wer appoynted and a great army gathered together and the duke of Somerset, was appoynted Regent of Normandy, and the Duke of Yorke thereof discharged. In whiche Parliament, to please the people with all, it was enacted, y<sup>e</sup> whē whete was solde for vi. s. viii. d. y<sup>e</sup> quarter and Rye for. iii. s. and Barley for. iii. s. it should be lawfull to every mā to cary thesaid kyndes of corne, into the parties beyond the sea, without licence, so it wer not to the kynges enemies or rebelles: whiche act, kyng Edward the iii. for the vtiltie of his people, approued and confirmed.

THE Marques of Suffolke, beyng in high fauor with the kyng, and in no lesse grace with quene Margaret, for cōcluding the mariage betwene them twoo, somewhat infected with the sede of vainglory, and thinkyng that his procedynges and dooynges in Fraunce, (duryng the tyme of his legacion) had aswell pleased all men, as they pleased hym self, the second daie of Iune, in the first session of this parliament, before all the lordes spirituall & temporall, in the higher hous assembled, opēly, eloquently and boldely, declared his pain, trauaile and diligēce, whiche he had taken and susteined of late tyme, in the Realme of Fraunce, aswel for the takyng and concluding a truce or abstinence of warre betwene the Realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, as in the makyng of the mariage betwene the kyng his souereigne lorde and theirs, and the noble Princes lady Margarete, daughter to the kyng of Scicile and Hierusalem. Openyng also to them, that thesaid truce should expie the first daie of April next commyng, except a finall peace or a farther truce wer concluded in the meane season aduysyng them to prouide and forsee all thynges necessarie, for the warre (as though no concorde should succede, nor agreement could take place) least the Frenchemen perceiuyng them vnprouided, would take their aduantage, and agree neither to reason nor amitie. sayyng vnto them, that sithe he had admonished the kyng, and them, accordyng to his duetie and allegeaunce, if any thyng qualed, or if daunger ensued, he was thereof innocent and giltyles, and had acquitted hymself like a louyng subiecte, and a faithful counsailor, prayyng the lordes to haue it in their remembraunce. Likewise the morowe after, he with certaim lordes, descended into the cōmon house, where he declared again all the saied matters, to the knyghtes, Citezens and Burgesses, omittyng nothyng, that might sounde to his gloi v, nor openyng any thyng, whiche might redound to his dispraise: prayyng the cōmons for his discharge, that aswell all his dooynges and procedynges in the kynges affaires beyond the sea, as also his aduertisement & counsaill, opened to the lordes and commons now together assembled, might be by the Kyng and them, enacted and mrolled in the Rēcordes of the Parliament: wherupon the morowe after William Burley, speaker for the commons and all the company of the nether house, repaired to the kynges presence, sitting in his throne, emongest his lordes in the parliament chamber, where thesaid William Burley, by the counsaill of the commons, (whether they did it moie for feare then for loue, or wer thervnto entised by the Marques frendes, as some men doubted) moste hūbly commended to the kynges highnes, the foresaid Marques of Suffolke, and all his actes and notable woorkes, whiche he had done to the plesure of almighty God, the honor of the kyng, and the vtiltie of the Realme as in takyng the truce, concluding the mariage, and the good admonicion, geuen by hym in open Parliament, for prouision of waire to be made, duryng the tyme of tuce, least to muche trustyng of peace, might encorage the Frenchemen, the soner to begyn warre and inuasiō. besechyng the kynges highnes, in the name of the commons, to

imprint in his harte and remēbraunce, thesaid Marques, and all his labors and actes, to his honor and renoume, which should be an exāple to all othei, whiche the kyng should call to like seruice, to employ themselves in like endeour faithfully and honorably to seue then kyng and souereigne lorde: prayng also the lordes spirituall and temporall, that they for the considerations before rehersed, would vouchesaue to make like peticiō to the kynges maiestie, and that all the actes and demeanor of thesaid Marques, might by auctoritie of parliamēt, be, to his honor, & perpetuall fame, in the rolles of thesame Parliament, recorded and substancially registered. At whiche humble intercession, the lordes, aswel spirituall as temporal, rose from their seates, and on their knees, made to the kyng like request and petition, as they of the commons before wer desired wherupon, the kyng by the mouthe of the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Chancellor, made answer, that their requestes wer so reasonable and so honorable, that he in no wise could, but louyngly accepte and gently allowe thesame, sayng also. that then desires, werto him a singuler pleasure, and an especiall comferte, and that he would from thencefurthe accepte and take thesaid Marques to his benigne grace, and especiall fauoure, as a persone, whiche had dooen bothe true, faithfull, and notable seruice to hym and to his Realme, to the intent, that all men put in like trust, should enforce them selves, to doo like or better seruice to their souereigne Lorde or Master agreynge also (accordyng to their requestes and petitions) that the labors, demeanors, diligences, and declarations of the said Marques of Suffolke, and thesaid commendacions, and desires, not only of the lordes, but also of the commons, aswel for the honor of hym and his posterite, as for his arquital and discharge, should be enacted, and enolled in the Recordes of the same parliament, which was so done. This Marques thus gotten vp, into fortunes trone, not content with his degree, by the meanes of the Quene, was shortly erected to the estate and degree of a Duke, and ruled the Kyng at his pleasure, in so muche he obtained the wardshippes, bothe of body and landes of the Coūtesse of Warwicke, and of the lady Margarete, sole heire to Ihon Duke of Somerset (whiche lady was after, mother to Kyng Henry the seuenth) and beside that, caused the Kyng to create Ihon de Foys, sonne to Gaston de Foys, erle of Longuile, and Capdaw of Bueffez, erle of Kendale: whiche Ihō had married his niece, and by his procurement, the kyng elected into the order of the Garter, thesaid Gaston, and Ihon his sonne, geuyng to the sonne, towards the maintenaunce of his degree and estate, landes and Castles, in the Duchie of Guyen, amountyng to the some of one thousand poundes by the yere, whiche landes, name, and stile, the issue and line of thesaid erle of Kendall at this daie haue and enioye.

HERE a man maie beholde, what securtie is in worldly glory, and what constancie is in fortunes smylng: for this Duke of Suffolke in open Parliament of the Lordes praised, of the commons thanked, and into the kynges fauor, entirely receiued, within foure yeres after, was in thesame place, by the commons of the Realme, accused of many treasons, misprisions and offences, done and committed against the Kyng, and the common wealthe of his Realme, and in conclusion, beyng exiled the realme, he was taken vpon the sea, and made shorter by the hedde, winche chaunce had not happened to him, if he had remembered the counsaile of the poppyngay, sayng: when thou thynkest thy self in courte moste surest, then is it high tyme to get thee home to rest.

THESE thynges beyng in doying, the Frenche kyng seyng that the the toun of Mauns, and diuerse fortresses in Mayne, were not to hym deliuered, accordyng to the appoyntment made, gathered together a great nombre of people, for to recouer thesame. wherof the kyng of England beyng aduertised, (least the breache of truce should begynne by hym) caused the toun to be deliuered without any force.

THIS yere, an Armerars seruauant of London, appeled his master of treason, whiche offered to bee tried by battail. At the daie assigned, the frendes of the master, brought hym Malmesey and *Aqua vite*, to comferte hym with all, but it was the cause of his and their discomferte: for he poured in so much that when he came into the place in Smithfelde, where he should fight, bothe his witte and strength failed hym: and so he beyng a tall and a hardye



hardye personage, ouerladed with hote drynkes, was vanqueshed of his seruante, beyng but a cowarde and a wretche, whose body was drawn to Tiborne, & there hanged and beheaded. In whiche yere was a greate insurreccion in Norwiche, against the Prior of the place, in so muche that the citezens kepte the gates, against the Duke of Norffolke, whiche came thither to appease the matter: but in conclugion, they opened the gates, and submitted them selves. The chief offenders, wei (accordyng to their desertes) straightly punished, and executed, and the Maire was discharged of his office, and sir Ilon Clifton was made gouernoure there, till the kyng had restored the citezens to their auncient liberties, and franchises. This commocion, was for certain newe exaccions, whiche the Prior claimed and toke of the citezens, contrary to their auncient fiedomes and vsages. but this was not the dewe meane to come to their right and purpose, and therefore because they erred and went out of the pathe, they were by punisshement brought again to a vey straight trade and the right waie.

## ¶ THE. XXV. YERE.

The xxv.  
yere.

DVring the tyme of this truce or abstinence of warre, while there was nothing to vexe or trouble the myndes of men, within the realme, a sodain mischief, and a long discorde, sprang out sodainly, by the meanes of a woman: for kyng Henry, whiche reigned at this tyme was a man of a meke spirite, and of a simple witte, preferring peace before warre, reste before busnesse, honestie before profite, and quietnesse before laboure. And to the intent that all men might perceiue, that there could be none, more chaste, more meke, more holy, nor a better creature. In hym reigned shamefastnesse, modestie, integritie, and pacience to bee marueiled at, takyng and sufferyng all losses, chaunces, displeasures, and suchie worldly tormentes, in good parte, and with a pacient maner, as though they had chaunced by his awne fault or negligent ouersight yet he was gouerned of them whom he should haue ruled, and brided of suche, whom he sharply should haue spurred. He gaped not for honor, nor thirsted for riches, but studied onely for the health of his soule the sayyng wherof, he esteemed to bee the greatest wisdom, and the losse thereof, the extreimest folie that could bee. But on the other parte, the Quene his wife, was a woman of a greate witte, and yet of no greater witte, then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and couetous of honor, and of reason, pollicye counsaill, and other giftes and talentes of nature, belongyng to a man, full and flowyng of witte and wilnesse she lacked nothyng, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, she was not vnexperte. but yet she had one poynt of a very woman for often tyme, when she was vehemēt and fully bente in a matter, she was sodainly like a wether-cocke, mutable, and turnyng. This woman perceiuyng that her husbände did not frankely rule as he would, but did all thyng by thadvice and counsaill of Hūfrey duke of Gloucester, and that he passed not muche on the auctoritie and gouernaunce of the realme, determined with her self, to take vpon her the rule and regiment, bothe of the kyng and his kyngdome, & to depriue & euict out of al rule and auctoritie, thesaid duke, then called the lord protector of the realme. least men should saie & report, y she had nether wit nor stomacke, whiche would permit & suffre her husband, beyng of perfect age & mā estate, like a yong scholer or innocent pupille to be gouerned by the disposition of another man. This manly woman, this coragious quene, ceased not to prosecute furthwith, her muented imaginacion and prepesed purpose, but practised daily the furtheraunce of thesame. And although this inuēciō came first of her awne high mind, and ambitious corage, yet it was furthered and set forward by suche, as of long tyme had borne inalice to the duke, for declaryng their vntruth as you before haue heard. Whiche venemous serpentes, and malicious Tygers, perswaded, incensed and exhorted the quene, to loke well vpon the expenses and reuenues of the realme, and thereof to call an accompt affirmyng plainly that she should evidently perceiue, that the Duke of Gloucester, had not so muche aduanced & preferred the commō

wealth and publique vtilite, as his awne priuate thinges & peculier estate Beside this, Reyner kyng of Scicile, wrote to his daughter, that she & her husband, should take vpon them, the rule & gouernance of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, like yong wardes and desolate orphans. The queene perswaded and encouraged by these meanes, toke vpō her and her husbände, & high power and aucthoritie ouer the people and subiectes. And although she ioyned her husbände with him in name, for a countenance, yet she did all, she saied all, and she bare the whole swynge, as the strong oxe doth whē he is yoked in the the plough with a pore silly asse and firste of all she excluded the duke of Gloucester, from all rule and gouernance, not prohibiting suche as she knewe to be his mortal enemies, to inuent and imagine, causes and griefes, against hym and his so that by her permissiō, and fauor, diuerse noblemen conspired against hym, of the whiche, diuerse writers affirme, the Marques of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckyngham to be the chiefe, not vnprocured by the Cardinall of Winchester, and the Archebishop of Yorke. Diuerse articles, bothe heynous and odious, were laied to his charge in open counsaill, and in especiall one, that he had caused men adiudged to dye, to be put to other execucion, then the law of the land had ordered or assigned for sueli the duke being very well learned in the lawe ciuill, detestying malefactors, and punishing their offences, gat great malice and hatred of such as feared to haue condigne reward for their vngracious actes and mischeuous doynges. Although the duke (not without great laude and praise) sufficiently answered to all thynges to hym objected, yet because his death was determined, his wisdom litle helped, nor his truth smally auailed but of this vnquietnes of mynde, he deliuered hymself, because he thought neither of death, nor of condempnacion to dye suche affaunce had he in his strong truthe, and suche confidence had he in indifferent iustice But his capitall enemies and mortal foes, fearyng that some tumulte or commocion might arise if a prince so well beloued of the people, should bee openly executed, and put to death, determined to trappe & vndoo hym, or he thereof should haue knowledge or wainyng So for the furtheraunce of their purpose, a parliament was somoned to be kept at Bery, whether resorted all the peres of the realme, and emongest them, the duke of Gloucester, whiche on the second daie of the session, was by the lorde Beaumont, then high Constable of Englande, accompanied by the duke of Buckynghā, and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in warde, and all his seruantes sequestered from hym, and. xxxii. of the chief of his retinue, were sent to diuerse prisons, to the greate admiration of the common people The duke the night after his emprisonement, was found dedde in his bed, and his body shewed to the lordes and commōs, as though he had died of a palsey or empostome. but all indifferent persons well knewe, that he died of no natural death but of some violēt force some iudged hym to be strangled: some affirme, that a hote spitte was put in at his foundement: other write, thāt he was stifled or smoldered betwene twoo fetherbeddes After whose deathe, none of his seruantes (although they were arraigned and attainted) wer put to death. for the Marques of Suffolke, when they should haue been executed, shewed openly their pardon, but this doyng appeased not the grudge of the people, whiche saied that the pardone of the seruantes, was no amendes for inurdering of their master. The dedde corse of the duke, was caried to saint Albons, and there honorably buried. Thus was this noble prince, sonne, brother, and vnclē to kynges, whiche had valeauntly and polittiquely by the space of. xxv. yeres gouerned this Realme, and for his demerites, called the good duke of Gloucester, by a bone cast by his enemies, choked and brought to his fatal fine, and laste ende. So all men maie openly se that to men in aucthoritie, no place no not the courte the cheif refuge of all, nor the dwelling house, nor yet a mannes priuate Castle, or his bed ordeined for his quietnes, is out of daunger of deathes dart. It semeth to many men, that the name and title of Gloucester, hath been vnfortunate and vnluckie to diuerse, whiche for their honor, haue been erected by creation of princes, to that stle and dignite, as Hugh Spencer, Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne to kyng Edward the third, and this duke Humfrey, whiche thre persones, by miserable death finished their daies, and after them kyng Richard the. iii. also, duke of Gloucester, in ciuill



warre was slain and confounded: so ſ̄ this name of Gloucester, is takē for an vnhappy and vnfortunate stile, as the prouerbe speaketh of Scianes horse, whose ridei was euer vnhoised, and whose possessor was euer brought to miserie. When the rumor of the dukes death, was blown through the realme, many mē wer sodainly appalled and amased for feare. many abhorred and detested ſ̄ faict, but all men reputed it an abhominable cruelte, and a shameful tyranny. But the publike wealth of the realme of Englande, by the vnworthy death of this politique prince, susteined greate losse, & ran into ruine, for surely the whole waight and burden of the realme, rested and depēded vpō him, as the experience afterward did declare. For after his death, good & sage men fearing thē selves, fled out of ſ̄ flattering court, into whose places entereid suche, as desiring their awne promociō, set open the gates to new factions, whiche could neuer be extinct till all the seignories beyōd the sea (except Calce & the marches) were lost, & kyng Hēry in conclusion spoyled of hys Realme & lyfe. There is an olde sayd saw, that a man entēdyng to auoide the smoke, falleth into the fyre. So here the Quene mynding to preserue her husbād in honor, & her selfe in auctoritie, procured & consented to the death of this noble man, whose onely death brought to passe that thyng, which she woulde most fayne haue eschewed, and toke from her that iewel, whiche she moste desied. for if this Duke had lyued, the Duke of Yorke durst not haue made title to the crowne. if this Duke had liuyd, the nobles had not conspired against the king, nor yet the cōmōs had not rebelled. if this Duke had lyued, the house of Lācastre had not been defaced and destroyed, which thynges hapned all contrary by the destrucciō of this good man. This is the worldly iudgemēt, but God knoweth, what he had predestinate & what he had ordained before, against whose ordonaunce preuayleth no counsaill, and against whose will auayleth no stryunge.

## ¶ THE. XXVI. YERE.

The. xxvi.  
yere

IN this. xxvi yere of the reigne of this kyng, But in the first yere of the rule of the Quene, I fynde no thyng done worthy to be rehersed, within the Realme of Englande, but that the marques of Suffolke by greate fauor of the kyng, and more desire of the Quene, was erected to the title, and name of the duke of Suffolke, whiche dignitie he shorte tyme enjoyed. & which degre, he but a briete seasō possessed. For after the deposicion or rather the destruction of the good duke of Gloucester, and the exaltacion and aduancement of this glorious man Richard duke of Yorke, beyng greatly alied by his wyte, to the chief pees and potentates of the Realme, ouer and besyde his awne progenye and greate consanguinitie, perceiuyng the Kyng to be a ruler not Ruling, & the whole burden of the Realme, to depend in the ordinaūces of the Quene & the duke of Suffolke, began secretly to allure to his frendes of the nobilitie, and priuaty declared to thē, his title and right to the Crowne, and lykenyse dyd he to a certain wyse and saige Governours and rulers of dyuers cities and townes whiche priue attēpt was so politiquely handeled and so secretly kept, that his promisiō was ready, before his purpose was openly published, and hys friends opened them selves on the contrary parte coulde them espye. but in conclusion tyme reueled truth and olde nyd hatred openly sprange out, as you shall hereafter bothe lament and heare.

DURING these doynges, Henry Beauford, bishop of Winchester, and called the iycne Cardinall, departed out of this world, and was buried at Wynchester. This man was soune to Ihon of Gaunte duke of Lancaster, discēded of an honorable lignage, but borne in Baste, more noble of blodd, then notable in learning, haut in stomacke, and hygh in cōtēnaunce, ryche aboue measure of all men, & to fewe liberal, disdayntull to his kynne and. dieādull to his louers, preferringe money before frendshippe, many thynges beginning, and nothing perfourmyng. His couetous inuaciable, and hope of long lyfe, made hym bothe to forget God, hys Prynce and hym selfe, in his latter daies. for doctor Ihon Baker his pryue counsaillor, and his chappelleyne, wrote, that he lyeng on his death bed, said these wordes. "Why should I dye hauig so muche ryches, if the whole Realme would saue my lyte, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by iyches to bye it. Eye, will not death be hyered, nor will money do  
1  
nothyng."

nothyng<sup>s</sup> when my nephew of Bedford died, I thought my selfe halfe vp the whele, but when I sawe myne other nephew of Gloucester diseased, then I thought my selfe able to be equale with kinges, and so thought to encrease my treasure in hoope to haue worne a tryple Crowne. But I se now the worlde faileth me, and so I am deceyued prayng you all to pray for me." Of the getting of this mannes goodes both by power, legantye or spirituall bryberie I wil not speake. but the keepinge of them for his ambycious purpose, aspyrnyng to ascend to the papisticall sea, was bothe great losse to his naturall Prince, and natyue country for his hiddē ryches might haue wel nolsen the king, and his secreete treasure might haue releued the cōmonaltie, whē money was scante and importunate charges, were daily imminent. After the death of this prelate, which was a great stay to the Kyng & the realme, the affayres in Fraunce, were neither well looked to, nor the gouernois of the country were well aduised. For an Englishc capitayn, called syr Franceys Surrien the Aragonoys, a man for his witt and actiuitie admitted to the order of the Garter, toke by scalynge sodaynly in the night, a Towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belonging to the duke of Britayn, called Fongiers, spoyling the same, and kyllynge the inhabitants to the great destruction of the people, and more displeasure to the duke of Britayn, their soueigne lorde. The duke beyng thereof aduertysed, sent wooorde to the Frenche kyng, declaringe to him that in the tyme of truce (in the which, he as his allye and vassal was cōprehendyd) he was spoyled and bereuyd of his towne of Fongiers: besechyng the Frenche kyng, in that cause to se a recompense and amendemente whereupon he sent Ihon Hauait his caruar, and Ihon Cosynet one of the masters of his requestes to the kyng of England & to the duke of Somerset, he dispatched Peter de Tountaynes Esquier, & one of the cheife of his stable, to whome by both the Princes, it was answered, that the facte and enterprise was both done contrary to there mynde, will and knowledge. And for the truce to be kept, and not onely restitution, but also amendes to be made to the Duke of Britayn, a daye of dyet and assemble was appoynted to be kept at the town of Louiers. At the tyme appoynted both the parties assembled the Frenche parte demaunded amendes, with no litle recompense. The Englishc orators answered, that without offēce, no thing by iustice, ought to be satisfied: affirming the doyng of syr Franceys Surrien, to be his onely acte, withoute the consent or counsaile, either of the kyng of England, or the duke of Somerset his lieutenant and regent. During this daily communicaciō & longe delaye, certain Frenchemen, sendes to the duke of Britayn, desyryng to be reuenged of the iniurie done to him at Fongiers, and also imagynynge, how to do some new displeasure to the Englishmē, were aduertised by a wagoner of Louiers, & the town of Poutelaiche, was but meanly armed and slenderly furnished, and the watche was but negligently looked to with whiche saynges the Frenchemen beyng somewhat encouraged, deuised a waye, howe by pollicie to take the towne. So the wagoner laded his wagon, and passed forward, hauing in his company, ii stronge valettes clad lyke carpenters with great axes in their neckes. And for the furtherāce of their purpose, the lord of Bressy, with a chosen company of men of armes lodged himself in a busshement nere to the gate of saint Andrewe. And capitayn Floquet, accompanied with syr James of Clemeuēt, and another great company, priuily lurked vnder a wood toward Louiers. When all thinges were appoynted, early in the morning in the beginning of the moneth of October, the wagoner came to the gate, & called the porter by name, prayng him to open the gate, that he mighte passe to Roen, and retorne agayne the same night. The porter (whiche wel knew the voice of his customer) toke litle hede to the other ii cōpagnions, & so opened the one gate, and sent another felow of his, to opē the foremost gate. Whā ſy Chariotte was on the draw bridge, betwene both ſy gates, the Chariottemaster gaue the porter money, and for the nones, let one pece fall to the grounde, & whyle the porter stooped to take it vp, the wagoner with his dagger stroke him in at his throte, so that he cried for no healpe, and the ii great lubbers slewe the other porters, and with their axes cutte the axletree of the wagone, so that the drawe bridge could not be shortly drawn vp. Which thinges done, they made a signe to capitayne Floquet, whiche, without delay or tract of tyme, entered the town, and



slew and toke the Englishmen, which neither heard nor thought of any suche enterprise: amongest whom, the lord Fauconbridge, capitaine of the saide towne, was apprehended as a prisoner. By this platye cautele and slyghe imposture, was the towne of Poutelarche takē and surprised, which towne was the key and passage ouer the ryuer of Soame, frō Fraūcc to Normandy, beyng distant frō Roen, only. iij. leagues. Thus wrong was added to wrong, & iniurie heped to iniurie, whereby ſ̄ terme of truce was violated, & mortal warre was reuiued. But because ſ̄ taking of this fortiesse, had a certain colour of brekīg of truce. The duke of Somerset by ambassadors, & not by force of armes, deuised to recouer this platye town, & sēt for ſ̄ resituciō of thesame, diuerse ambassadors to ſ̄ Fiēch kyng & his cōsail, which made aīswere agayn, ſ̄ if the Englishmen restored to the duke of Brytain, the town of Fōgiers with cōdigne amēdes, for the damages done & cōmitted within the same, the town of Poutlarche should agayne be rendered and deliuered to the Frenche kynge and his counsail began now to perceyue and smel, that the affayres of Englande, by the death of the duke of Gloucester, were sore minished and decayed, and that good counsail began to waxe faynte and decay, and sedicion freshely began to sprynge and ryse. By reason whereof, they thoughte that Normandy might some be conquered and recouied, and that the Englishe nacion out of that region might easely be expulsed and drinē out wherfore they determined to take the good occasion to them openly offered, & to lose no tyme in so good a bargayne. Wherupō kyng Charles diuided his armye in to. iii. partes, not doubting of victory, by reason that the fame of the cōquest of Pountelarche, was blowen and spread abroad ouer al ſ̄ cōūtre. So after diuers assautes (not without losse of diuers of his men) he had rendered to hym by cōposicion, the townes of Louiers and Gerbone, whereof Willm Harper was capitayn. Thus prosperous victory dayly succedinge to the Frenche kynges armye, he augmenting his hooste, determined to get the town of Veinoyle in perche, & gyrd it round about with a strōg seage. The inhabitants wherof, although with the sodaynē chaunce they were somewhat abashed, yet hauinge some succours, and hopinge of more relefe, toke to them good courage, and manfully defended the towne. But when their ayde tained lenger, then they either thought or desired, they were compelled to compound and pact with their enemyes, vpon this condicion - that if the seage were not reysed within xx. dayes, that then they shoulde departe with bagge and baggage, whiche condiciō was accepted and because no rescous came, the town, Castel and the great Towre, were deliuered. The Frenche historians affirme, the towne to be taken by assaute, and the Castell by composicion, but all writers agree, that the Frenchemen obteyned it. Thus was waire reuiued before the full terme of the truce expyred, which was the moste detestable and vnprofitable chaūcē that either could, or might haue happened or come, to the realme of England. For by this sodayn damage & losse, without thought arising, the Englishe capitaynes were so busied & vquieted, what with appeasyng dayly rumors within townes, and what with studye how to recouer Castels lost and taken, that they scace wyste, what waye to take for while they studied, how to kepe and defēde onc citie in y or. v. othē, folowing fortunes chauce, turned to the Frenche parte, and became their enemies. The chiefe cause of which reuolting and turnīg was this: It was blowen throughout all Fraūce, that the realme of Englande, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, by the seuerall factiōs of Princes, was diuided in two partes, and that William de la Pole, late created duke of Suffolke, and diuers other were the occasion of the death of the said duke of Gloucester, which was the very Father of the countrey, and the shield and defence of the poore cōmonaltie, and that the forenamed duke of Suffolke, only for lucre of money, vexed, oppressed and molested the poore people, so that mens myndes were not intentue, nor geuen to outward affayres, and foren coquestes, but all there studie was, how to drue backe and defend domesticall iniuries, and dayly wronges done at home by reason whereof men of waire were vn timer, and no aīmye for resistēce was either gathered or assēbled together, which mischuefes (while the Kyng, as thinges of the worldē, and of no great moment, did neglect and omit, as he which preferred & extolled godly thinges, aboue all worldly affaires and mortal cures, and thought thē most

to be phâsied and labored And while queene Margarete his wyfe, in whom the whole rule of the realme consisted, beyng a woman of to muche credēce geuyng, to euil & flattering cōsallors them litle regarded) dayly so much encreased, that by no meanes after they could be either ouercome or resisted so that by this meanes the Frenche nacion knew in what case the state of the realme of Englande stode in, whiche elated & encouraged then hartes & daunted & appalled the courages of the Normans and Gascoyns, so muche that for lacke of ayde and relefe, they turned to the Frenche parte, and forsoke their very souereigne lord the king of Englande in shorte space, as you shall here after heare.

¶ THE. XXVII. YERE.

IT was not enough, the realme of Englād this season thus to be vexed and vnquieted with the busines of Normādy, but also a new rebellion began in Ielande, to the great displeasure of the Kyng and his counsaill. for repressinge whereof, Richard duke of Yorke, with a conuenient nūber of men was sent thither, as lieutenent to the Kyng, which not onely appeased the fury of the wyld, and sauage people there, but also gat him suche loue and fauour of the countrey and the inhabitaūtes, that their syncre love and frēdly affection coulde neuer be seperated frō him and his lygnage, as in the sequele of this story, you shall more plainly perceyue. The Fienchemen hauyng perfyte vnderstāding of the infirmite and vnreadinesse of the realme of Englande, displayed their banners, and set furthe their armyes, and in shorte space gat by yeildyng, Constance, Gisors, Castell, Gayllard, Pontean du mere, saint Lo, Fescampe, Newchastel, Alanson, Tonque, Manleō argēton, Lisiaux argenton, and diuers other townes in Normandy. Lykewise in Guyen was the town of Maulisone rēdered to ꝑ Erle of Foy. These townes were not yelded voluntarily by the Englishe souldiors, but they were thereunto compelled by the cytizens and the inhabitauntes of the townes, whiche apparantly perceyung, that the great flāme of the Englishe force was extinct and consumed, rose against the Capitaines, and either opened the gates to their enemies, or constrained them to render vpon a composicion. By which enforcement was the rych cite of Roan deliuered for surely the Duke of Somerset & the lorde Talbot Erle of Shrowesbury, had well kept & defended this citie, if they had bene no more vexed with the citizens, then they were with their enemyes. For after the Frenche king had once by his Herault somoned the citie, the inhabitaūtes not only sought ways and inuented fraudes, how to betray the same, but also put on harnes and rebelled against their capitaynes, menacinge to the death & destruccion al the English people. The capitaines perceiuyng then vntrought, & trayterous demeanour retrayted them selves into the Castell or Palaice, where they a certaine space with arioues and handgonnes, sore molested and vexed the vntrew citizens. But when they considered the great puyssaūce of the Frēch kyng, and that they were in dispayre of all ayde or relefe, and that their victayle and artillarye began sore to minishe, they thoughte it better to compounde and agree with their enemies, rather then wilfully to be destroyed or dye for famyn and so vpon condicion that all they should safely depaite to Caen with all their goods and armure, and that certain townes should be deliuered by a daye, they were permitted to depaite. leauyng behynd them for hostages, till the sayd townes (whiche were agreed to be rendered) should be deliuered, the Erle of Shreuesbury and the lorde Butler, sonne to the Erle of Ormonde, which were sent to the Castell of Eureux, because they sore feared the malice of the citizens of Roen. The Frenchemen folowyng still the steps of victorie, & elated with the brute and fame of getting of Roen, determined either by force or offer, to get the towne of Haifflew, and shortly assauted thesame, wherof was capitayn s<sup>r</sup> Thomas Coneson, a man of great witt and of no lesse force. which hauyng knowledge of the heauy tidinges, brought from Roen, was therewith nothinge abashed, but coragiously set vpon his enemies, and them to their great hurt, manfully repulsed and draue from the walles. The Frenchemen learning wit by this great perill, left their scalyng, and

The xxvii.  
yere



deused dayly, howe to batter and breake the walles & fortificaciōs. This seage long continued to the great losse of both parties. When syr Thomas sawe small lykelihod of ayde or gayne, but muche apparaunce of losse and ieopardy, he toke a conuencion with his enemies, and so departed with all his goodes.

## ¶ THE XXVIII. YERE.

The xxviii.  
yere.

AFTER whiche towne rendered, the fortresse of Hunflew, vpon the same composition was yelded. Thus you may perceyue, that fortune is ever without measure, for either she to muche fauorieth or to muche hateth: for beside these townes surrendered in Normandy, the duke of Britayne recovered agayne Fongiers, sent Ihon de Bueine and diuers other townes. In the meane season, the king of England sent into Normandy with a crew of M. and. cccc. men, a valiaunt capitayn, called syr Thomas Kyriel. a man of great stomache, if he had hadde a great armie but his power was to small, either to recouer that whiche was lost, either to saue that. whiche yet remainyd vngotten: but surely in him lacked neither good will nor courage, for with his small numbre, he recovered agayn the townes of Lyseaux and Valongnes. After which feate, he ioyned hymself with sir Hēry Norbery, sir Robert Veere, Matthew Gough, and other capitaines, so that they were aboue fiue thousande men, of valiaunt hartes and haute couiages. After long consultacion, they determined to fight with the Frenchmen, whiche wer gooyng to the siege of Caen, but in their journey, they were encountered at a place called Foinigny, betwene Carentyne and Bayeux, by the erle of Cleremont, lieutenant for the Frenche kyng, the Stewarde of Poyton, and the lorde of Rays Admirall of Fraunce, with sixe hundred men of armes, and sixe thousand other, whiche skirmished with the Englishmen a greate season. Duryng whiche skirmishe, there arrived Arthur erle of Richemond, high Constable of Fraunce, Iames of Luxenborough, erle of Lauall, with a greate nombre of horsemen and freshe fotemen. After his comyng, he and all the Frenchmen set on the Englishmen, beyng taint and wery with the long skirmishe. This battail was soie fought, but in conclusiō, the Englishmen wer discomfited, and put to flight, and of them slain aboue iii. M. and viii. C. taken prisoners, where of, sir Thomas Kyriel, sir Henry Norbery, & sir Thomas Dreue wer the chief, sir Robert Vere and Matthew Gough saved themselves. This was the first foughten feld, that the Frenchmen gatte on the Englishmen in many yeres, wherfore, I blame them not, though they of a litle, make muche, and set furthe all, and hide nothing that maie sounde to their gloiy. They declare what nūbie they slew, but they write not how many of them wer slain nor destroyed.

AFTER this victory obtained, the Frenche kyng hearyng that the Duke of Somerset was in the towne of Caen, thought that he had nothing doen, if he permitted the duke, still to tary in Normandy, whiche by new aide and freshe succors, might turne the whele of Fortune, into a contrary paite, and peradventure recouer all that hath been loste, or put the realme of Fraunce in ieopardy. wherfore, like a wise prince, entending to preuent thynges, imminent & at hande, assembled an armie royall, & in his awne persōne, hauyng in his campe Reyner, called kyng of Sicile, father to the Quene of Englande, the dukes of Calaber and Alaunson, the eyles of Cleremont, Richemond, Mayne, Dumoys, Sent Polle, and Dampemartyne, beside many noble Barons and valiaunte knightes, when all thynges were ready, as opportuniste of tyme serued. He caused the Toune to bee enuironed on euery side, assignyng to his capitaines severall places of the toune to bee assauted, and there to proue their manhod. The erle of Dumoys, with more losse then gain entered into a bulwerke and was beaten backe. The Englishmen within the toune kept silence, as though they knewe not of their enemies approchyng, but every man kept his loupe, and euery captain well ouerlooked his ward. The Frenchmen with quarelles, morisikes, slynges, and other engynes, began to assaut the walles. but of the

the Englishemen within, some shot fiercely withlong bowes, other cast dartes, and rolled doune greate stones and barres of Iron: other cast doune Iauelyns, frebrades, hoteleade, and blockes with pitche and brynstone, like burnyng fire flamyng some cast doune and ouerthrew the scalyng ladders and slewe suche as clymed vp the walles neither courage lacked in the assault, nor manhode, nor pollecie in the defence: for on the embatelmētes of the walles were set greate rolles of tymbre, so mouyng and vnstedfaste, that neither scalyng ladder could cathe any holde, nor no persone that should clyme vp, could set any sure fotyng. The French kyng, perceuyng that this assaye litle or nought preuailed hym, sent for all his greate ordinaunce to Paris, determining neuer to depaite, till he had conquered the toun, either with sworde or famyn. When the ordinaunce was brought, he daily shot at the walles, and did some hurte. but to the Castle, whiche stode on a rocke, and in it a dongeon vnhabable to be beaten doune, he did no harme at all. In this toun was the duke of Somerset, his wife and children, but he was not capitain, for the Duke of Yorke owner of the toun, by the kynges giste, had appoynted there his capitain generall, sir Daui Halle, and of the castle, sir Robert Vee, and of the dongeon, sir Henry Radford. Daily the shot was greate, but more terrible then hurtfull. Sauyng one daie, a stone shot into the toun, fel betwene the duches of Somerset, and her children, whiche, beyng amased with this chaunce, praied on her knees her husbände, to haue mercy and compassion of his small enfantes, and that they might be deliuered out of y toun in sauegard. The duke more piteous then hardy, moued with the dolor of his wife, and loue of his children, assembled the capitaines and magistrates of the toun, declaring to them, the power and puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng, and their debilitie and weakenes, perswadyng them rather to yeld and rendre vpon honest condicions, then obstinatly to resist, and foolishly to perishe. Sir Daui Halle, capitain of the toun, answered to hym, sayng my lorde, although you bee the kynges lieutenaut generall, within this countrey and dominion, and maie by force of your auctoritie, deliuer, sell or geue, any of the kynges tounes, to suche persones, either frendes or enemies, as shall please you. yet I am sure that you cut your lether to large, to intreate or speake of the rendering of this toun, apperteinyng to my lord & master, Richard duke of Yorke, whiche thereof hath geuen me bothe the charge and custody, with other of my trusty frendes and felowes, and whiche with the helpe of almightie God, I shall well defende, bothe against the Frenche kyng and all his puyssaunce, till the duke my master come to succor me: for of men, money and munitions, I trust I haue sufficient. Why said the duke, am not I here the kynges deputie, representyng his persone, & maie commaunde all thynges accordyng to my discrecion. Yea, said the capitain, so that you geue away no mānes right, but his, whose auctoritie you haue for thesame: as for this toun, I assure you, without my lordes assent, you shall neither render nor yelde, by my consent or agrement. The duke was sore moued with this sayng, and so departed, and after sent for the rulers of the toun, and the poorest people of thesame, declaring to them, that their lifes and goodes, wer in the Frenche kynges handes, and if they looked not shortely to then sauegard, of death they were sure, and of mercie farre vncertain: exhortyng them to folowe his louyng monicion, rather then the hardened harte, of their to hardie capitain. The people of the toun thus perswaded (whose hartes wer rather Frenche then Englishe) began to rise against sir Daui boldly affirmyng, that if he tooke no composicion, within three daies, they would open the gates, and let in the Frenche kyng and of this opinion, wer all the common souldiours. What should the poore Hare saie, when she is enuironed with a hundred houndes, or the silly Larke crie, when she is in the middell of a hundred Hawkes, but take patience, and seke awaie to escape. so this capitain perceuyng, that neither his wordes serued, nor his truthe toward his master preuailed, bad the duke of Somerset do what he list, for he would in no wise be named in y composiciō. Then the duke partly to please the tounes men, but more desirous to please the duches his wife, made an agrement with the Frenche kyng, that he would rendre the toun, so that he and all his, might depart in sauegard with all their goodes.



goodes and substaunce: whiche offre, the Frenche Kyng gladly accepted and allowed, knowing that by force, he might longer haue longed for the strong toune, then to haue possessed thesame so sone. After this conclusion taken, sir Dauid Halle, with diuerse other of his trustie fiēdes, departed to Chierburge, and from thence sailed into Iulande, to the duke of Yorke, makynge relacion to hym of all these dooynges whiche thyng kyndeled so so greate a rancore in his harte & stomacke that he neuer leste persecutyng of the Duke of Somerset, till he had brought hym to his fatal poynt, and extreme confusion.

AFTER the obtaynyng of this strong toune of Caen, the erle of Cleremont besieged the cite of Lyseux, whercof was capitain Matthew Gough, with thre hundred Englishmen. The capitain perceyving that when Caen was not rescued, that poore Lyseux, was in dispaire of all succor, agreed to abandon and deliuer the cite, so that he and his people, might departe to Chierburge, hauyng no yron weapon nor armure, but onely their goodes, and white staves in their hands. After the deliuerance of this toune, the Frenchmen stil like good beegles, folowyng their preye, besieged the toune of Fallayse, apperteynyng to the lord Talbot, erle of Shrewesbury whereof wer capitaines for thesaid erle, Andrieu Trollop, and Thomas Cotton esquires, whiche beyng desperate of succors, and considering the pissaunce of their enemies, agreed to deliuer the toune vpon twoo condicions. The one was, that the Erle their master, whiche remained in pledge for certain condicions, agreed to bee perfourmed at the deliuerance of Roen, (as you haue heard before) should be dismissed & set at libertie. The other, that if they wer not rescued within twelue daies, that then, they and theirs, to depart with armure, and all their godes moueable, whether it pleased them. After this agreement at the date prefixed, no rescues came, and so the toune was redeied, and incontinent after, the fortresse of Dampforde was deliuered vpon like agreement. For the Frenchmen bragged, that they regarded neither golde nor silver, but desired rule, glory, and fame: With whiche lightnesse, the other townes of Normandy beyng perswaded, voluntarily rendered themselves, vassalles and subiectes to the Frenche nacion.

NOW rested English, onely the toune of Chierburge, wherof was capitain, Thomas Gouille, which surely, valiauntly defended the toune as long as vitail and municion serued, but when those twoo handes wer spent and consumed, he destitute of all comforte and aide, vpon a reasonable composiciō, yelded the toune and went to Caleis, where the duke of Somerset, and many Englishmen then sojourned. lamentyng their losse, and desperate of all recouery. Thus was the riche duchie of Normandy lost, & whiche had conunued in the Englishmennes possession. xxx. yerēs, by the cōquest of Kyng Henry the fifth. In the whiche duchie wer a hundred strong townes and fortresses, hable to be kept and holden, beside them whiche wer destroyed by the warres, and in thesame was one Archebishopricke, and sixe bishoprickes. Some saie, that the Englishmen wer not of puyssaunce, either to man the townes as they should bee or to inhabite the countrey, whiche was the cause, that they could not, kepe it. accordyng to the Frenchmennes Adage, whiche saith. A man cannot long hold that, whiche he cannot giue. Other say, that the duke of Somerset, for his awne peculier profite, kept not halfe his nombre of souldiers, and put their wages in his purse. These be mennes imaginacions and coniectures, but surely the losse of it, was the domesticall diuision within the realme, euery greate man desiryng, rather to be reuenged on his foo at home, then on his outward enemy, as you now shall manifestly se and perceiue.

#### ¶ THE. XXVIII. YERE.

FOR while these conquestes wer obtained in the partes beyond the sea, with sworde, speare, and target, by the aduersaries of the Englishmen, thre mischeuous capitaines, set the people of the Realme (aswell of the nobilitie, as of the meane sorte) in a ciuill warre  
and

and intestine diuision For among the high Princes and peeres, reigned inward grudge among the Cleargie, adulation, & among the commonaltie, disdain of lasciuious soueraignie whiche the Quene with her minions, and vnprofitable counsaillers daily toke and vsurped vpō them Wherefore they (not myndyng to be more charged, then then, backes would beare, and perceiuyng that by the negligent prouision, and improuident pollicie of the wit wantyng gouernors within the realme, the affaires and businesse in the partes beyonde the sea, daily decayed and more wer like to do, if othei polittique rulers were put in auctoritie, and the negligent officers, sequestered and deposed,) began to make exclamacion against the Duke of Suffolke, affirming him, to be the onely cause of the deliuey of Angeow & Mayne, the chiefe procurei of the death of the good duke of Gloucester, the veyne occasion of the losse of Normandy, the moste swallower vp and consumer of the kynges treasure, (by reason whereof, the waies in Fraunce wer not maintained,) the expeller frō the kyng, of all good and verteous counsaillers, and the bringer in and auauncer of vicious peisoners, common enemies and apparaunt aduersaries to the publike wealthe So that the duke was called in euery mannes mouth, a traitor, a murderer, a robber of the kynges treasure, and worthy to bee put to moste cruell punishment. By reason of this exclamacion, the Quene somewhat fearyng the destiuccion of the Duke, but more the confusion of her self, caused the Parliament, before begon at the blacke Friers in London, to be adioined to Leicester, thinking there, by force and rigour of y<sup>e</sup> law, to subdue and represse all the malice and euill will, conceiued againte the Duke and her at whiche place fewe of the nobilitie would appere, wherefore it was again adioined to Westminster, where was a whole company and a full apparaunce In the whiche session, the commons of the neither house, put vp to the Kyng, and the Lordes, many articles of treason, mispusion and misdemeanoure, against the duke of Suffolke the effect wherof with his aunsweres, hereafter ensueth.

FIRST they alleged, that he had traiterously excited, provoked, and counsailed, Ihon 1  
erle of Dumoys Bastard of Orleauce Bertrame, Lorde Presigny, Willyam Cosynet, enemies to the kyng, and fiendes and Ambassadors to Charles, callyng hymself Frenche kyng, to entre into this Realme, and to leuy warre against the kyng and his realme, to the intent to destroye the kyng and his frendes, and to make Ihon his sonne, kyng of this realme, marryng hym to Margaret, sole heire to Ihō duke of Somerset, pretending and declaryng her, to be next heire inheritable to the Crowne, for lacke of issue of the Kynges body lawefully begotten.

ITEM that thesaid duke, beyng of the kynges priue and nere counsaill, allured by greate 2  
rewardes, and faire promises, made by the foresaied Erle of Dumoys, caused the kyng to deliuer and sette at libertie, Charles duke of Orleauce, enemy to the kyng, and the kynges noble father, whiche deliuerance, was prohibited by expresse woordes, in the last will of the kynges moste victorious father.

ITEM, that before the departure of the saied duke of Orleauce, the forenamed Duke 3  
of Suffolke, traitorously faste cleauyng to Charles called the French kyng, counsailed, prouoked, and entised thesaid duke of Orleauce; to moue thesame kyng, to make warre against England, bothe in Fraunce and Normandy. accordyng to whiche procurement and counsaill, thesaid Frenche kyng, hath recovered the whole realme of Fraunce, and all the Duchie of Normandy, and taken prisoners, the Erle of Shrewesbury, the Lorde Fauconbridge, and many other valeaunt capitaines

These three articles, he denied either for fact or thought

FARTHER it was alledged, that he beyng Ambassador for the Kyng of Englande, to 4  
Charles callyng hymself the Frenche Kyng, promised to Reyner kyng of Sicile, and to Charles Dangers his brother, enemies to the kyng, the relese of Angeow, with the deliuerance of the Countie of Mayne, and the cite of Maunt or Mauns, without the knowledge of the other Ambassadors, whiche him accompanied: whiche promise, after his re-



turne, he caused to be performed, to the kynges disinheritaunce, and losse irrecoverable, and to the strength of his enemies and feblisshement of the Duchy of Normandie.

TO this article he answered, that his commission was to conclude, and doo all thynges accordyng to his discesion, for the obtaynyng of a peace, and because without deliuey of those countreys, he perceived that tiece could not be obtained, he agreed, to the relesse and deliueiaunce of them

5 \* ALSO they surmised, that thesaied duke, beyng in Fraunce in the kynges seruice, and one of the priuiest of his counsaill there, traiterously, declared and opened to the capitaines and conduyters of warre, apperteinyng to the kynges enemies, the kynges counsaill, puruiciaunce of his armes, furnituie of his tounes, and all other ordinaunces, wherby the kynges enemies, (enformed by his trayterous informacion) haue gotten tounes and fortresses, and the Kyng by that meane, depriued of his inheritance

6 ITEM, thesaied duke declared to the Eke of Dumoys, to the Lorde Presigny, and Willyam Cosynet, Ambassadors for the Frēche kyng, liyng in London, the priuities of the kynges counsaill, bothe for the prouision of farther warre, and also for defence of the Duchy of Normandie by the disclosyng wherof the Frenchmen knowyng the kynges secretes, pientented the tyme, and obtained their purpose

7 ITEM that the sayde Duke, at suche tyme as the Kyng sent Ambassadors to the French Kyng, for the entreatyng of peace, trayterously before there comyng to the French court, certified kyng Charles of their commission, aucthoritie, and Instruccions, by reason wherof, neither peace nor amitie succeded, and the Kynges enheritaunce lost, and by hys enemies possessed.

8 ITEM thesaied Duke sayde openly in the starre chamber, before the lordes of the Counsaill, that he had as highe a place in the counsaill house of the French Kyng, as he had there, and was aswell trusted there as here, and coulede remoue from the French kyng, the priuiest man of hys counsaill, if he would.

9 ITEM when armyes haue been prepared, & souldiours redy waged, to passe ouer the sea to resist the Kynges enemies: Thesayd Duke corrupted by rewardes of the French Kyng, hath restrayned and stayed the sayde armyes to passe any farther.

10 ITEM the sayde Duke beyng Ambassadors for the kyng, comprised not in the leage, as the kynges Allies, neither the kyng of Arragon, neither the duke of Brytaine, but suffered them to be comprised on the contrary partye, by reason wherof, the olde amitie of the kyng of Arragon, is estaunged from this realme, and the duke of Britayne become enemy to the same and Giles his brother the Kynges suer frende, cast in strong prison, and their lyke to ende and finishe his dayes

AL these obiections he vtterly denyed, or fayntely auoyded, but not fully excused. Diuers other crynes were layde to his charge, as, enychyng hymselfe with the Kynges goodes and landes, gatheying together, and makyng a money polde of offices, fees, wardes, and fermes, by reason wherof the Kynges estate was greatly mynished and decayed, and he and his kyn highly exalted, and enriched, with many other pointes, whiche by cause they be not notable, nor of no great force or strength I omitte and ouerpasse. The Quene, whiche entirely loued the Duke, fearyng that some comocion and trouble myght ryse, if he were let goo vnpunished, caused hym to be committed to the Towre, where he was kepte with as much pleasure, as he that was at large, and oute of all captiuitie. But after that a moneth was expired, she ymagenyng the people to be pacified with this open emprysonement, caused him bothe to be deliueied, and also to be restored to the kynges fauor and grace, as much as euer he was before that tyme. But this doynge incensed the fure of the mutable comons, muche more then before: openly demouncyng, and sayng, that it was a shame to all the Realme, to se such a persone, infected with so many misdedes, either to rule about a prince or be had in honor. Of these wordes sprang dedes, and of this talkyng, rose displeasure, whiche had growen to greate mischiefe, if pollitique prouision had not, with all celeritie resisted the fyrst fury. for the commons in sundry places of the realme assembled together,

together, gathered great companyes, and elected a Capitayn, whome they called, blew berd: but or they had attempted any enterpryse, their headdes were apprehended and so the members sodainly were dispersed, without any hurte cōmitted, or perpetrated

AFTER this litle rage was asswaged, the Parliament was adioyned to Leycester, whither came the Kyng and the Quene in great estate and with them the Duke of Suffolke, as chefe counsailor. The cōmons of the lower house, not forgetting their olde grudge beseeched the kyng, that such persons, as assented to the relese of Angeow, and deliuerance of Mayne, might be extremely punished, and tormented and to be prouye to this facte, they accused, as principal, the duke of Suffolke, with Ihon bishop of Salisbury, and sye Iames Fynies, lord Say, & diuers other. When kyng Henry perceived, that the cōmons wer thus stomacked and bent, against the Quenes dearilynge William Duke of Suffolke, he playnly sawe, that neither glosyng wolde seue, nor dissimulation coulde appease the continual clamor of the importunate cōmons. Wherefore to begyn a shorte pacificacion in so long a broyle. Firste he sequestred the lorde Say, beyng threasorer of Englande, and other the Dukes adherentes, from there offices, and authoritie, and after banished and put in exile the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred tode, and cōmon noysaunce of the Realme of Englande, for the terme of. v. yeies meanyng by this exile, to appease the furious rage of y<sup>e</sup> outrageous people, and that pacified, to reuocate him into his olde estate, as the Quenes chefe fiende & counsailer. But fortune wold nōt, that this flagitious person, shoulde so escape. for when he shipped in Suffolke, entēdyng to be transported into Fraūce, he was encōtered with a shippe of warie appeteynyng to the duke of Excester, the Constable of the Towre of London, called the Nicholas of the Towre. The capitayne of thesame barke with small fight entered into the dukes shyppe, and perceuyng his peison present, brought hym to Douere Rode, & there on the one syde of a cocke bote caused his head to be stryken of, and left his body with the head vpon the sandes of Douer, which corse was there founde by a chapelayne of his, and conueyed to Wyngfelde college in Suffolke, and there buried. This ende had Willm de la pole, first duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Gods punyshment for aboue all thinges he was noted to be the very organ, engine, and diuisei of the destruccion of Hūfrey the good duke of Gloucester, and so the bloude of the Innocente mā was with his dolorous death, recompensed and punished. But the death of this froward person, and vngiacious patron, brought not the Realme quyet, nor deliuered it from all inward grudge, and intestine diuision, which to all Realmes is more pestiferous and noysome, then outward wane, dayly famyne, or extreme pestilēce. For although Rycharde duke of Yorke, was in prisson, (as the kynges deputie) in y<sup>e</sup> Realm of Irelande, continually reysunt there, yet his breath puffed, and his wynde blew dayly, in many partes of the Realme. For many of the nobilitie, and more of the meane estate, wisely ponderynge the estate and condicion of the Realme, perceuyng more losse then encrease, more ruyne then auancement, daily to ensue. Remembryng also that Fraūce was conquered, and Normandy was gayned, by the frenche people in shorte space, thought with them selves and imaged, that the faulte of all these miserable chauncēs, happened, either because the Kyng was not the true enheitor to the crowne, or that he or his counsaill were not able of wit, pollicie, and circumspection; to rule and gouerne so noble a Realme, or so famous a region. Vpon this coniecture the frendes, kinsmen and alyes of the duke of Yorke, which wei of no small nūber, began to practise the gouernaūce of his title. Infusyng and puttyng into mens heades secretly his right to y<sup>e</sup> crown, his polittique gouernaūce, his gentle behavior, to all the Iysh nation, affirmyng, that he whiche had brought that rude and sauage nation, to ciuile fashion, and Englishe vrbantie, wolde, (if he once ruled in the Realme of England) depose euil counsaillers, correct euil iudges, & reforme all matters amisse, and vnameded. And to set opē the fludde gates of these deuises, it was thought necessary, to cause some great commociō and rysyng of people to be made against the King: so that if they preuayled, then had the duke of Yorke and his complices, there appetite and desire. And because the kentishmen be impacient in wronges disdaynyng of to much oppression, and euer desirous of new chaung, and new fangelines.



The, ouerture of this matter was put fyrste furthe in Kent, and to thentent that it should not beknownen, that the duke of Yorke or his frēdes were the cause of the sodayne rising: A certayn yongmā of a goodely stature, and piegnaunt wit, was entised to take vpon him the name of Ihon Mortymer, all though his name were Ihon Cade, and not for a small policie, thinking that by that surname, the lyne and lynage of the assistente house of the eyle of Marche, which were no small number, should be to hym both adherent, and fauorable. This capitayn not onely suborned by techers, but also enforced by pryuyē scholemasters, assembled together a great company of talle personages assuring them, that their attēpt was both honoiable to God and the king, and also profitable to the common wealth, promisyng them, that if either by force or pollicie, they might once take the kyng, the Quene, & other their counsaillers, into their handes and gouernaūce, that they woulde honorable entreate the kyng, and so sharply handle his counsaillers, that neither fiftenes should hereafter be demaūded, nor oncc any impositions, or tax should be spoken of. These perswasions, with many other fayre promises of libertie, (whiche the common people more affect & desire, rather then reasonable obedience, and due conformitie) so animated the Kentishe people, that they with their capitayne aboue named, in good order of battell (not in great number) came to the playne of Blackethe, betwene Eldham and Grenewyche. And to the entent that the cause of this glorious capitaines comyng thither, might be shadowed from the kyng and his counsaill, he sent to him an humble supplicacion, with louyng woordes, but with malicous entent, affirmyng his cōmyng, not to be against him, but against diuers of his counsaill, louers of them selves, and oppressers of the pore comonaltie, flatterers to the kyng and enemyes to his honor, suckeis of his purse, and robbers of his subiectes, perciall to their frendes, and extreme to their enemies, for rewardes corrupted, and for indifferencie, nothyng doyng. This proude byll, was both of the kyng, and his counsaill, disdainfully taken, and thereupon great consultacion had, and after long debatyng, it was concluded, that suche proude rebelles, should rather be suppressed and tamed, with violence and force then with fayre woordes or amycable aunswer. Whereupon the kyng assembled a great army, and marched toward thē, whiche had lyen on Blackeheath, by the space of vii. dayes. The subtil capitayn named Iack Cade, entendyng to bryng the kyng farther, within the compasse of his net, brake vp his Campe, and retyred backwarde to the towne of Seuenocke in Kent, and there exspectyng his pray, encamped him selfe, and made his abode. The Quene, which bare the rule, beyng of his retrayte well aduertised, sent syr Humfrey Stafford knyght, and William his brother with many other gentelmen, to folow the chace of the Kentishmen, thinkyng that they had fledde, but verely, they were desceyued: for at the fyrst skymish, both the Staffordes were slayne, and all their companye shamfully discomfited. The kynges armye, beyng at this tyme come to Blackheath, hearyng of this discomfiture, began to grudge and murmure emongest them selfe some wishing the duke of Yorke at home, to ayde the capitayne his cosyne some desiryng the ouerthrow of the kyng and his counsaill. other openly cryeng out on the Quene, and her complices. This rumor opely spoken, & cōmoly published, caused the kyng, & certayn of his counsaill, not ledde by fauor, nor corrupted by rewardes (to the entent to appeace the furious rage of the inconstant multitude) to commit the lord Say, Threasorer of England, to the Towre of London: and if other, against whome, lyke displeasure was borne had been presente, they had likewise ben serued. But it was necessary that one should suffer, rather then all the nobilitie then should perish. When the Kentish capitayn, or f couetous Cade, had thus obteyned victory, and slayne the two valeaunt Staffordes, he appared hym selfe in their rych armure, and so with pompe and glory returned agayn toward London. in whiche retrayte diuers idle and vacabonde persons, resorted to him from Sussex and Surrey, and from other partes to a great nūber. Thus this glorious Capitayn, compassed about, and enuironed with a multitude of euil rude and rusticall persones, came agayn to the playn of Blackeheath, and there strōgly encamped him selfe. to whome were sent by the kyng, the Archebishop of Canterbury, and Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, to cōmon with hym of his greues and requestes.

These

These lordes found him sober in communicacion, wyse in disputyng, arrogant in hart, and styfe in his opinion, and by no ways possible, to be perswaded to dissolue his armye, except the kyng in person wolde come to him, and assent to all thynges, which he should requyre. These lordes, perceuyng the wilful pertinacy, and manifest contumacie of this rebellious lauelyn, departed to the kyng, declaring to hym, his temerarious and rashe wordes, and presumptuous requestes. The kyng somewhat hearyng, and more maikyng the saynges of thys outrageous losel, and hauyng dayly reporte of the concurse and accesse of people, which cōtinually resorted to him, doubtyng asmuch his familiar seruauntes, as his vnknowē subiectes (which spared not to speake, that the capitaynes cause, was profitable for the common wealth) departed in all haste to the castell of Kylyngworthe in Warwyckeshyre, leauyng only behynd him ʒ lord Scales, to kepe the Towre of London. The capitayn beyng aduertised of the kynges absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all men, Muider, Rape, or Robbery by whiche colour he allured to hym the hautes of the common people. But after that he entered into Londō, and cut the ropes of the draw bridge, strikyng his sworde on London stone, sayyng now is Mortymer lorde of this cite, and rode in euery strete lyke a lordly Capitayn. And after a flatteryng declaration made to the Mayre of the cite of his thither commyng, he departed agayn into Southwarke. And vpon the thyi de daye of Iulij, he caused syr James Fynes lord Say, and Thra-sorer of Englande, to be brought to the Gylde halle of London, and there to be arrayned. whiche beyng before the kynges iustices put to aunswere, desired to be tryed by his peeres, for the lenger delay of his life. The Capitayne perceuyng his dilatorie ple, by force toke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Cheape, and there before his confession ended, caused his head to be cut of, and pitched it on a highe poole, which was opely borne before hym through the stretes. And this cruell tyraunt not content with the muider of the lorde Say, wente to Myle end, and there apprehended syr James Cromer, then shreue of Kent, and sonne in law to the sayd lord Say, & hym without confession or excuse heard, caused there likewyse to be hedded, and his head to be fixed on a poole, and with these two heddes, this bloody butcher entered into the cite agayn, and in despyte caused them in euery strete, kysse together, to the great detestacion of all the beholders.

AFTER this shamefull murder, succeded open rapyn and manifest robbery in diuers houses within the cite, and in especiall in the house of Philip Malpas, Alderman of London, and diuers other ouer & besyde raunsonyng, & fynyng of diuers notable marchauntes, for the tuncyō and securite of their lyfes and goodes, as Robert Horne alderman, which payed. v C. markes, and yet neither he, nor no other person was either of lyte or substance in a suretie or sauegard. He also put to execution in Southwarke diuers persons, some for infrynnyng his rules and preceptes, bycause he wolde be sene indifferēt, other he toimēted of his olde acquayntance, lest they shoulde blase & declare his base byrthe, and lowsy lynage, disparagyng him from his vsurped surname of Mortymer, for the which, he thought and doubted not, both to haue frendes and fautois, both in Londō, Kent, and Essex. The wise Mayre, and sage magistrates of the cite of London, perceuyng theselves, neither to be sure of goodes nor of lyfe well warranted, determined with feare to repel and expulse this mischieuous head, and hys vngracious cōpany. And because the lord Scales was ordeyned keper of ʒ Towre of London, with Mathew Gough, the often named capitayne in Normandy, (as you haue harde before) they purposed to make them pryue both of their entent and enterpryse. The lord Scales promised the hys ayde, with shotyng of ordinaunce, and Mathew Goughe was by hym appoynted, to assist the Mayre and the Londoners: bycause he was both of manhode, and experience greatly renoumed and noysed. So ʒ Capitaynes of the cite appointed, toke vpon them in the night to kepe the bridge of London, prohibiting the Kentishmē, either to passe or approche. The rebelles, which neuer soundly slepte, for feare of sodain chaunces, hearyng the brydge to be kept and manned, ran with greate haste to open their passage, where betwene bothe parties was a ferce and cruell encounter. Mathew Gough, more experte in martiall feates, then the other cheuetaynes of the cite, perceuyng the Kentishmen, better.



better to stande to their tacyng, then his imaginacion expected, 'aduised his cōpany no further to piodede, toward Southwarke, till the day appeied to the entent, that the citezens hearing where the place of the leopardy rested, might occurre their enemies, and releue their frendes and companions. But this counsaile came to small effect for the multitude of y<sup>e</sup> rebelles diaue the citezens from the stoulpes at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and began to set fyre in diuers houses. Alas what sorow it was to beholde that miserable chaunce: for some desyringe to eschew the fyre, lept on his enemies weapon, and so died. fearfull women with chyldien in their armes, amased and appalled, lept into the riuier: other doubtinge how to saue them self betwene fyre, water, and sword, were in their houses suffocat and smoldered. Yet the Capitayns nothing regarding these chaunces, fought on the drawe bridge all the nighte valeauntly, but in conclusion, the rebelles gate the drawe bridge, and drowned many, and slew Ihon Sutton alderman, and Robert Heysande a hardy citizen, with many other, beside Mathew Gough, a man of great wit, much experience in feates of chivalrie, the which in continual warres, had valeauntly serued the kyng and his father, in the partes beyōd the sea (as before ye haue hearde). But it is ofte sene that he, whiche many tymes hath vanquished his enemies in straūg countreys, and returned agayn as a conqueror, hath of his awne nacion afterward been shamfully murdered, and brought to confusion. This hard and sore cōflict endured on the bridge, til ix. of the clocke in the morninge, in doutfull chaunce, and fortunes balaunce for some tyme the Lōdoners were bet back to the stulpes at sainte Magnes corner, and sodaynly agayne the rebelles were repulsed and driuen backe, to the stulpes in Southwarke, so that both partes, beyng laynte, wery and fatigate, agreed to desist from fight, and to leue battail til the next day, vpon condicion that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor the Kentishmē in to London.

AFTER this abstinence of waite agreed, the lusty Kentishe Capitayne, hopying on more fiendes, brake vp the gayles of the kinges benche and Marshalsea, and set at libertie, a swaime of galates, both mete for his seruice and apte for his enterpryse. The archbishop of Canterbury, beyng then chauncelor of England, and for his suety lyenge in the Towre of London, called to him the bishop of Winchester, whiche also for feare, lurked at Halywell. These two prelates seyng the fury of the Kentish people, by reason of their betyng backe, to be mitigate and mūshed, passed the ryuer of Thamysse from the Towre, into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kynges great seale, a general pardon vnto all the offenders, which they caused to be openly proclaimed & published. Lorde how glad the poore people were of this Pardone (ye more then of the great Iubile of Rome) and how they accepted thesame, in so muche that the whole multitude, without bidding farewell to their capitain, retired thesame night, every man to his awne home, as men amased, and strikē with feare. But Ihon Cade desperate of succors, whiche by the fiendes of the duke of Yorke wer to hym promised, and seyng his cōpany thus without his knowledge sodainly depart, mistrusting the sequele of y<sup>e</sup> matier, departed secretly in habite disguysed, into Sussex but all his metamorphosis or transfiguration, litle preuailed / For alter a Proclamacion made, that whoso-euer could apprehende thesared Iac Cade, should haue for his pain, a M markes, many sought for hym, but few espied hym, til one Alexander Iden, esquire of Kent found hym in a garden, and there in his defence; manfully slewe the cattife Cade, & brought his ded body to London, whose hed was set on Londō bridge. This is the successe of all rebelles, and this fortune chaunceth euer to traytors. For where men strue against the streame, their bote neuer cometh to his pretensed porte.

AFTER this commocion, the kyng himself came into Kent, & there sat in iudgement vpō the offenders, and if he had not mitigated his iustice, with meicie and compassion, more then fīue C by the rigor of his lawe, had been iustely put to execucion. but he cōsidered, bothe their fragilitie and innocencie, and how they with peruerse people, were seduced and deceiued. and so punished the stubburne heddes, and deliuered the ignoraūt & miserable people, to the greate reioysing of all his subiectes.

DVRYNG this commocion aboute London, Raufe bishop of Salisburiy, was by his awne

tenantes,

tenantes, & sêrvaūtes, murdered at Edyngton, and so from thensefūth daily succeeded, murder, slaughter, & discencion.

¶ THE. XXIX. YERE.

THEse variable chaunces in Englande, were not vnkowen to the French kyng, wher-<sup>The xxix.</sup> fore, he makynge foundacion vpon the English discord, determined to get into his possession, the duchie of Aquitayne, while the princes of Englande, wer in cōtroversie, for their titles and superioritie and therefore like a speedy puruior, whiche slacketh not tyme, he sent theiles of Ponthieure, and Perigot, with many valiant capitaines, to ley siege to the toun of Bergerac set vpō the riuier of Dordone, of whiche toun was capitain, Ibō Geddyng, whiche hearyng of the yeldyng of Roen, and conquest of Normandy, consideryng the puyssaunce of the Frenche army, vpon reasonablen condiciōs, rendered the toun. yet all this notwithstanding, the lord Cameyse, sir George Seymour, sir Ihon Arundell, and other valiant capitaines, whiche had the gouernance of the countrey, manned townes gathered people, and animated the cold stomackes of the fearefull Gascons: requiryng them to be constant in their fidelitie, true to their natural prince and vndoubted soueieigne lorde, sendyng daily letters to the kyng of England and his counsaill, declaryng to him the weakenes of his subiectes, and the strength of his enemies, assertenynge hym for a suertie, that without speedy aide, and redy succors, the whole countrey were like to be gotten frō his possession. Many letters were sent, and many faire aunswers wer brought, but relief neither appeared, nor one man of war was thether shipped. By reason wherof, the Gascoynes perceuyng their enemies at hand, intendyng aswell to destroy the countrey, as to subdue the people, began euery man for hymself, to regard nothyng, but the sauynge of their townes, goodes, and corne neglectyng defence, and fearful of assaults, least by small resistance, they might receiue more detriment then after they could recouer again, either with great force, or much labor. But thenglishmen, (whose natures are not to be faint harted, euen at the very leopardy of death) with al their wittes studied, bothe how to repulse & conuince their enemies, & to turne awaie the euil chances whiche they sawe likely, (if pollicie did not helpe) sodainly to fal, and shortly to issue. But al their pollices litle preuailed in cōclusion, because succors failed, and force wanted: For after the Frenchmen, had the toun of Bergerac to them rendered, the fortresses of Lonsac, of Bonefoy, and diuerse other places willynge & frely, yelded themselves to the French subieccion. Duryng whiche tyme, the lorde Doriqall, third sonne to the lorde Delabreth, with a greate nombre of men, aswel on horsebacke as on foote, departed from Basas, to conqueie and destroy the isle of Madoce: whereof hearyng the Maie of Burdeaux, with a conuenient crewe of men, issued out of the cite, and encontered with his enemies, betwene whom, was a hard fight and a dedly battail: but the Frenchmen, more with multitude, then with force, vanquished thenglishmen, and killed and toke prisoners, aboue vj C Englishmen and Gascoynes, but of the Frenchemen which wer in double nombre, aboue their aduersaries (as writers affirme) there wer slain. viii. C persones. For whiche cause, the capitaines folowed no farther the chace, lest the English people would again returne. This slaughter of the Englishe parte, the Frenche writers set furthe with the moste, but of their awne losse, they speke not one word. Suche indifferency, is in their Chronographiers. This discomfiture so amased the wittes, & appalled the hartes of the meane Gascons that they offered many townes to the French part, before the same wer of them demanded.

AFTER this, the Bastard of Orleance, erle of Dumoy, and Lōguile, henetenant generall for the Frenche kyng, accompanied with his brother, Ihon erle of Angoulesme, whiche had been long prisoner in England, and many valiant capitaines, and expert men of warre, besieged the Castle of Montguyon, whiche to them was rendered. After this, the saied army besieged the fortresse of Blay, standyng on the riuier of Gyronde, whiche toun is the  
very



very keye of the porte of Burdeaux, and this tounce was besieged bothe by water and by lande, and fiersly assaulted and manfully defended, and in conclusion by very force, for lacke of resistance, conquered and gayned. The bastard of Kendall captain of the Castle, seying the tounce lost, vpon certain condicions, deliuered his fortesse, into the possession of the lord lieutenant. After this tounce gained the fortresses of Bouge and Laburne yelded, not without fise Wkes besieging. The wittie capitaines perceiuyng fortunes fauor towards them, thought it necessary to take the tyme, while their good planet reigned. Wherefore, to preuent the aide of the Englishmen, whom they daily expected to come to the succour of their people, they appoynted foure-armies, to make war in foure seuerall partes. The lorde Charles Delebreth, accompanied with Ihon lorde of Tartas and Aymon, lorde of Doruall his sonnes, and therle of Foys, and the Viscount Lawtrec his brother, and many noble men of Guyen, laied siege to the tounce of Acques, in the whiche be diuerse hote batles. Therle of Amynack extieme enemy to the realme of Englande, for breakyng the mariage concluded betwene kyng Heny and his daughter (as before you haue heard) besieged with a greate puyssaunce, the strong towne of Ryon. Therle of Pöthyëure, with many noble barons, besieged the towne of Chastillon in Perigot, and the erle of Dumoyes, enuironed with a great puyssaunce the towne of Fronsacke. Thenglishemen within this tounce, perceiuyng the greate ordinaunce on the French part, and the small prouision on their side, covenanted with the said erle, that if the towne wer not succored, and the Frenchemen foughten with all, before the feast of the natiuite, of S. Ihō Baptist next ensuyng, that then the towne of Fronsacke should be yelded to them, whiche was the strögest fortesse of all the countrey, and the very key of Guyen, and chief chamber of Burdeaux, and for performans hereof, pledges wer deliuered, and wrytynges autentique sealed. This agrement once blowen through the countrey, the cite of Burdeaux, and all other tounes, (except Bayon) made like agrement, and deliuered pledges. So did all the noble men and gētle men, which wer subiects and vassals to the crounc of Englande. Alacke alacke, euery daie was loking for relief, and euery houre was gapyng for cōfort, but wisshyng serued not, nor hopying nothyng helped for the pestiferous diuision whiche reigned in Englande, so inueglid the braynes of the noblemen there, that the honor of the realme was clerely forgotten, & nothing yearthly but their priuate phantasies looked on and remembried. Now to conclude, the daie appoynted came but succor looked for came not, so that all the tounes in Aquitayne (except Bayon) deliuered their keyes, and became vassals to the French nacion, yet the citezens of Burdeaux hopying of rescous, offred themselves to fight with the Frenchemen, and desired a daie of battail to be appoynted, whiche request was to them graunted. But at the daie assigned, they beyng in dispaire of all refuge and succor, rendered themselves and the tounce, to their aduersaries, their lifes and goodes reserved, with licence and safeconduyte to all persons whiche would depart and saile into Englād. When the cities and tounes of Gascoyne wer set in good ordre, the Erle of Dumoyes and Foys, with greate preparacion of vitail, municion and men, came before the cite of Bayon, where with mynes and batterey, they so dismayed the fearful inhabitants, that neither the captain nor the souldiors, could kepe their trown yeldyng: so by force they deliuered the tounce, and their captain as a prisoner, offred a great some of money for the safegard of their lifes and goodes. Beside these agrementes taken with tounes, diuerse noble men made seuerall compositions, as Gaston de Foys, Capdaw of Bucssz, whom kyng Henry the fifth, made erle of Longuile and knight of the garter, whose auncestors wer euer true to Englād, whiche agreed that he, and Ihon de Foys his sonne, whom kyng Henry the sixth, created erle of Kendale, and made also knight of the garter, should enioy all their landes in Aquitayne, geuen to them by the kynges of England, or by the Dukes of Aquitayn. And because their intent was still to serue the Kyng of England, their souereigne Loide, they agreed, to deliuer into the custody of therle of Foys, their cosyn, the sonne and heire of the saied erle of Kendale, being of the age of three yeres, to the intent, that if he at his full age, denied to become subiect and vassall to the Fienche kyng, or before that tyme disceased, that then, after the death of his father and graund-

graundfather, all thesaied landes should wholly remain, to the next heire of their blood, either male or female, beyng vnder the obeysaunce of the Frenche kyng or his heires. Many noble men whose hartes were good Englishe, made like composicions, and some came into Englande, and other went to Caleis, and wer great officers there as the Lord Duras whiche was Marshall there, and Monsire Vanclere, whiche was there deputie, vnder therle of Warwick, (as after shalbe shewed.) Now haue I declared to you, the losse, of Fraunce, Normandy, & Aquitayn: wherfoe, hauyng no more cause yet to speake of them, I will returne to the greate trouble, discencion and diuision, whiche long was cloked, & now openly set abrode, and burst out in the realme of Englande.

¶ THE. XXX. YERE.

YOU haue heard before, how the duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell Duke of Clarence The. xxx. yere. pretended priuily, a title to the Croune, and how his fiendes commoned secretly, with diuerse persones of that matter, and excited them to set forwarde, and auaunce that parte to the vttermost. and howe the saied duke was sent into Ireland, where he was daily aduertised by his assured fiendes, of all thynges doen in Englande, and by thē knewe in what estate he stode, bothe with the nobilitie, and cōmonaltie. Wherfoe, he myndyng no lēger to dreame in his waightie matter, nor to kepe secrete his right and tūle, returned out of Irelande, and came to Londō in the Parliamēt tyme, where he deliberately consulted, with his especial fiendes as Ihon Duke of Norfolk, Richard Erle of Salisbury, and Lorde Richard his sonne, whiche after was Erle of Warwick, Thomas Courtney, erle of Deuonshire, and Edward Broke, lord Cobham a man of a greate witte and muche experience requiryng them bothe of aduise and counsaill, how he might without spot of treason, or colour of vsurpacion, set forth his tūle, and obtēin his right.

AFTER long consultacion, it was thought expedient, first to seke some occasion and picke some querell, to the duke of Somerset, whiche ruled the kyng, ordied the realme, and moste might do with the quene. Whom, the commons, for the losse of Normandy, worse than a Tode or Scorpion, hated, disdained and execrated, in so muche that diuerse euill ruled persones, brake his house, & spoyled his goodes, within the blacke Friers of the citie of Londō which malefactors, accordyng to their desertes, wer lustly executed & punished. For wel knew the duke of Yorke and his adherentes, that if the Duke of Somerset sawe or smelled, any poynt of their purposed enterpryse, that he would with speare and sheld, with might and main, withstand and repel thesame, to thextieme point of death, and to then vtter confusion. Wherfore to abbridge his power, and to minishe his auctoritie, they determined to bryng hym, into the hatred of the people, and into the disdain of the nobilitie. And to be the stronger in the setting forth of their feate, they, what with rewardes and faire promises, & what with declaracion of greate enormities, committed by the kinges counsailors, against the common wealth, allected & allured to them, lusty bachelars, & actiue persons, of a great numbre, protestyng and declaring, that thei neither meant euil, nor thought harme, either to the kinges person, or to his dignitie. but that their intent was, for the reuenging of great iniuries doen to the publique wealth, and to persecute and reforme diuerse rulers about the kyng, which daily cōtrary to right and equitie, vexed & pilled thenglish people, without reason or measure. so y<sup>e</sup> no man was in suretie, either of his awne goodes, or suer of his proper lādes or possessiōs. These great enormities, they caused to be published, to thūntent y<sup>e</sup> their chief purpose should not be espied, or perceiued.

WHEN the duke of Yorke had thus fained thentery into his lōg intended iorney, he with helpe of his frendes, assembled a great army in the Marches of Wales, publishyng openly, that the cause of his mocō was for the publique wealth of the realme, and great profite of the cōmons. whiche faire told tale, allured to hym muche people, aswell of the chualry as of the meane sort. The kyng muche astonnied with this sodain commocion, by



The aduise of his counsaill, raised a greate hoste, and marched forward toward the duke: but he being of his approche, credibly aduertised, by his espials, diuerted from the kynges waies, and toke his iorney toward London: and hauyng knowledge, that he might not be suffered with his army, to passe through London, he crossed ouer the Thames at Kyngston bridge, and so set forth toward Kent, where he knewe that he had bothe frendes and good willers, and there, ou brente Heath, a mile from Dertford, and. x miles from Londō, he embattailld himself, and encamped his army very strongly, bothe with trenches and artillery. The kyng being therof aduertised, with greate diligēce, brought his army to blacke Heath, & there pight his tētes. While both tharmies lay thus embattailld, the kyng by thaduise of his counsaill, sent the bishoppes of Winchester and Elye to the duke, both to knowe, what was the cause of so greate a tumult and commocion, and also to make a concord, if the requestes of the duke and his company, scmd to them consonant to reason, or profitable to the people. The duke hearyng y message of the two bishops, either doubting the variable chaunce of mortal battaill, or lokyng for a better occasiō, or a more luckey daie, aunswered the prelates, that his comyng was neither to dampnifie the kyng, neither in honor, nor in personē, nor yet any good man, but his intent was to remoue frō hym, certain euil disposed persons of his counsaill, which wer the bludsuckers of the nobilitie, the pollers of the cleargie, and oppressors of the poore people. amongst whō he chiefly named, Edmond duke of Somerset, whom if the kyng would commit to warde, to aunswere to suche articles, as against hym should in open parliament, be both proponed and proued, he promised not onely to dissolue his armie and dispatche his people, but also offered hymself, like an obedient subiecte, to come to the kynges presence, and to do him true and faithful seruice, accordyng to his tith & bōūden duetie. When the messengers wer returned with this reasonable aunswere. The kyng perceiuyng, that without great bludshed, he could not bridle the duke of Yorke, nor without war he could not appease the furious rage of the cōmon people, beyng once set on fire, except he folowed their mindes, and grauted their requestes, caused the duke of Somerset to be committed to ward, as some saie. or to kepe hymself priuie in his awne house, as other write, till the fury of the people wer somewhat asswaged and pacified. Whiche thyng doen, the duke of Yorke the firste daie of Marche, dissolued his army, & brake vp his campe, and came to the kynges tent, where beside his expectaciō, and cōtrary to the promise made by the kyng, he found the duke of Somerset, set at large and at libertie, whom the duke of Yorke boldly accused, of treason, of bribery, oppression, and many other crimes. The duke of Somerset not onely made aunswere to the dukes obiections, but also accused hym of high treasō, toward the kyng his souereigne lorde. affirming, that he with his tautors and complais, had consulted together how to obtē the croune and scepter of the realme. By meane of whiche wordes, the kyng remoued straight to Lōdon, and the duke of Yorke as a prisoner, rode before hym, & so was kept awhile. The kyng assembled together a great counsaill at Westminster, to here the accusaciōs of the. ij. dukes, the one obiectyng to the other, facinorous actes & detestable crimes. But the duke of Somerset, whiche now conceived in his mynd the thyng that shortly folowed, incessantly exhorted the counsaill, that the Duke of Yorke, by compulsion, or otherwise, might be compelled to confesse his offence, and so beyng attainted of treason, to be put to execucion, and his children to be taken enemies and aduersaries to their natuic countrey: to the intent that by the losse of this onely Prince and his sequele, all ciuill warre, and inward diuision might cease and be repressed. besechyng almightie God, that so greate an enemy to the kyng and his blood, might neuer escape punishment, nor contynwe long in life. The duke of Somerset set furth this matter the more vehemently, because he knew perfetly, that the duke of Yorke dayly studied how to get the crowne, and obteyn the gouernance, and to depose and destroy both the kyng and hym. But the necessitie of destinie, can not by any mans deuise, be either lettēd or interrupted. for many thynges (to common iudgements) declared the duke of Yorkes trought and innocēcy in this case. First his free and voluntary comyng to the kyng, when he with his power was able to encoūter with the kynges poyssance, which

was

was an open token and manifest argument, that he neither meate treason, nor yet fraude. Secondly, his humble submission, his reasonable requestes, and profitable petitions, for the pore commons, wer iudged no pointes of a man, that desired souereignete, or rule aboue other which thinges he did onely for a cautele, (as afterward openly appeared) While the counsaill treated of sauing or losing of this dolorous duke of Yorke, A rumour sprange throughout London, that Edward erle of Marche, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the sayd duke, a yong prince of great wit and much stomacke, accompanied with a stronge armye of Marchemen, was comyng toward London, which tidinges sore appalled the Quene and the whole counsaill. Beside this, thesame very daye came Ambassadors from the heades and Magistrates of the cite of Burdeaux, whereof the chefe were, the erle of Kendal, and the lord Lesparre, whiche signified to the counsaill, that if they woulde send an armye into Gascoyne, the Gascoyns wolde reuerte & turne agayne to the English part, aduertising them, that there was in those partes no puissaunce or garrison of Frenche men, to withstand them, & therefore there was no doubt of the regayning or recōquest requyryng thū w all diligēt celerite, to take so fayre a prey so opely to them offered, & to myfid nothyng before the regayning of so fructful a countrey. These .ij. thinges sore troubled the heades of the kynges counsaill, whiche, leste this discencion betwene two persones, might be the let of outward conquest, set the duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to returne to his fayre Castel of Wigmore, in the Marches of Wales, where he studied, both how to displease his enemies, & to obteyn his purpose: And so by meanes of ſ̄ absēce of ſ̄ duke of Yorke, which was in maner banished ſ̄ court & ſ̄ kynges presēce, ſ̄ duke of Somerset rose vp in in high fauor w ſ̄ king & ſ̄ quene, & his woide only ruled, & his voyce was only hearde.

¶ THE. XXXI. YERE.

THE counsaill of Englande, not forgettinge the offer of the Gascons, and that thei might now haue the cite of Burdeaux with the cōtrey round about, by offer and request, whiche <sup>The xxxl. yere</sup> with great charge & longe warre, they coulde scant agayn recouer or repossesse, appointed the veterane souldiour, and valhaunt Capitayn, Ihon lord Talbot, and erle of Shrewsburye, to be chefetayn of the armye, which should in all haste be transported and conueyed into Aquitayn. The lordes of Gascoyn, both well pleased and glad of their answer, returned into their countrey, in as secret maner, as they from thense departed, declaringe to their nacion, the Capitaines, & the powre, that was to thē coming. exhorting enery man to be firme and stable to the kyng of England and his heys, vnder whose libetie and fredom, thei had prospered & reioysed, aboue .iij. C. yeres, rather then now to fal into the French captiuitie: whose taxes were vnreasonable, and whose dayly exaccions were to them importable. When the valiant Talbot, the hardy erle of Shrewsbury was appointed to assemble an army of men, and then to cōuey into the duchie of Aquitayn, Lord, how busy he was in mustering howe diligēt in setting forward, and how ientelly he entertayned his men of waire, as though he went first to warre, and neuer had takē payne, either to serue his price or to gayn honor. What should I speake, how that he thought every houre, as thre, till his armye were ready, or write, what payne he toke to se them shipped and vitayled. But verely men iudge, that as this labor was the ende and extreme point of all his worldly busynes so he should shew him self. fearce, coragious, & feaiful to his enemies in the extreme point of his death and natuall depaiting. Thys English Hector & marcial flower, elected to him, the most hardy & coragious persons, which he could espye, preparing also, horses, municions vitayles, and all thinges necessarie to such an army, and to so great an enterprise. Whē all thinges were shipped, and wynd and wether serued he toke his chaunce, and sayled into Gascoyn, where without resistēce, he peaceably arrued in ſ̄ Isle of Madie, where he reposed his army, beyng scant .iij. M. men, and destroyed all the countrey, betwene Burdeaux and Blay, and toke the strūg towne and castel of Fron-



sac, and diuers other townes and fortresses. The inhabitaūtes of Burdeaux, bearyng of the erles Airiual, sent to him messengers in the darke night, thāking and congratulating him for his thither comming, and also requyryng him to accelerate, and spede his iorney towarde their cite, enformyng him, that now the tyme was propice for his purpose. and tyme not taken, was labor mispent. This aunciēt Fox, and pollitique Capitayne lost not one houre, nor spared one mynet, till he came before the cite of Burdeaux. The citezens glad of his commynge, made not the French capitayns, which had the gouernaunce of the towne, either parties or priues of their entent: yet some of them wolde, that the Frenchmen, in securitie both of lifes and goodes, should departe out of þ town but their will was no will for the multitude, abhorryng the French seruitude and embracing the English libertie, which they and their aūcestors of many yeres had tasted, opened one gate, and let in a great parte of the Englishmen army. The French Capitaynes extending to escape secretly, by a posterne, were slayne and taken by the lorde Lespar, and other of the English army. After the regaynyng of Burdeaux, arrived at Blay, the bastard of Somerset, sir Ihon Talbot, lord Lisle, by his wyfe sonne to the sayd erle of Shrewesbury, the lord Molyns, the lordes Haryngton and Cameus, syr Ihon Haward, sir Ihon Montgomerye, syr Ihon Vernon with xliiij. C. mē with vitayles and municions. Whē the erle of Shrewesbury was thus accordyng to his entent of all thinges furnished and adorned: firste he fortified Burdeaux with Englishmen & victayle after that, he rode into the countrey abrode, where he obtained cities, and gat townes without stroke or dēt of swourde for the poore and nedy people beyng fatigate, and wery with the oppressiō of their new landlordes rendered their townes before they were of them requyred, and beside this the townes & cities farre distauncte frō Buideaux sent messengers to the erle, promisyng to him both seruice & obeyaūnce. And emonge other the towne and castell of Chastillon in Perigotte, was to him deliuered by the Frenchmen vpon cōposicion, that they might with their lifes sauely departe which town, the erle strōgly fortified both with men and ordinaunce. The French kyng lyeng at Towers in Towrayne, beyng of the erles actes in Gascoyn credible enformed, was not a litle exasperate & quickned. wherefore he mynding to resist the first storme, and repulse the first surge, assembled a great army to the number of. xxii. M. men, and enteringe into Aquitayne came to Lusigneum, and from thence accompanyed with the erle of Ponthyure, the lordes of sanct Seure and Boucat, marched toward Caley in Gascoyn, and with fayre promises obeyned the town. And after that towne gayned, the Frenche kyng diuided his army into two parties, wherof the one was gouerned by the erle of Cleremont, sonne in law to kyng Charles, and heyre to the duke of Burbon, in the which were xv. M. meh, in whome consisted the wayght and peyse of the whole enterprise. This army he appointed to take the next way toward Burdeaux: the other army wherof he was Capitayn and leadar hun self, accompaned with the peres and noble men of his realme, he kept and reteyned still beside Caley, and sent the two Marshals of Fraūce with xviii. C. men of armes, beside archers, to besege the towne of Chastylon in Perigot, and in goyng thither, they gat a foteresse, whiche they manned, and so departed to Chastilone, which they enuyroned with a strong seage, & cast high trenches, and made depe dytches on euery side: and in a place where their enemyes must come, they layde ordinaunce both great and small, wherof so great a number was neuer before sene in France. The erle of Shrewesbury hearing of these newes, and perceiuing that he must of necessitie encoūter, and fight with two armies, determined w him selfe, first to assay the least power and weaker puyssaunce wherefore without longer procrastinacion, he assembled toghether. viii. C. horse-mē, wherof the lord Lisle his sonne, the lord Molyns, the lord Cameus, sir Edward Hull, syr Ihon Haward, & sir Ihon Veinō were chefe, and so marched forward toward Chastylon, appoyntyng v. M. fote men vnder the conduyte of the erle of Kendalle, and the lord Lespar to folowe hym with all spede. In hys way he assauted þ Towre, which the Frēchmen had taken, and by force entered, and slew all that he founde within and by the way he mett. v. C. Frenchmen, goyng a forregyng, of whom he slew the greatest parte, and chased the  
other

other to the campe. The Frēchmen knowyng by these good rñers away of þ̄ erles approachyng, with al diligēce left the seage, and retired in good order, into the place which they had frēched, dytched, and fortified with ordenaunce. They within the towneseyng the seage remoued, sent out woorde to the Englishmen that the Frenchmen fledde. The coragious erle hearyng these newes & feryng, leste though long taryeng the byndes might be flown awaye, not taryeng till his totemē were come, set forward, toward his enemies, which were in mynd surely to haue fledde, as they confessed afterward, if the feare of the French kynges rebuke, whiche was not farre of, had not caused them to tarye, and yet in this army were present the Marshal and great Master of France, the erle of Pūthyeure, the Senescal of Poythiew, the lord Bessire, and many valeant Barons and Knights. When the Englishmen were come to the place where the Frenchmē were encamped, in the which (as Eneas Silmus testifieth) were iii C peces of brasse, beside diuers other small peces, and subtyll Engynes to the Englishmen vnknewen, and nothing suspected, they lyghted al on fote, the erle of Shrewesbury only except, which because of his age, rode on a litle hakeney, and fought fiercely with the Frēchmē, & gat thentre of their campe, and by tyne force entered into thesame. This cōflicte continued in doubtfull iudgement of victory. ii longe houres: duryng which fight the lordes of Montamban and Humadayre, with a great cōpanye of Frenchmen entered the battayle, and began a new felde, & sodaynly the Gonners perceiuyng the Englishmen to approche nere, discharged their ordinaunce, and slew. iii C peisons, nere to the erle, who perceiuyng the imminent ieopardy, and subtile labrynth, in the which he and his people were enclosed and illaqueate, despicyng his awnesauegarde, and desyringe the life of his enterly and welbeloued sonne the lord Lisle, willed, aduertised, and counsailled hym to departe out of the felde, and to saue hym selfe. But whē the sonne had answered that it was neither honest nor natural for him, to leue his father in the extreme ieopardye of his life, and that he woulde taste of that draught, which his father and Parrent should assay and begyn. The noble erle & comfortable capitayn sayd to him. Oh sonne sonne, I thy father, which onely bath bene the terror and scourge of the Frēch people so many yeres, which hath subuerted so many townes, and profigate and discomfited so many of them in open battayle, and marcial conflict, neither cā here dye, for the honor of my countrey, without great laude and perpetuall fame, nor flye or departe without perpetuall shame and cōtinuall infamy. But because this is thy first journey and enterprise, neither thy flyeng shall redounde to thy shame, nor thy death to thy glory foras hardy a man wisely flieth, as a temerarious person folshely abideth, therefore þ̄ flyeng of me shalbe þ̄ dishonor, not only of me & my progenie, but also a discomfiture of all my company: thy departure shall saue thy lyfe, and make the able another tyme, if I be slayn to reuenge my death and to do honor to thy Prince and profyt to his Realme. But nature so wrought in the sonne, that neither desire of lyfe, nor thought of securite, could withdraw or pluck him frō his natural father. Who cōsideryng the constancy of his chyld, and the great daunger that they stode in, comforted his souldiours, cheared his Capitayns, and valeaūty set on his enemies, and slew of them more in number than he had in his cōpany. But his enemies hauyng a greater company of men, & more abūdaunce of ordnaunce then before had bene sene in a battayle, fyrst shot him through the thyghe with a hādgōne, and slew his horse, & cowardly killed him, lyenge on the ground, whome they neuer durste loke in the face, whyle he stode on his fete, and with him, there dyed manfully his sonne the lord Lisle, his hastard sonne Henry Talbot, and syr Edward Hull, elect to the noble order of the Garter, and. xxx. valeant personages of the English nacion, and the lord Molyns was there taken prysoner with lx other. The residew of the Englishe people fled to Burdeaux and other places, wherof in the sight, were slayne aboute a M. persons. At this battayl of Chastillon, fought the. xii. day of Iuly, in this yere, ended his lyfe Ihon lord Talbot, and of his progenie þ̄ fyrst erle of Shrewesbury, after that he with muche fame, more glory, and moste victorie had for his prince and cōutrey, by the space of. xxiiij. yeres and moie, valeantly made warre, and serued the kyng in the partes beyond the sea, whose corps was



left on the ground, & after was found by hys frendes, & cōueyed to Whitchurch in Shropshyre, where it is intumulate. This man was to the French people, a very scourge and a daily terror, in so much that as his person was fearfull, and terrible to his aduersaries present so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent, in so much that women in Fraunce to feare their yong childrē, would crye, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth. After this discomfiture, diuers lordes fled to Burdeaux, but the erle of Kendall, the lordes of Montferrant, of Rosayne, and of Dangladas, entered into the Castel of Chastillon, which they by the space of. x. dayes manfully defended, but in conclusion beyng desperate of all succours rēdered the fortresse, and came safe to Burdeaux. After this town was yelded the townes of saint Million, Bybourne & all other, which the erle of Shrewesbury had conquered, rendered thē selves to the Frēche obeysaunce, Burdeaux onely except. The which cite beyng the last refuge, and onely consolacion of the Englishe people in Gascoyne, the French kyng in person with all his puissaunce, strōgly beseged & dayly assauted, in the which he moie lost then gayned. beside this, the Englishmen issued out, and courageously fought with their enemies likewise did the citezens, which lokyng for no favor at the French kynges hand, because of their late coniuracion againste him, manfully defended themselves, and sore noyed and hurt their enemies. But in conclusion bothe garrisons and the inhabitātes, oppressed with muche pennurye & extreme famyne were coacted to render the cite vpon reasonable condicions, to them by the French kyng sent and oblātē the effect whereof was that no offence, before tyme committed or done by any of the citezēs should hereafter be imputed, or leyed to the charge of any of them. Also that all Englishmen and Gascons myght safely departe into Englande or to Caleys with all their substance, and that the lordes Lespar, Duras and. xxx. other, should neuer vpon payn of death be founde within any of the French kinges dominions, which lord Lesparre, after beyng taken disguysed in Gascoyn was made shorter by the hedde. When this composicion was agreed and sealed, the Englishmen had their shippes and al thinges necessarie for their iorney, to them deliuered, which, when wynd and whether were to them propice and conuenient, were shortly transported into Englād, in the moneth of October this present yere. Thus was the duchye of Acquytayn, which had cōtynued in the English possession, from the yere of our Lord M. lvi. which is. m. C. & od. yeres, by ſ marriage of Alienor, daughter and heyr to William duke of Acquytayn wyfe to kyng Henry the second, finally reduced, and brought agayne to the French obediencc and seruitude. The keepyng of which duchye was neither costly nor troublesome to the realme of England, but both pleasant and profitable. for by the souerangtie of that countrey, yonge gentelmen learned the experiēce of warre, and expert mē were promoted to many riche offices, & great luinges within thesame. For within that onely Duchye, be. iiii. Archebishoppes, xxxiiij. Bishoppes. xv. erledōs. ii. C. and. ii. Baronies, and aboue a. M. Capitaynshippes and baylywyckes. All though this great losse chaunced this yere to the Englishe nacion, yet a greater detymēt hapned in thesame season to the whole flocke of Christen people. For Machumet, called the great Turk beseged the cite of Constātynople in Grece, with an innumerable nūber of Turkes, and fiftye dayes together gaue to it a continuall assaut, and on the. iiii. day of Iune, toke it perforce, sleynge mān, woman and chyldren, except the Emperour Palaiologus, and diuers other of the blode Royal, whome he toke prisoners, and after caused them to be behedded. If I should write the detestable murder of men, the abhominable and cruell slaughter of children, the shameful rauishmēt of women and virgyns, which were perpetrate and done by the vnnmercifull pagans and cruell Turkes, I assure you that your eares would abhorre ſ hearing and our eyes woulde not abyde the readyng, and therefore I passe thē ouer. In this troubleous season on ſ. xiiii. daye of October, was ſ quene deliuered at Westmynster of a fayre sonne, which was Christened & named Edward, and after grew to a goodely & perfight man, as after you shall heare. whose mother susteyned not a litle slaunder and obloquye of the commō people, sayng that the kyng was not able to get a chylde, and that this was not his sonne, with many slaunderous woordes, to the quenes dishonor, whiche

A declaration  
of the  
signities in  
the Duchye  
of Acquytayne

The winning  
of Constā-  
tinople by  
the great  
Turke

The byrth  
of prince  
Edwarde,  
sonne to  
kyng Hery  
the vi.

here nede not to be rebersed After the birthe of this child, the Kyng highly aunced his twoo brethren on his mothers side For Edmond he created erle of Richemöd, which was father to kyng Henry the vij. and Iasper he created eile of Penbroke, whiche died without issue.

The kynges  
two breth-  
ren created  
erles.

¶ THE. XXXII YERE.

When foren warre and outward battailes, were brought to an end and finall conclusion domesticall discord and ciuill discencion began again to renew and arise, within the realme of Englande for when the care of outward hostilitie (whiche kept the myndes of the Princes in the realme occupied, and in exercise) was taken awaye and vanished, desire of souerainty, and ambition of preeminence, sodainly sprang out so farre, that the whole Realme was diuided into twoo severall factions, and priuate partes. For kyng Henry, descended of the house of Lancastre, claymyng the croune from kyng Henry the. iij. his graund father, first aucthor of this diuision and Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionnell, the thud sonne to kyng Edward the third. wresteled for the game, and stouue for the wager By reason whereof, the nobles aswell as the common people, were into partes diuided, to the destruccion of many a man, and to the great ruine and decaye of this region. For while the one part studied to vanquishe and suppress the other, all commō wealth was set aside, and iustice and equitie was clerely exiled. For the duke of Yorke whiche sore gaped and more thirsted for the superioritie and preeminence, studied, deuised, and practised al waies & meanes, by the whiche he might attain to his pretēsed purpose, and long hoped desire. And emongest all imaginaciōs, one semed moste necessary for his purpose, whiche yet again was to stirre and prouoke the malice of all the people against the duke of Somerset, who onely ruled the Kyng, and ordered all thynges at his pleasure and will. Imaginyng, that he beyng made out of the waie, his purpose should shortly come to a good conclusion. Wherefore, to the nobles of the realme he complayned, lamented, and detested, the miserable state and daily ruine of this noble countrey notyng and affirmyng, the duke of Somerset, to be the very roote and cause of the same, whom he named and called, an vnjust man, a mischenous persone, a tyrannicall gouernor, and a coueteous cōsailor. laying also great offences to kyng Henry, sayng, that he was a man, nexther of wit nor stomacke, neither mete to be a kyng, nor apt to gouerne a common wealth, and thefore it was the duetie of the noble men, and great Princes, not onely to thinke on this weightie matter, but spedely to prouide a remedy, and to set the Realme in another staye By whiche complaintes and perswasions, the duke of Yorke, so altered the myndes of many persones of high estate, that they liked not the worlde, as it then wauered, nor approued thactes of the lyng or his cōsail. And because, that ambition and auarice, was newly entered into their hartes, they studied, sodainly to change al thynges, and to turne the world vpseddōne. When the duke sawe mēnes appetites, and felt well their mindes, he chiefly entertained two Richardes, and bothe Nouelles, the one of Salisbury, the other of Warwicke beyng eile, the first the father, the second the sonne. This erle of Salisbury, was seconde sonne to Raufe Neuell, erle of Westmerlande, whose doughter the duke of Yorke had married, & the said Richard was espoused to Lady Alice, the only child and sole heire of Thomas Montacute erle of Salisbury, slain at the siege of Orleance, (as before I haue declared) of whiche woman he engēdered, Richard, Thon, and George Richarde the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the suster and heire of the entire bloud, to loude Henry Beauchamp Eile, and after duke of Warwicke, in whose right and title, he was created and named Erle of Warwicke, and not by his awne progeny or parentage This Richard was not onely a man of maueulous qualities, and facundious facions, but also from his youth, by a certain practise or naturall inclinacion, so set them forwaïd, with wittie and gentle demeanour, to all persones of high and of lowe degre, that emong all sortes of people, he obtained greate loue, muche fauor, and more credence

The xxxii.  
yere

whiche



whiche thynges daily more encreased, by his abundant liberalitie, and plentiful house keepynge, then by his riches, auctoritie, or high parentage: by reason of whiche doynges, he was in suche fauor and estimacion, amongst the common people, that thei iudged hym able to do all thynges, and that without hym, nothyng to be well done. For which causes his auctoritie, shortly so fast increased, that whiche waie he bowed, that waie ranne the streame, and what part he auanced, that side gat the superioritie.

### ¶ THE. XXXIII. YERE.

The xxxiii  
yere.

WHĒ the duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine, betwene these two strong and robustious pillars, he with his frendes, so seriously wrought, and so politiquely handled his busines, that the Duke of Somerset, was arrested in the Quenes greate chamber, and sent to the toure of London, where he without great solempnitie, kept a dolefull Christmas. against whom in open parliament, wer laied diuerse and heinous articles of high treasō, aswell for the losse of Normandy; as for the late mischance, whiche happened in Guyen. The kyng at this time was sicke at Clarendon, and so conueyed to London, by reason wherof, no finall determinacion proceded, in this greate and waightie cause, but it was put in suspence, til the next assemble of the high court of Parliament. During whiche tyme, the kyng either of his awne inynde, or by the Quenes procurement, caused the duke of Somerset, to be set at libertie. by whiche doyng, grew great enuy and displeasure, betwene the king and diuerse of his lordes, and in especiall between the duke of Yorke, and the kynges linage. And to aggravate more the malice newe begon, the Quene, whiche then ruled the roost and bare the whole rule, caused the duke of Somerset, to bee preferred to the capitainship of Calice, where with, not onely the commons but also many of the nobilitie, wer greatly greued and offended, sayng. that he had lost Normādy, & so would he do Calice. The duke of Yorke and his adherentes perceiuyng, that neither exhortacion serued, nor accusēmēt pieuailed against the duke of Somerset, determined to reuēge their querrell, and obtēin their purpose, by open warre and marciall aduenture, and no lenger to slepe in so waightie a businesse. So he beyng in the Marches of Wales, associate with his especiall frendes, the erles of Salisbury and Warwicke, the lorde Cobhā, and other, assembled an army, and gathered a greate power, and like wallike persones, marched toward Londō. The Londoners, hearing of so great a multitude, comyng toward their cite, wer greatly astonied and muche abashed. for every persone considered his awne part, that either witholdyng with the one side, or beyng contrariant to the other, or medelyng with no part he should incur indig nation or displeasure. The kyng beyng credibly informed, of the greate army comyng toward hym, assembled an host, intēdyng to mete with the duke in the Northe parte, because he had to many frendes about the cite of London, and for that cause, with greate spede and small lucke, he beyng accompanied, with the Dukes of Somerset, and Buckyngham, the erles of Stafford, Northumberlande, and Wiltshire with the lorde Clifford, and diuerse other barōs, departed out of Westminster, the xx. daie of May, toward the toune of S Albons: of whose doynges, the duke of Yorke being aduertised, by his espials, with all his power costed the countieys, and came to the same toune, the third daie next ensuyng. The kyng hearyng of then appiochyng, sent to hym messengers, straightly charyng and commaundyng hym, as an obedient subject, to kepe the peace, and not as an enemy to his naturall countrey, to mūdre and slay his awne countremen and propre naciō. While kyng Henry more desirous of peace then of warre, was sendyng furthe his oratois, at the one ende of the toune the erle of Warwieke with the Marchemen, entered at the other gate of the toune, and fierly set on the kynges forward, and them shortly discomfited. Then came the duke of Somerset, & all the other lordes with the kynges power, whiche fought a sore and a cruell battail, in the whiche, many a tall man lost his life but the duke of Yorke sent euer fieshemē, to succor the very, & put new men in the places of the hurt persons, by whiche onely

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pollicie, the kynges armie was profligate and dispeised, & all the chieftaines of the field almoste slain and brought to confusion For there died vnder the signe of the Castle, Edmond duke of Somerset, who long before was warned to eschew all Castles, and beside hym, lay Henry the second erle of Northumberland, Humfrey erle of Stafford, sonne to the duke of Buckingham, Thon lorde Clifford, and viij. M. men and more. Humfrey duke of Buckingham, beyng wounded, & James Butler erle of Wiltshire & Ormond, seying fortunes lowering chaunce, left the kyng poste a lone & with a greate numbres fled away This was thend of the first battaill at S. Albons, whiche was fought on the Thursday, before the feast of Pentecost, beyng the xxij. daie of Maie. In this. xxxij. yere of the Kynges reigne, the bodies of the noble men, were buried in the Monastery, and the meane people in other places This Edmond duke of Somerset, left behynde hym three sonnes, Henry, Edmond, and Thon, whiche to the extremitie of death, toke part with the line of kyng Henry

AFTER this victory obtained, by the duke of Yorke and his companions, he remembred, that often times he had declared and diuulged abroad, the onely cause of his warre to be, for thauancement of the publique wealth, and to set the Realme in a more comodious estate, and a better cōdition. Wherefore, he vsyng all lenitie, mercy, and bounteousnes, would not once touche or apprehend the body of kyng Henry, whō he might bothe haue slain, & vnterly destroyed, considering that he had hym in his ward and gouernaunce But with great honor and due reuerence, conueyed hym to London, & so to Westminster, to whiche place was somoned and appoynted, a great assemble of thre estates, commonly called a Parliamēt, whiche began the ix. day of Iuly, in the whiche session, the Duke of Gloucester, was openly declared a true Prince, bothe to the kyng & the realme. Beside this, it was enacted, that no persone, should either iudge or report, any poynt of vntruth, of the duke of Yorke, the erles of Salisburi and Warwicke, for commyng in warlike maner, against the kyng at S. Albons, considering, that their attempt and enterprise was onely to se the kynges persone, in safegard and suer keepyng, and to put and aliene from hym, the publique oppressors of the common wealth. by whose misgouernaunce, his life might be in hasard, and his auctoritie hang in a very small thred In whiche Parliament also, the duke of York was made protector of the Realme, and therle of Salisbury, was appoynted to be Chauncelloi, and had the greate seale to hym deliuered. and the erle of Warwicke, was elected to the office of the captain of Callice, and the territories of the same As this deuise was politiquely inuented, so was the sequel therof to the firste aucthors, bothe honorable and profitable, if fortunes ship had sailed all one way For by this practise, the whole rule and regiment of the whole Realme, consisted onely in the heddes and orders, of the duke and the Chauncelloi, and all the Warlike affaires and businesse, rested principally in the erle of Warwicke, and so amongst them, it was agreed, that king Henry should still rèigne, in name and dignitie, but neither in deed nor in auctoritie not myndyng either to depose or destroy thesaid kyng, least they might sodainly prouoke and stirre the fury and ire of the common people against them: whiche for his holines of life, and abundant clemencie, was of the simple sort, muche fauored, and highly esteemed. After whiche auctoritie geuen, these three persones ruled the realme, and did all thynges after their awne discrecions, (whiche without battail or manslaughter, might haue easily depriued thesaid Kyng, bothe of life and lande). And firste they amoued from the priue counsaill, all suche persones as the kyng loued, or the quene fauored, puttyn in their places, men of their secte and confederacie, & changyng officers throughout the realme, at their will and disposicion. so that tholde spoken prouerbe, here toke place New Lordes, new lawes suche lippes, suche lettice. And yet in all their rule, I finde no mencion made, of disteryng Iustice, or of their pollyng, or their bribery, as was openly pioned by such as gouerned before their tyme Sauyng that they tooke out of the sanctuary of Westminster, Thon Holland duke of Excester, beyng repugnant to the order taken and concluded, in the last parliament and conueyed hym to Poumfrēt castle Whiche takyng out was accompted an execrable and a dampnable offence, of diuise of the spiritualtie, and especially of the



Abbot of Westminster and his Monkes, and this is the most spot that was (as I could rede) euer moste to be caste in the Dukes fame, duryng his protectorship, or of his counsaill.

## ¶ THE. XXXIIII. YERF.

The xxxiiii  
yere.

BUT that venemous worme, that dreadfull dragon, called disdain of superioritie, whiche hath consumed the bloud of so many noble princes, and destroyed the liuage of so many gouernors, in all Realmes and kyngdomes, aswell pagan as Christian, could not abstein fro incensyng the hartes of lorde Henry Beauford, newly come to the Duchy of Somerset, by the death of duke Edmond his father, whiche at the battaill of saint Albons, (as you haue heard before rehersed) lost his life, and of Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, (whose sonne and heire named Humfrey, erle of Stafford, tasted the same cuppe, at the forenamed conflict) and of other loides and mē of auctoritie, fauoryng and folowyng the part of Kyng Henry, whiche not onely bewailed and had compassion of the vnsure condicion, and waueryng estate of his rule and lordeship, perceiuyng openly, wherunto the cloked gētlenes, and subornate fashiō of the duke of Yorke, tended and crept vp. but also thought it necessarie and conueniēt, to puruey for a remedy, or the mischief happened. Wherefore with open mouthes and fierce corages, thei came to Quene Margaret, informyng her, that it was not honorable, but a reproche and infamy to the Kyng, to haue one to bee a Protector and gouernor of hym and his Realme, as who would say that he was either a childe, whiche had need of norice, to fede hym with pappe, or an innocent creature, whiche must be ruled by a tutor, assaiteinyng her farther, that the Duke of Yorkes only intent was, vnder the colour of this protectorship, sodainly to destroy & depose the kyng, when he least thought of it, and therefore willed her in so quicke a mischief, to provide a hasty remedy, if she loued the safegard of her husbände, or the tuicion of her self. The Quene hauyng a wit, more then the common sort of women haue, and consideryng the estate of her husbände, the condicion of her self, and the perill of her onely sonne, thought it necessary, to plucke the sword of auctoritie, out of their handes, whiche vnder colour of rulyng vnder others, desired to be gouernors and superiors themselves. Wherefore, a greate counsaill was called at Grenewiche, where the duke of Yorke was discharged of his Protectorship, and the erle of Salisbury also, was dismissed of his office: whiche malicious mutacion emongest the nobilitie, caused sodain alterations and seditious commocions, to spryng and arise in the commonaltie, and in especiall, within the citee of London.

FOR a young Marchaunt, whiche before tyme had been in diuerse citees within the countrey of Italy, and there prohibited by the Magistrates and rulers, to vse or weare any weapon either inuasieue or defensieue, chalenged an Italian in Chepe side, for wearyng of a dagger, confutyng hym with the lawes of his awne countrey, whiche, like a Colericke knaue and presumptuous persone, so disdainfully and with suche tautes and checkes, answered the marchant, that he not willing to suffre so opē a reproche, in so publique a strete, and that of so proud a villain, toke by force from him his dagger, and with thesame, a little cut his croune and cracked his pate. This Italian in greate hast, complained to the Mayer of this offence, whiche at the nexte Courte, holden at the Guyldhaule, by the consent of the whole senate, sent for thoffendor, and declaryng to hym his crime, commaunded hym to ward, wherof diuerse other light marchantes within the citee, sore abhorryng the Italian nacion, for lickyng the fat from their beardes, and takyng from them their accustomed liuyng, by reason that thesaid estraūgers imported & transported, into and out of this realme, all suche marchandise, commodities, and necessities, as thenglishmen onely wer accustomed to do, assembled together in greate plumpes, and by force compelled the Maire to deliuer the prisoner out of Newgate: and yet this multitude, with this doying nothyng sacciate nor appeased, like madde persons, and frantique fooles, ranne to the seuerall houses, of diuerse Venecians, Lucas, and Florentynes, and them spoyled, robbed and rifled, without reason or measure.

The Maire perceiuyng this great enprmitie, assēbled a great numbere of substanciall and graue citezens, whiche, not without greate bloudshed, and maynyng of sundery per-ones, finally appeased their rage, and caused the people to departe to their houses. The beguiner of this temerarious commocion, and sodain vproie, either perswaded by his frendes or fearyng his chaunce, whiche for his firste facte might sodainly issue, departed to Westminster, and there Registered hymself as a sanctuarian. The Quene whiche ruled all thynges, hearyng of this greate hote and vulawfull misdemeanon, sent the Dukes of Excester and Buckingham, accompanied with many other noble men, to London, with a commission of oyer and determiner, for the punishment of this outrageous offence & seditious crime. When the Maire of the citee the two dukes, and the two chief iustices, wer set in the Guyldhaule for the performance of their commission, & began to call the empanelles, for thenquny, as the vsage and order is, diuise light witted, and lesse brained persons of y<sup>e</sup> citee, priuely armed thē, & by the ringing of bow bel thought to assēble together a great multitude of their mid & opiniō, & so by force & might to take frō the kepers, all such prisoners, as were before apprehended, for y<sup>e</sup> late cōmitted robbery & riot, as they were goynge to their trial or arraignment. But this great tumult & sodain fury, was by discrete and sage citizens, a litle and litle appeased and finally quenched, but in the meane season, the dukes and other commissioners, being vntrewly aduertised y<sup>e</sup> they were in jeopardy of their lites, sodainly departed frō the Guyldhaule, and left their inquiry for y<sup>e</sup> day. The Mayre on y<sup>e</sup> next day perceiuyng how the gudge rose, called a common counsaill wherof y<sup>e</sup> nūber was 1 C iij score & od persons, & by auctoritie of thesame ordeyned, that all Wardens of misteries, should assemble their fellowship in their particular hawles, where they should exhort thē to y<sup>e</sup> obseruacion of the kynges peace, and keepyng of good order within the citie & if they espied any man, either prone or redy to reyse a rumor or desirous of the delyueraunce of suche as were accused, & in captiue custodie, that their names should be secretly written, & couertly deliuered to the lorde Mayre. which polittique doynge, finally ended the entragious doing of the insolent people, after which appeasyng y<sup>e</sup> commissioners returned to y<sup>e</sup> Guyldhaule, where many of the robbers were attainted, and after cōdignely put to execucion besyde diuers great fynes and ransomes payd, which were set vpon many merchauntes, for winking at these doynges or assentyng to thesame.

### ¶ THE. XXXV. YERE.

THE French nacion, hearyng of this domesticall diuision and ciuile dissencion, within the Realme of Englād, much desyryng to be reuenged of olde displeasures and great damages, which they had so many yeares born and susteined by the English people, appoynted two Nauyes to invade and depopulate the townes and portes, adioynnyng to the ryuage of the sea. The capitaine of y<sup>e</sup> one army, was Williā lord Pomiers, and of the other, syr Piers Bressy, a great ruler in Normandy. These two Capitains, when opportunitie of wether serued, sette vp their sayles at the mouthe of Sayme, and there seuered, them selfs, the one Westward, and the other Eastward, which was syr Peter de Bressy. This lusty Capitā saylyng all the cost of Sussex and Kent, durst not once take land, til he arrived in the downes, and there hauyng by a certayn espial, perfit notice, that the towne of Sandwyche was neither peopled nor fortified, because that a litle before, the chefe rulers of the towne, were from thēce departed, for to auoyde the pestilenciall plage, which sore there infected and slew the people, entered the hauen, spoyled the towne, and after such pore stufte as he thier founde, ryfflyde and taken, he fearnge an assemble of the cōtrei, shortly returned. The lord Pomiers likewise toke his course Westward, and by night brēt certayn houses in founay, & with a litle pillage retired into Britayn. These two aduentures and fortunate chaunces, which to them in cōparison of their great expēses, in their iorneyes were scant worthe one pore myte, or single farthyng: The French writers dylate, setfurth and paynt with pēne, as though

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yere



they had gottē Cresus riches, and Alexanders kyngdomes forgettyng how many hundred thousande poundes, they had lost in few yeres before precedyng, as to all meune, beyng indifferent readers of this Historie, plainly appereth. But verily some bread is better to the hūngry person, then no bread, and a small gayn of him, which desireth recoutrie, is a great pleasure, and therefore the French authois make of a litle much, & yet their much (all thynges considered) is in effect nothyng at all. The Scottes also not degenerating frō their olde mutabilitie, nor altering their aūcient condicions from their accustomed perfidie and vsuall vntreught entered into Northūberland, kyng Iames the second, then being there in person, and burned small houses, and litle cotages: but in the very middes of their greate enterpryse, they hearinge of the duke of Yorke, marchyng toward the, with a great army, with much payne, & no gayn, in all haste reuered to their countrey. Let vs passe ouer for a tyme all outward inuasions, and returne to our awn domestical debate, & dayly discord. First not forgettyng, that while forē enemies inuaded the outwaide partes, and extreme confynes of this troubleous realme, a great conflict was attempted betwene the lord Egremond, and the sonnes of the erles of Salisbury in the which fray, many persons were slayn, and a great number hurt. The lord Egremōd, in this great tumult could not escape, but by force was taken and brought before the kynges cōsail, and there the kyng and the quene to shew them selfs to all persons, indifferent, adjudged him to paye to y<sup>e</sup> erle of Salisbury a great summe of money, and for his heynous offence, done against the kynges lawes he was committed to the gayle of Newgate, within the citie of London out of the which prison, by helpe of his fautors, he secretly escaped, and sodaynly departed, to the great vexacion of the shryfes of London, at y<sup>e</sup> time being. In which season, the craft of Printyng was first inuented in the cite of Mens in Germanie, to the great furtheraunce of all persons, desiryng knowledge or thyrsting for litterature. Quene Margarete, whose breath ruled, and whose worde was obeyed about the kyng and his counsail, within this Realme of Englande, entendyng the destruccion of the duke of Yorke and his frendes, which deuise she thought not mete to be practised nere to the cite of London, because she well perceyued the duke of Yorke to be had in more estimacion emonge the citezens & cōmunalte, then the kyng her husbād or her awn person. caused the kyng to make a progresse into Warwyckeshyre, for his health & recreacion, and so with Hawkyng and Huntynge came to the cite of Couētre, where were diuers ways studied priuely, to bryng the quene to her hartes ease, and long expectate desire which was the death & destrucciō of the duke of Yorke, the erles of Salisbury and Warwycke. And for the furniture of this matter, al these iii. noble mē were sent for to Couētre, by the kynges letters vnder his priue seale, to which place the foresaid lordes, suspecting no treason, nor putting diffidence in any creature, obediently resorted: but the serpent loked vnder the grasse, & vnder sugered speache, was hide pestiferous poyson, so that if these noblemen admonished by their frendes, had not sodaynly departed, their lyfes threde had bene broken, and their mortall fate had them ensued, but by secrete admonicion of their good willers (to whome no earthly treasure is comparable) they auoided this net and narrowly escaped the snare, wherupon for the securitie and tucion of their lifes, the duke of Yorke departed to Wygnore, in the Marches of Wales, the erle of Salisbury resorted to his fayre Castell of Middelham in the Northcountrey, and the erle of Warwyke sayled to the town of Caleys. Although the bodies of these noble personages, were by this seditious and frindulēt meanes a sonde separated as ye haue heard yet their hartes were knite and coupled in one, neuer forgettyng, but dayly studyng, bothe how to be reuenged of the olde dispytes and malicious attēptes, against them committed and imaged, and also how to compasse their purposes, and to get the superioritie and ouerhand about their euilwillers, & apparant enemies. for which causes, their letters neuer ceased, then messengers neuer slept, nor their purses were at no tyme shut, what for enter-tayning of olde frendes, and obteyninge of new confederates, tyll kyng Henry and his alyes were profligate, and expelled clerely out of the Realme, as after shall appeare.

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cellent sci-  
ence of Prin-  
tinge was  
first inuent-  
ed.





folowed, and were lodged in the Bishoppes palayce of London. These lordes had such great companies, attendyng on them (for one had. v. C. other. v. C. and diuers. iij. C. persones in a band) that continuall watche was kept by the Mayre and senate of London, aswell by day as by nyghte, for the preseruaciō of the peace, and cōtinuauce of good order. The lordes, which lodged within the cite, kept a daily counsaill at the Blacke frieis, within the cite. The othei parte sojornyng without f̃ walles, assembled likewise in the chapter house of Westminster. Thus enery part both studied his awn profite and aduācement, and also how to reuēg thynges done to them, by then foes and aduersaries. But the Archebisshop of Cantebury, and other vertuous prelates, so exhorted, applied, and perswaded both the parties (although a great while they were neither heard, nor regarded) that in cōclusion, they brought them to a comunicacion, whereafter long altercacion, aswell of olde Iniuries, and of new displeasures, by the one faccion, against the other committed, f̃ feare of outward hostilitie, and foren inuasion, so mollified their indurate hartes, that they outwardly promising, to forget all olde rancors, & auncient displeasures, sealed and signed writinges, the one euei after to be frend to the other, and all together to be obedient to the Kyng, & fauorers to his fredes & enemies to his enemies. This cōcord was so ioyfull to the superiors, and so embraced of the common people (who euer beare the burden, whē princes be at controuersie) that for the open apparaunce, and demonstracion of this godly concorde, publique processions were appointed, to be solēpnely celebrate, within the Cathedrall church of saint Paule in the cite of London, on the day of the Concepcion of our Lady, in the moneth of March. At which solempne feast, the Kyng in habite rōyal, and his dyademe on his hedde, kept his estate in procession, before whom, went hand in hand, the duke of Somerset, the erle of Salisbury, the duke of Excester, and f̃ erle of Warwyke, and so on of the one faccion, and another of the other sect, and behynd the kyng the duke of Yorke ledde the Quene with great familiaritie to all mens sightes: but wo worth dissimulacion, and false flatteryng contenaunce. fye on doble entendement, and cloked adulation, whiche hath bene the common seruiuers in all palacies, both Imperiall and Regal, and by their only pestiferous venime, and secrete malyce, hath ben the destruccion of many a noble man, and the confusion of a great number of trew meanyng and faithfull persons. But the Wiseman, which saieyth: wo be thou that hast a doble hart, meant, that dissimulaciō once espied, should be the arrow wherwith the dissembler should be wounded. As by this cloked pageant, and dissimuling procession, hereafter shall playnly be declared. For their bodics were ioyned by hand in hand, whose hartes were faire a sonder. their mouthes loungly smiled, whose corages were inflamed with malice their toungues spake lyke suger, and their thoughtes were all inuenemed but all these dissimulinge persons, tasted the vessel of woo, as the Wyseman sayde and few or none of this company were vnblotted, or vndestroied by this dolorous drink of dissimulaciō. But this cancard worme, and pestiferous coccatrice, not onely at thys tyme reigned in Englande, but also dyd muche harme in the courte of Fraūce: for Ihon duke of Alāson, which before had bene prisoner, & wel enterteyned in the realme of England, and after Capitayn Generall of the warres in Fraunce agaynst the Englishmen, highly fauoured, and of great estimacion in the Frenche kynges house, was by suche as he most trusted & vsed most familiaritie wā, & whom he had greatly promoted, and highly exalted, accused of highe treason, as enemye to his kyng, and traytor to his countrey, alledgyng that he lōge before f̃ tyme had conspired with the Englishmen, to cause them once agayn to recover the duchye of Normandy: wherupō by the order of the law, he there suffered death very vnustly, as diuers aucthors affirme, whereof one sayeth: that kynges sekynge treason, shall fynde lande, and the denyal of a princes desyre, was the inuented destruccion of the innocent Naboth. Well let vs now leue the cloked collusion, that remayned in Fraunce, & returne to the open dissimulacion, which now appeared in England.

A general  
procession at  
Pauls, by  
the kyng, and  
the p̃eres of  
the Realme

Ihon duke  
of Alanson  
executed in  
Fraunce.

¶ THE. XXXVII. YERE.

AS fier beyng enclosed in a straye place, wil by force vtter his flāme, and as the course <sup>The xxxvii</sup> of water astricted & letted will flow and brust out in continuance of tyme. so thys cācard <sup>Yere.</sup> crocodryle and subtile serpēt, could not lōg lurke in malicious hartes, nor venemous stomackes, but in cōclusion she must (according to her nature) appeie & shewe her self. For after this appaiant cōcord, and intrinsecall discord, accordyng to the very nature of dissimulacion, diuers noblemen of byrthe, but not stable of worde, putting from them honor, tought and honestie forgat their othe, and brake their promisse, & aduanced forth the banner of displeasure, and the flagge of malice. So a man may se, that such peisons, regard neither their awne peculiar profite, nor the publique wealth of their natue cōuntry, nor yet passe of an othe, or promise brekyng, to whom discord is pleasant, and disencion is delectable. For not long after this dissimuled amitie, a certayn fray, either by chaunce, or of a thyng prepensed, was made vpon a yoman of the erles of Warwyke, by a seruiteur of the kynges, in which the Assaylant was sore hurte, but ȝerles mā fled. The kynges meigniall seruaūtes, seyng their felow hurt, and the offendor escaped, assembled in great number, and watched the erle, returnyng from the counsaill toward his barge, and sodaynly set on hym the yomen with swourdes, and the Blacke gard, with spittes and fyre forkes. After lōg fight, and many of the erles men maymed and wouided, by helpe of his frendes, he toke a wherry, and so escaped to London: whome the Quene incontinent commaunded to be apprehended, & as a captiue & prisoner, to be sent to the Towre of Lōdō, where (if he had bene then taken) he had shortly ended his dayes, and made hys end. By this vnhappy fraye, and sodayn chaūche of malice, there arose such dayly and terrible warre, that euery man was in trouble, and no person was in quiet. For after this displeasure doen to the erle, and the quenes good mynd toward hym, by his secreete frendes priuely reueled, he with all diligēce, toke his iorney to Warwicke, and aiter into Yoreschire, where he found the duke of Yorke, and the erle of Salisbury, declaring to them, the assaute of the kynges seruauntes, and the pretended purpose of the fraudulent Quene. After which complaint made, he feaung lest by long absence, he might be deposed or defrauded of his captainship of Calice, with greате speede embarked hymself, & sayled thither, daily expectyng and lokyng, what way the duke of Yorke would take, for acheuyng his long intēded purpose. After whose departure, the duke of Yorke and therle of Salisbury, somewhat exasperate and moued with this doble dealyng began to grudge and murmure: affirmyng that in the Quene rested nothyng, but fraude and feminine malice, whiche rulyng the kyng at her pleasurē and wil, studied nothyng so muche, as the destruccion of the nobilitie, and peeres of the realme. After long consultacion had, it was agreed, that the erle with a warlike company, should marche toward the kyng, and complain to him, bothe of the manifest injury doen to his sōne, and also of the vnkind breach, of the sworne amitie and late agremēt, in whiche suite, if he did preuaile, he then should not omit the occasion to hym geuen, in reuēgyng the displeasures to hym doen, by the quene and her sinister counsailors, whiche euill & vngodly, ordered the subiectes of the whole Realme. After this deuise made and concluded, therle of Salisbury remoued from Middleham castle, accompanied with iii. or. v. M. men and toke his waie through Lancashire, and Shropshire, toward London. In the meane season the quene, whiche was assisted and ruled, by the dukes of Somerset and Buckynghā, hauyng the vigilant eye and circumspect brayne, of a polittique gouernor: imagined that therle of Warwicke had kindeled this fire, and begon this tumult to thentent (accordyng to his pretended purpose) to set the duke of Yorke in the siege royall, and high throne of the realme: For which causes, she beyng a woman of nosmal wit, nor hile pollicie, conceiuyng in her opinion, that it was no bote to make any farther concord or league with her aduersaries, & hearyng of therle of Salisburies setyng forward, with acōpany of armed of men & archers: assēbled together a greate counsaill, to puruey a  
remedy,



remedy, for that imminent mischief, and (as in a multitude oftentimes it happeth, so many heddes so many wittes) so diuerse wer in opinion, that neither people nor weapon should be stirred, till the erle approached doubtyng, whether he came to demaunde warie or peace, or to aske Iustice, & to reforme wrong. Other, otherwise thought, and wer of a contrary opinion, making the foundaciō of their argument, that the raising of people, and assemble of souldiors by hym, could signifie no peace, nor treaty of concord: except a man should saie, that intreatyng for fauor with naked sworde in hande, were an humble submission and a meke request. whiche onely consideracion, moued them to saie, y as force with force, ought to be repelled, so he with a great power, or he came into the midst of the realme, should of necessitie be encountered and (if fortune would serue) vtterly destroyed. This sentence toke place, & without delaie, sir Iaines Twichet lorde Awdeley, because his seignorie and power lay in those partes, where the erle should passe, was appoynted to mete with hym, and to geue hym battaill, if he sawe cause or place conuenient and the quene folowed after. The lorde Awdeley, accordyng to his commission, assembled aboue x. M. men, and knowyng by his espials whiche way therle kept, approached nere to hym on a faire plain called Blore Heath, within a mile of the toune of Drayton, in the countrey of Salope, commonly called Shropshire. The erle perceiuing by the luery of the souldiors, that he was circumuented and likely to be trapped with the quenes power, determined rather there to abide the aduventure, with fame and honor, then farther to fle, with losse & reproche & so encamped hymself all the night, on the side of a hile broke not very brode, but somewhat depe. In the mornyng early, beyng the daie of s. Tecla, he caused his souldiors to shote their flightes, towardes the Lorde Awdeleys company, whiche lay on the othe side of the saied water, and then he and all his company, made a signe of retraite. The lorde Awdeley, remembryng not onely the trust that he was put in, but also the Quenes terrible commaundement, (whiche was to bryng to her presence, therle of Salisbury, quicke or ded) blewe vp his trumpet, and did set furth his voward, & sodainly passed the water. Therle of Salisbury, whiche knewe the slaughtes, stratagemes, and the pollicies of warlike affaies, sodainly returned, and shortly encountred with the Lorde Awdeley and his chief Capitaines, or the residue of his armie could passe the water. The fight was sore and dreadfull. Therle desiryng the sauynge of his life, and his aduersaries couetyng his destruccion, fought sore for the obteynyng of their purpose, but in conclusion, the erles army as men desperate of aide and succor, so egeily fought, that thei slewe the lorde Awdeley, and all his capitaines, and discomfited all the remnant of his people. In this battail wer slain. xxiiij. C. persōs, but the greatest plague lighted on the Cheshire men, because one halfe of the shire, was one the one part, and the other on the other part, of whiche numbres wer sir Thomas Dutton, sir Ihon Dunne, & sir Hugh Venables. But therles two sonnes, the one called sir Ihon Neuell, and the other sir Thomas, wer soie woūded, whiche soberly iornyng into the Northcountrey thinkyng there to repose them selves, wer in their iorney apprehēded, by the quenes frendes, and conueyed to Chester: but their keepers deliuered them shortly, or els the Marchemen had destroyed the Gayles. Such fauor had the commons of Walcs, to the duke of Yorkes band and his affinite, that thei could suffre no wrong to be doen, nor euil worde to be spoken of hym or his frendes.

## ¶ THE XXXVIII. YERE.

The xxxviii.  
yere

After this battail, the duke of Yorke not onely perceiuing that the destruccion of him & his frendes, was intended (as by this last conflict, was apparently declared) but also remembryng, that all his counsailes & priuy intētes, wer now opened to the kyng and y quene which studied to diuert and turn from thē, all michief or infortūnite, whiche might chaunce either to them or their frendes, thought it mete neither lenger to dissimule, nor farther to kepe his bill vnder wyng: and therefore with a coragious harte, aswel for the obteynyng of the crowne, as for the tuiciō and safeguard of hym and his frendes, he determined no lenger

to slepe in his den, but with all diligence, to set furthe his busines and auauce his banner. And therfore sending for therle of Salisbury his fellow and compere in all his doynges, counsailes, and fortunes (after long comunicacion had, of the Quenes misgouernaunce, and how she without their assent, did all thynges at her will and pleasure) determined to raise a greate army, and by fine force, either to die or win their purpose. What should I saie, men were assembled, frendes wer sent for, and a puissaunt armie was gathered, bothe of Northren men and Welshmen, whiche in good ordre came into the Marches of Wales, adioynyng to Shropshire, where they determined either to abide their enemies, or to mete them if, thei marched forward. The king was not ignorant of this assemble, nor yet vnaduerused of the dukes intēt wherfore to resist the mischief at the begynnyng, he caused commissiōs to be made and sent into euery part of the realme, where he suspected either to haue assured fiendes or indifferēt fauorers, for men and money. By reason of whiche commaundemēt, a great numbre was assembled. Many for the loue they bare to the king, but more for the feare y thei had of the quene, whose countenaunce was so fearfull, and whose looke was so terrible, that to al men, against whom she toke a small displeasure, her frowning was their vndoing, & her indignacion, was their death. The king accompanied with the dukes of Somerset & Excester, and other of the line of Lancaster determined clerely, to set on the duke of Yorke & his confederates, and them by force either viterly to vanquish, or by pollecy to attrap and bring to confusion. wherupon in hope of good lucke, the kyng with his army by long marchyng, came nere to the duke of Yorke, which was strongly incamped, alitle from the tounce of Ludlow, nere adioynyng to the confines of Wales, to whom not long before, was come his trustie frende Richard Erle of Warwike, with a greate numbre of expert men in marciall feates, whom he had brought with hym from Calice, wherof two were menne of approued pollecy, in the warres of Normandy and Guyen, the one called Andrew Trowlop, & the other Ihō Blount. These armes thus lyng, the one in the conspect and vewe of the other studied all meanes and pollecies, how to take aduantage eche of other and how with lesse reoperdye, the one might set on the other. The Duke perceiuyng by reason of his expert Capitaines, a waye howe he might easely dampnifie and discomfite his enemies, thought no lenger to slepe his purpose, but manfully to geue the onset, & so with his secrete frendes and capitaines, determined the next morning early, with deaddfull blastes of the terrible trompet, to begin the battail and set on the kyng and his army, or he wei redy or in aray. But of this deuise succeeded nothing nor of this imaginacion proceded any effect. For Andrewe Trolop and other the Calicians, whiche wei men of great knowledge and muche experience, and had liued by the kynges wages, more then a few yeres, perceiuyng now, that they should fight against their soueieigne lord himself (whose frend thei esteemed before that tyme, therle of Warwike euer to haue been taken and reputed, and not his enemy or destroyer) in the dedde of the night, before the daie of battaill, secretly departed from the dukes campe, and submitted themselves to the kyng admonishing him of all thynges prepared and deuised, for his losse & destruccion. If these auient capitaines wer welcome to the kyng, or if he ioyously them receiued, I referre that to all men, whiche haue relief in their distresse, or haue a sodain good chaunce, when thei thinke least vpon it. When the duke of Yorke was aduertised of their departyng, no manerall though his senses wer moued, and his wittes disturbed, as a man that sodainly riseth out of a traunse, woteth not what to do or saie: For he first considered the power and aucthontie of the Kyng, and sawe that Andrewe Troloppe, of his frend was sodainly transformed, into the image of his extreme enemy, whose force and pollecie, as muche now discōforted hym, as by the truste whiche he put in hym, he was before encouraged: wherfore he evidently perceiuyng, that all his counsaill and purpose, was by the forenamed Andrew, reueled and disclosed, thought it better for hym and hys, to departe in suretie, then to abide the chaunce, of mutable Fortune, whiche turneth the whiele at her wil & pleasure. wherupon he with his yonger sonne Edmond erle of Rutland, secretly departed into Wales and so passed into Ireland, where he was with al ioy & honor gladly receiued. Therle of March, sonne & heire apparant to



the forsaid duke, accompanied with therles of Sahsbury, and Warwike, and sir Ihon Wenlocke, stale away thesame night, & came into Deuonshire. wher by the meanes of Ihon Dinham Esquire (whiche after was high treasurer of England, in the tyme of kyng Henry the vij) thei bought a ship, whiche cost C x markes, at Exmouth, & sailed to Gernsay, and after came to Calice, & were let in at the posteine, & ioyfully welcomed of their frendes.

THE next day in the mornynge, the kyng beyng aduertised of the departyng of the Duke of Yorke and his partakers, caused al his hoisemen to folowe them by euery passage, but thei were neither seen nor espied, as they that folowed, made reporte. The kyng perceiuyng that the lordes were escaped, pardoned all the poore souldiours, sayyng certain Ryng-leaders, whereof some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this, he remoued to Ludlowe, and there dispatched his hoste, and spoyled the toune and the Castle, and sent the Duches of Yorke, with her two yonger sonnes, to be kept in ward, with the Duches of Buckyngham her suster, where she continued a certain space. After this, he proclaimed these lordes, traytors to hym, enemies to their countrey, and rebelles to the Croune confiscatyng al their landes, goodes, and offices, comitttyng the gouernaunce of the Northe partes, to the Erle of Northumberlande, and the Lorde Clifford, as to his trustie and moste faithfull frendes. and of his toune of Calice, he made Capitain, Henry the newe Duke of Somerset: but the olde husbnde man saeth, that as to hastie sowynge, oftentyme deceiueth, so to late, neuer wel proueth. For in this busnesse, protractyng of tyme onely, hurted and harmed the Kyng and his sequele. For if he at the beginnyng, had dispossessed his aduersaries of that refuge and hold, no doubt but he had either tamed or vanquished them with litle labour and small daunger.

THE Duke of Somerset, reioysyng much in his new office, elected diuerse hardy and valiaunt souldiours, and with greate pompe sailed toward Calice and when he thought surely to haue entered into the Hauen, the artillarie shot so fiersely, bothe out of the toune and Risebancke, that he sufferyng there a sore repulse, was fain to land at whitsandbay, and sent woorde to the capitaines of the toune, to receiue hym, as the kynges lieutenauant, and shewed to them his letters Patentes, but neither he nor his writyng, was once regarded or looked on: so of necessitie he resorted to the Castle of Guynes, daily skirmishing with the garrison of Calice, more to his losse then gain. After his annuall, as is aforesaid, diuerse of the mariners, owing more good will, to therle of Warwicke, then to this young duke, conveyed their shippes into the Hauen of Calice, and in theim diuerse of the Erle of Warwikes enemies, as Ianyng Fendill, Ihon Felowe, and diuerse other, and presented them to thesaid Erle, whiche incontinent, caused their heddes to bee stricken of. This daily conflict, still continuynge betwene the Lordes, whiche sojourned at Calice, and the duke of Somerset, lyng at Guynes, no small nombre of the comonalty, daily resorted to the Erle of Marche and his confederates: by reason wherof, all though they daily lost people, and had many slain, yet their numbres was restored, and the gappe euer filled, whiche was the continuall losse, and daily detriment to the duke of Somerset. Yet he like a valiaunt Prince, nothyng lesse myndyng, then for lacke of ayde to be expelled from the great office and renouued auctoritie, whiche the kyng had to hym geuen, in the partes beyond the sea, sent letters to the kyng, and messengers to the Quene, desirynge of their aide and succor, in defence of the querell, and lawfull assistence. His postes wer not vithead, nor his requestes vnprouded. For without delay Richard lorde Riuers, & sir Anthony Wooduile, his valiaunt sonne, whiche after was Lorde Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persones, were appointed to passe the seas, and to be coadiutors to the Duke of Somerset. These marciall capitaynes endeououryng theim selves to the poynt, for the which thei were assigned, came to the Porte of Sandwyche, and there abode the Wynd and the wether, whiche obeyeth neither Kyng, nor serueth Emperoure.

THE Erles of Marche and Warwicke, and other beyng at Calice, had knowledge of all these doynge, and secrete conuenticles wherfore to anticipate and prevent the Dukes purpose, they sent Ihon Dinham the valiaunt esquire, with a small nombre of men but with a multitude

multitude of coragious hartes, to the toune of Sandwyche, which sodainly entered thesame, and toke the Lorde Riwers in his bedde, and his sonne also. robberyng houses, & spoylyng shippes of great riches and marchandise, and beside this, they tooke the principall shippes of the kynges nauie, then lyng at the Port, well furnished with ordinaunce and artillanie, but not without the fauour of the mariners, whiche fauoured more the one part then the other. But although Ihon Dinham, Capitain on the Lordes parte, was sore hurte and maymed on his legge, by reason wherof, he euer after halted and somewhat limped: yet his courage and pollecy was so much, that he vanquished his enemies, and brought the shippes royall laded with preye and prisoners, to the toune of Calice, and them presented to the Erle of Marche, not knowing then, that the Lorde Riwers daughter should bee the Erles wife, whiche then had an husbande leuyng, nor thynkyng that her father for her sake, should after be destroyed. But who can know the secretes of GOD, or without him, declare the chauce that after shall insue.

AFTER this bootie gotten, and good lucke obtained, diuerse of the best shippes, taken in the Hauen of Sandwich, wer well vtailed and manned, and with them the Erle of Warwicke, transfreted and sayled into Irelande, to common with the Duke of Yorke, of his greate affayres and businesse. The wether was so faire, and the Wynd so fauorable to the Erles purpose, that within lesse then xxx daies, he passed and repassed from Calice to Deuelyne, and ascerteyned the Erles of Marche and of Salisbury, what was the Duke of Yorkes deuise and intent, bothe for his entre and theirs, into the Realme of Englande. The erle of Warwicke had come to short home, to tel these tidynges, if the duke of Excester, whiche, beyng Admual of the sea, lay in the Weste countrey, to stoppe the Erles passage, might haue had his awne will: but the capitaines of his Nauy murmured against hym, and the mariners dispraised and disdayned him, glad to heare of the Erle of Warwicks good successe, by which occasion, he neither would, nor durst once medle or coupe with the Erles nauie.

DVRYNG this tyme, the Kyng called a Parhamment, in the Citee of Couentre, in the whiche, the Duke of Yorke and all his confederates were attaynted of high treason, and their goodes and landes confiscat and forfeited: and to prohibite their landyng in all partes, hauen townes were watched, and the sea costes were garnished with bekens. And sir Simon Mondford with a great crew, was appoynted to kepe the dounes, and the fine Portes, and all menne passyng into Flaunders, were vpon payne of death, prohibited to passe by Calice, lest the lordes there, should borow of them any money, as they did prest of the marchantes of the staple. xviii.M.l. late before, whiche was a great displeasure to y kyng, & a more corasey to the quene. The lordes lyeg at Caleys, wer not ignorant of all these doynges & prouisions, but dailly were asserteyned what was done in the kynges priue chamber. wherfore firste they sent a company to Sandwyche, which conquered the towne, and apprehended syr Symon Moultford, and brought hym with all his mates to the hauen of Caleys, where incontynēt, he with xij of his chief felowes, lost their heddes on the sandes, before Rysebancke. After the kynges nauye gayned, and his capitayns on the arrual of the sea taken and destroyed, the lordes lyenge at Caleys, hoping in their frendes within the realme determined to passe the sea, and to land in England. And after they had put the castel and towne of Caleys, in sure and safe custodie to then onely vse, they passed the sea, and landed at Sandwich. And so passyng through Kent, there came to them the lorde Cobham, Ihon Guldeford, William Peche, Robert Hoine, and many other gentlemen, which conueyed them to the citee of London. But the fame of their landyng once knowne, gentlemen repaired and yemē resorted out of all the Southpartes of the Realme vpon which rumor Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour, with the kyng and Quene, accompanied with the erle of Kendale, a Gascoyn, and the lord Louel, resorted to London, with a great company of armed men: declaryng to the Maye of the cite, that their repayre onely was to defend, and kepe the citee from the spoyle & robbery of suche traytors, as the kyng was credible enformed, woulde thuther make accesse: to whom the Maye answered, that he wel



knew both his awnie othe, and bounden duety toward his souereign lord and prince, and neded neither of prompter, nor yet of Coadiutor, either to defend or gouerne the cite, to him cōmmytted in charge. With which aunswere, the lorde Scales and his associates not a litle displeased, entered into the Towre of London, dayly with new inuentions, doying displeasures and domages to the citezens of the cite whome they sore suspected, rather to fauour then to hate, the erles of Marche, & Warwycke, & other of their band and affinne. Which erles with a great army came shortly to London, and were of the Mayre and citezens ioyously receyued, to whome resorted the Archebishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely and Excester with many prelates and religious peisons. These lordes nothyng slackyng the purpose, that they came for, dayly consulted and assembled together in the house of the friers Franciscane within the cite. And after long debatinge, and secret consultacion, hadde, it was agreed, that they with their whoole puyssaunce shoulde maiche forwaide, toward the kyng determining either by force or fayre meanes, to bryng their purpose to a conclusion. Whē this counsall was dissolued, the erles of March and Warwycke, Thomas lord Faucōbridge, Hēry lord Borchier, called erle of Eue, with a great number of men, which came out of Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, to the number as some writers asserme of. xxv M. persons departed from London, toward the kyng, lyeng at Couentre, then called the Quenes secret aubor, leuyng behynd them, to kepe the Londoners in their fidelitie, from reuerting from their part, the erle of Salisbury, the lord Cobham, and syr Ihon Wenlocke which lord Cobhā, with certayn Aldermen of the cite, so kept the West syde against the Towre, and syr Ihon Wenlocke, with other so vigilantly watched the East parte, toward saint Katherynes, that no person either could issue out, or entre in, to f̄ great displeasure of the lord Scales and his company, whiche dayly shote their ordonaunce out, and had likewise great ordinaunce shott at them, to the hurt, and no pleasure of both partes. The kyng not ignorāt of all these doynges, assembled a great army, and accompanied with the duke of Somerset, which was lately come from Guysnes, and the Duke of Buckingham, and diuers other great lordes of his paite and iacciō came to the towne of Northampton, where the Quene encouraged her frendes, and promised great rewarde to her helpers. for the kyng studied nothing but of peace, quiet and solitarie life. When f̄ kinges host was assembled, and that the Quene perceyued that her power was able to. matche with the force of her aduersaries, she caused her army to issue out of the towne, and to passe the ryuer of Nene, and there in the newe felde, betwene Harsyngton and Sandiford, the Capitaynes strongly emparked them selves with high banks and depe trenches. The erle of Marche beyng lusty, and in the floure of his coragious yought, lyenge betwene Towceter and Northampton, determined to set on the kynges army, without longer protractyng of tyme. And in the nighte season remoued his campe toward Northampton, and in marchyng forward set his men in good order of battayl, wherof the vawegard was cōducted by the erle of Warwycke, which, either by strenght or stealth, maugre f̄ lord Beaumont, which kept a strait, goyng toward the Kynges campe, entered freshly and began the battayle aboute. viij. of the clocke, the ix. daye of Iulij. After whome folowed the erle of Marche, with the bāner of his father. This fight contynued in doubtfull iudgemente, till the houre of nyne, at which tyme the kynges army was profligat, and discomfited, and of thesame slayn, and drowned in the ryuer, fewe lesse then x M. talle Englishmē, & f̄ kyng hym self left alone disconsolate, was taken and apprehended, as a man borne, and predestinate to trouble misery and calamitie. At this battayl were slayn, Humfrey duke of Buckingham, Ihon Talbot erle of Shrewesbury, a valeant person, and not degeneratyng frō his noble parent: Thomas lord Egremont, Ihon viscount Beaumont, and syr William Lucy, which made great hast to come to parte of the fight, and at his first approche was strikē in the hed w̄ an axe. Diuers other gētilmē were slayn in this ciuile battajl, whose names were not remembered nor published by any auctor that I haue redde. Beside these dead persons, many were taken prisoners, because they left their horses, & disceded to fight on fote. The duke of Somerset and other, which narrowly escaped, fled with the

Quene and prince Edward, into the bishoprycke of Durhame, in whiche place they determined to congregate, and gather a new armye and power, and if no hope were of recouery, then they agreed to flye into Scotland there to expect better lucke, and happier chaunce, by fortunes fauour. The eyles beyng victorious in this bloody battayle, conueyed the Kyng that night again to the towne of Northampton, and the next day with great solempnitie and small comfort, they setforward the king, & by easy iorneyes brought him to London the xvi. day of Iulij, where he was fayntely receyued, & feebly welcomed, and was lodged in the Bishops palace. After whose comyng to the cite, the Towre of London was deliuered to the erle of Marche, vpon a certayn composition. But the Lorde Scales, suspectyng the sequele of the deliuey of thesame, toke a wherry priuily, entending to haue fled to the Quene. But he was espied by diuers watermē belongyng to the erle of Warwycke, whiche wayted for hys forthcomyng on the Thamse, and sodainly takē and shortly slayne with many dartes and daggers, and his body left all bloody and naked at the gate of the Clyncke; which after was buried in the church adioynyng. Then were diuers persons apprehended, and endited of treason, wherof some were pardoned, and some executed but Thomas Thorpe, second Barō of theschekner, great frend to the house of Lancaster, and extreme enemye to the familie of Yorke, was taken disguised in a monkes apparell, with a shauen croune, & so brought to the erle of Warwycke, which sent hym to the Towre of London, where he long remayned. Duryng this trouble, was a Parliament somoned to begyn at Westmyenster, in ȝ moneth of October next folowyng. Before which tyme, Richarde duke of Yorke, beyng in Irelād, by swyft cuiers, and flieng postes, was aduertised of the great victorie, gained by his parte, at the feld of Northampton, and also knew that the kyng was now in case to be kepte, & ordered at his pleasure and wil. wherfore losyng no tyme, nor sluggyng one houre, he sayled from Deuelyne to Chester with no small company and by longe iourneyes, came to the cite of London, which he entered the Friday next before the feast of saint Edward the confessor, with a sword borne naked before him, and toke his ledgyng in the kynges awne palayce, wherupon the cōmon people babbled, that he should be Kyng, & that kyng Henry should no lōger reigne. During the tyme of this Parliamente, the duke of Yorke with a bolde contenance, entered into the chamber of the peres, and sat downe in the trone royall, vnder the clothe of estate (which is the kynges peculiar seate) & in the presence aswel of the nobilitie, as of ȝ spiuualtie (after a pause made) said these wordes in effect "My singuler good lordes, and very indifferēt fiēdes, in whose power and auctorithe consisteth the peyse and the stay of this noble Realme of England, the which aswell before the tyme, that Christe our sauour and redemer, toke vpon hym our fleshe, and humayn nature, as euer since, hath ben a Realme renoumed, a kingdom famous, & a region (aswel emongest Paganes as Chrisuans) greatly bruted, beloued and feared. I nō lesse requyre, then frendly exhort you now, beyng together as louers of God, and frendes to your cuntry, neither yet do iudge, or once suspect, that I either enflāmed with ambyciō or desirous of high rule, or couetous of soueraigntie, haue presumed to enter vnder this tione, or attempted to set in this princely chayer and seage Royalle, except you heare the cause, and digest wel the truthe. For without these two poyntes knowen, and vnderstanded, your iudgements may be voyde, and your cogitacions friuolous. Therfore I declare and publish to you, that here I sit, as in the place to me by very iustice lawfully belongyng, & here I rest, as he to whome this chayre of righte apperteineth, not as he, which requireth of you fauor, parcialtie, or bearyng, but egall right, frendly indifferencie, and trew administration of iustice for I beyng the partye greued, and complaynāūt, can not minister to my self the Medecine, that should helpe me (as experte leches and Chyrurgians may) except you be to me both faithful ayders, and also trew counsailors. Nor yet this noble realme, and our naturall cuntry shall neuer be vnbufeked from her quondā feuer, except I (as the principall Physician & you, as trew and trusty Appotecaries) consult together, in makyng of the poeion, and trye out the clene and pure stuffe, frō the old, corrupt, and putrified dregges. For vndoutedly, the rote & botome of this long festured cākar, is not yet

The duke of Yorkes oration made to all the lordes of the Parliament.



yet extirpat, nor the feble foudacion of this fallible building, is not yet espied, which hath bene, and is the daily destruction of the nobilitie, and the quotidian confusion of y<sup>e</sup> pore comunaltie of this realme and kyngdom, For all you know (or should know that the high and mighty prince kyng Richard the ii. was the tiew and indubitate heyre, to the valeant Conquerour, and renoumed prince kyng Edward the iii. as sonne and heyre to the hardy knyght, and couragious capitayn, Edward prince of Wales, duke of Aquitayn and Cornwall, eldest sonne to the said kyng Edward the. iiij. which kyng was not onely in dead, but also of all men, reputed and taken, as y<sup>e</sup> very tiew and infallible heyre, to the wyse & polittique prince, kyng Henry the. iii. as sonne & heere to kyng Edward the second, sonne and heyre to kyng Edward the first, the very heyre and firste begotten sonne of the sayd noble and vertuous prince, kyng Hery the. iii. Which kyng Richard, of that name the second, was lawfully and iustly possessed of the crowne, and diademe of this Realme and region, tyll Henry of Derby, duke of Lancaster and Heildford, sonne to Ihon duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne, to the sayd kyng Edward the. iiij. and younger brother, to my noble auncestor Lyonel duke of Clarence, the. iii. begotten sonne of the sayd kyng Edward, by force & violence, contrary both to the duetie of his allegiaunce, and also to his homage to him both done and sworne, rayased warre and battayle, at the castel of Flynt, in Northwales, agaynst the sayd kyng Richard and hym apprehended & imprisoned within the Towie of Lōdō Duryng whose life & captiuitie he wrongfully vsurped and entruded vpon the royall power and high estate of this Realme and region, takyng on hym y<sup>e</sup> name, stile, & auctoritie of Lyng and gouernor of thesame And not therewith satisfied and contented, compassed and accomphshed, the death & destiuccion of hys naturall prince, and moste worthy souereigne lord, not as a common homicide, and bocherly murder, but as a regicide & destroyer of his kyng After whose piteous death, and execrable murder (alas my harte panteth to remember the abhominable facte) the right & title of the crowne, and suzerinite of this realme, was lawfully reuerted and returned to Rogier Mortimer, erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to lady Philippe, the onely child of the aboue rehersed Lyonel, duke of Clarence, to which Rogiers doughter called Anne, my most derest and welbeloued mother, I am the very tiew and lineall heyre, whiche discent, all you can not iustely agayn say, nor yet truly deny Then remember this, if the title be myne, why am I put from it: if I be trewe heyre to the crowne (as I am in dede) why is my right withholden if my clayme be good, why haue I not iustice for surely lerned men of great science and littersature, saye & affirme, that lyncall discent, nor vsurped possession, can nothyng preuayle, if continuall clayme be lawfully made, or openly published. For auoyding of which scruple and ambiguitie Edmond erle of Marche, my most welbeloued vncl, in the tyme of the firste vsurpar, in dede, but not by right, called kyng Hery the. iiij. by his cosyns, the erle of Northumberlād, and the lord Percy, he beyng then in captiuitie, with Owen Glendore, the rebell in Wales, made his title, and righteous clayme, to the destruction of both the noble persons. Likewise my moste derest lorde & father, so farre setfurth that ryght and title, that he loste his life, and worldly ioy, at the towne of Southampton, more by power, then indifferent iustice. Sythe whose death, I comyng to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursue my title, and requyre my right, which by meanes of synister counsaill, and inuust detencion, I can neither obteyne or recouer. So that of fyne force, I am compelled, to vse power in stede of prayer, & force, in stede of request (not as I sayde before) for my priuate emolumēt, and peculiar profite, but to restore peace, loue, and quietnes to this our naturall regiō: which ener sith the fyste vngodly vsurpacion of the forenamed Henry vntreuely called kyng Henry the. viij. hath ben clerely banished, and out of thesame inuustly exiled What murders and manslaughteres hath bene perpetrated, and committed within this countrey, sythe the beginnyng of that vngacious vsurpacion. what number of noble men haue ben slayne, destroyed and executed, sith that vnfortunate day what manifest iniquitie hath ben openly boine, and maynteyned in euery countrey and cite, sith the dolefull death of kyng Richard. or what person darre sue for his right at this dai, cōtrary to y<sup>e</sup> will of the

counsailors, which now beare the swyng and rule of the roste. Wel, wel, although almighty God slackely & slowly do ſ̄ procede, to ſ̄ punishment of synners yet the differēg of his scourge, is recompensed with ſ̄ greater payn, when his rod striketh, yea, and oftentymes he leaueth the very malefactors apparantly vnpunished, and scorgeth their bloud and punisheth thē in their heyres, by worldly aduersitie. Suche is his mercy when it pleaseth him to shew it, and so shaipe is his whyp when belyst to strike. For although, Henry of Lancaster, erle of Derby toke vpon him the scepter, and the crowne, and wrongfully bare the name and stile of a-king, and was not much tickled with myne Vncle, the erle of Marche, at ſ̄ time beyng within age: Yet was he neuer in suerty of him self, nor had any, or enioyed any-perfytt quietnes, either in mynd or in body for suerly a corrupt conscience feleth neuer reste, but loketh when the sword of vengeance will descend and stryke. His sonne also called kyng Henry the v. obteyned notable victories, and immortall prayses, for his noble actes, done in the realme of Fraunce. yet God for the offence of his vntrew parente, so daynly touched him, vnbodynge his soule, in the flower of his yought, and in the glory of his conquest. And although, he had a fayre sonne, and a yong apparāt heyre yet was this Orphan such a one, as Preachers say, that God threatened to send, for a punishmet, to his vnruely and vngracious people saying by his prophet Esay. I shall gyue you children to be your princes, and enfantes without wysedom, shall haue the gouernaunce of you The Prophet lyed not, if you note all thinges in an order. For after this Henry ſ̄ v (whose fame, no mā can iustly reprove or deface) succeded his sonne whome all we haue called our naturall prince, & obeyed, as his heyre. in whose tyme, and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligently to cōsider, with what great tormentes & afflictions God hath whynned & scorched this miserable Isle, yea, with such and so many scourges and plagues, as no nacion (the Egyptians onely except) were euer tormented, or afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murders and oppressiōs, which of late hath ben done, and exercised here among vs but I will declare and manifest to you, how the crowne and glorie of this realme, is by the negligence of this silly man, and his vnwise counsaill, minished, defaced, and dishonored Is not Normandy, whiche his father gat, regayned, and conquered agayn, by the insolencie of him, and his coueteous counsaill? Is not the whole duchye of Aquitayn by. n.C. and od yeres, peaceable possessed by the kynges of this realme, in one yere and a litle more, gotten out of our handes and seignorie? What should I speake of Angeow and Mayne or the losse, of the Isle of Fraūce, with the riche cite of Parys Alas, my hart sobbeth, myne eyes water, and my toungue foltereth, either to speake or thinke of the losses and misfortunes, that this our natue coutry, hath of late susteyned. But as ſ̄ Preachers say euill gotten gooddes, do not long continue, nor vsurped power, hath no prosperous successe. I will not molest you, with the rehersyng of the calamitie, whiche fell emōgest the Israelites, when Athalia slew all the bloud Royall, except litle Ioas, and tyrānously vsurped the crowne. nor trouble you with the cōtinual warre, which happened emōge the Romaines, when Iulius Cesar toke vpon hym, without lawe or auctoritie, the name and stile of Emperior. but I put you in remembrance of our awne nacion, what mischiefe, strife and misery succeded in this realme, by the inuiours vsurpaciōs, of Hernald sonne to Godwyn erle of Kent, and Stephē of Bloys, erle of Bulleyn, the one beyng the cause of the conquest of this realme, and the other the occasion of infinite troubles, and domesticall discension within thesame: yet all these vexaciōs and scourges, be but a shadowe or counterfeitt light, in comparison of the great calamities and miseries, which all we here present, haue seen and experimented Yet in the middes of this afflictiō, and to make an end of thesame, God of his ineffable goodnes, lookyng on this countrey with his eyes of pitie, and aspect of mercie, hath sent me in the truth, to restore again this decayed kyngdō, to his auncient fame & olde renoume Whiche here in open parliament, accordyng to my iust and true title, I haue and do take possession, of this royall throne, not puttyng diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine ayde, and the assistence of you, the peeres of this Realme, I shall decore and maintain thesame, to the glory of hym, honor of my  
blond,



bloud, and to the publique wealth, aswell of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiectes, of this kyngdom and regiment" When the duke had thus ended his oracion, the lordes sat still like Images grauen in the wall, or dōme Gods, neither whispering nor spekyng, as though their mouthes had been sowed vp. The duke perceiuing none aunswer, to be made to his declared purpose, not well content with their sobre silence, and taciturnitie, aduised them well, to digest and pondie the effect of his oracion and sayng, and so neiether fully displeased, nor all pleased, departed to his lodgyng in the Kynges palace.

WHILE he was thus declaryng his title, in the chambre of the peres, there happened a straunge chaunce, in the very same tyme, emongest the cōmons in the nether house, then there assembled for a Croune whiche did hang in the middell of thesame, to garnishe a bianche, to set lightes vpon, without touche of any creature, or rigor of wynd, sodainly fell doune, and at thesame tyme also, fell doune the Croune, whiche stode on the top of the Castle of Douer as a signe and prognosticacion, that the Croune of the Realme should bee diuided and changed, from one line to another. This was the iudgement of the comon people, whiche were neiether of Gods priuite, nor yet of his priue counsaill, and yet they wil say their opinions, whosoeuer saie nay.

THE lordes of the realme, forgot not the dukes demaunde, nor long protracted the tyme, to se some good ende, in so waighue a cause wherefore diuerse lordes, aswell spiritual as temporal, with many graue and sage persones of the communionaltie, daily assembled at the Blacke Friers and other places, to treat and common of this matter, beyng of no smal importaunce. Duryng whiche tyme, the Duke of Yorke, although he and the kyng, wer both lodged in the palace of Westminster, yet for no praiser or intercession, he would once visite or se the kyng, till some perfite conclusion wer taken, in this greate and waightie purpose sayng and affirmyng, that he was subiect to no man, but onely to God, and he was his lord and superior, and none other. I will alittle space leue the lordes consultyng together, and speake of outward attemptes & foren doynges.

THIS ciuill discension within the realme of Englande, did muche animate and incorage Iames the secōd of that name, kyng of Scottes to make warre on the Englishe nacion, partly for the displeasure which he conceiued for the death of Edmond duke of Somerset, his mothers brother, and partly to shew hymself emōgest his people, to be bothe valiaunt and coragious. This kyng Iames from his firste rule, began to entre into suspicion with William Erle Douglas, a man both of great kynne and more power, euer mistrustyng that he nothyng more desired, then to depriue hym from his auctoritie, and to vsurpe thesame. This cancaid suspicion was so rooted in the kynges harte, that sodainly it branched out, in so muche that the kyng sendyng for the Erle, (whiche trustyng on his awne innocencie, humbly came to his presence) caused hym shamefully to be slain and murdered, with whiche iniury, his twoo biethren, Archibald Erle of Muriey, and Hugh Erle of Ormōunt, not a litle pricked and incoraged, with the Eyles of Angus and Moithone, beeyng all of one lire and surnaine, made open warie on thesaid kyng James but inconclusiō he preuailed, and suppressed the great power of the Douglasses. And then thynkyng hymself a kyng, without either peere or fere, assembled a greate army, and entered into the Marches of Northumberlande, and besieged the Castle of Roxborough, and there caused his newe Bombarde, lately cast in Flaunders, called the lion and diuerse other peces, to be shot against the Castle, wherof one beyng weake and slender, brake in peces, and with one of the fragmentes slewe the kyng, standyng emongest a greate company of his people, and wounded the erle of Angus. The Scottes not dismayed with the death of their kyng, seying the Castle easy to be wonne, manfully assauted and with muche pain gat it, and thesame long defended, till Richard Duke of Gloucester it conquered and destroyed. This kyng Iames, of quene Mary his wife left three sonnes, Iames whiche succeeded hym, Alexander duke of Albany, and Ihon. This young kyng Iames, was put vnder the tuicion of Iames Kenede, bishoppe of saint Andrewes, whiche duryng his noneage, ruled the realme to the

King James  
of Scotlande  
slayne with  
a pece of a  
gonc

kynges

Kynges greate honoi, but more to his awne profite and peculier gaine. For he made sumptuous houses, and buylded Colleges, whiche his young pupill kyng Iames, neither could nor was hable to do.

ABOVTE this very season, and during this vnnaturall cōtrouersy within the realme of Englande, Charles the Frenche kyng, whiche only by trouble and calamitiō, gat to him a perpetual name, and emongest his naciōn aboue the steries exalted, ended the poynt of his fatall fine, whiche Prince in his youth, neuer regarded wanton pastyme, nor lasciuious dalliaūce, for his wittes were set, and his industrie onely applied, to recouer again his pater-nall patimony, and Princely inheritaunce. So that more plainly then in a mirror, all menne maie perceiue that pain often profiteth, and labor commonly auaileth, but idlenesse sildome, and dalhaunce, neuer. To this Charles, succeeded kyng Lewes, of that name the. xi. of whose dooynges you shall heare after: & shall both studie and marueill, for the straungenes of his demēanor, & the craftie pollecie of his secrete compasses. Now I will retourne to the great counsaill of the lordes, celebrate about Lōdō, for the duke of Yorke's claime

¶ THE XXXIX YERE.

After long argumentes made, & deliberate cōsultaciō had among the peeres, prelates, and commons of the realme vpon the vigile of all sanctes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so muche as kyng Henry had been taken as kyng, by the space of. xxxviii. yeres and more, that he should inioye the name and title of Kyng, and haue possession of the realme, duryng his life naturall: And if he either died or resigned, or forfeited thesame, for infringing any poynt of this concorde, then the saied Croune and auctoritie royal, should immediatly bee diuoluted to the Duke of Yorke, if he then liued, or els to the next heire of his line or linage, and that the duke from thensefurth, should be Protector and Regent of the lande. Prouided allwaie, that if the kyng did closely or apertly, studie or go aboute to breake or alter this agreement, or to compesse or imagine the death or destruccion, of the saied Duke or his bloud, then he to forfeit the croun, and the duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not onely written, sealed, and sworne by the twoo parties: but also wer enacted, in the high court of Parliament. For ioye whereof, the kyng hauyng in his company the saied Duke, rode to the Cathedrall Church of saint Paule, within the citee of Lōdon, and there on the daie of all Sanctes, went solēpnely with the diademe on his hed, in processiōn, and was lodged a good space after, in the bishoppes Palace, nere to thesaied Church. And vpon the Saturdaie next insuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sounde of a trumpet, solempnely proclaimed heire apparāt to the Croune of Englande, and Protector of the realme

The xxxix. yere.

Articles of agreement betweene kyng Henry the vi. and Richard duke of York.

AFTER this, the Parliamēt kept at Couentre the last yere, was declared to be a dēuilishe counsaill, and onely celebrate for the destruccion of the nobilitie, and no lawfull Parliament because ther whiche wer returned, wer neuer elected, accordyng to the dew ordre of the lawe, but secretly named by them, whiche desired more the destruccion, then the auauncement of the publike wealthe, and common profite. When these agreementes wer doen and enacted, the kyng dissolved his Parliament, whiche was the laste Parliamēt that euer he ended. Suche was the pleasure of almightie God, that king Henry beeyng a good and verteous manne, whiche had tasted innumerable aduersities and calamities of the worlde, should be deprived of his terrestrial Croune, to be recompensed with an heavenly garland, and a ioyfull place: For surely a perfite good man, al though he be plagued with a thousande displeasures cannot be but blessed, and haue a good soule toward God

THE Duke of Yorke well knowyng, that the Quene would spurne and impugne the conclusions agreed and taken in this parliament, caused her and her sonne, to be sent for by the kyng. but she beyng a manly woman, vsyng to rule and not to be ruled, & thereto counsailed by the dukes of Excester and Somerset, not onely denied to come, but also as-



sembled together a great army, intending to take the kyng by fine force, out of the lordes handes, and to set them to a new skoole. The Protector lyng in Londō, hauyng perfitte knowledge of all these doynges: assigned the Duke of Norffolke and the Erle of Warwicke, his trustie frendes, to be about the kyng, and he with therles of Salisbury, and Rutlande: with a conuenient company, departed out of London, the second daie of Decembre Northward, and sent to the Erle of Marche his eldest sonne to folowye hym with all his power. The Duke by small iourneys, came to his Castle of Sandall, beside Wakefelde, on Christmas eue, and there began to assemble his tenautes and fiendes. The quene beyng thereof ascertained, determined to couple with hym while his power was small and his ayde not come. And so hauyng in her company, the Prince her sonne, the Dukes of Excester and Somerset, the Erle of Deuonshire, the Lorde Clifford, the Lorde Rossé, and in effecte all the Lordes of the Northe parte, with eightene thousaude men, or as some write, twentie and twoo thousande, marched from Yorke to Wakefelde, and bad base to the Duke, euen before his Castle he hauyng with hym not fully fise thousande persones, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies, and all though, sir Daui Halle, his old seruauant and chief counsailer, auised hym to kepe his Castle, and to defende thesame with his smal numbere, till his sonne the Erle of Marche wer come with his power of Marchemen and Welshe souldiours, yet he would not be counsaied, but in a great fury saied, a Daui, Daui, hast thou loued me so long, and now wouldest haue me dishonored: Thou neuer sawest me kepe fortres when I was Regent in Normandy, when the Dolphyn hymself, with his puissaunce came to besiege me, but like a man, and not like a birde included in a cage, I issued and fought with myne enemies, to their losse euer (I thanke God) and to my honor. If I haue not kepte my self within walles, for feare of a great and strong prince, nor hid my face from any man luyng, wouldest thou that I for dread of a scolding woman, whose weapon is onely her toangue, and her nayles, should incarcerate my self, and shut my gates then al men might of me woundre and all creatures maie of me report dishonor, that a woman hath made me a dastard, whō no man euer to this daie could yet proue a coward: And surely my mind is, rather to die with honor, then to liue with shame for of honor commeth fame, and of dishonor riseth infamy. Their great numbere shall not appall my spirittes, but incorage them, for surely I thinke that I haue there, as many frendes as enemies, whiche at ioynyng, will either flie or take my part: therfore auance my banner, in the name of God and saint George, for surely I will fight with thē, though I should fight a lone. Therle of Salisbury and other his frendes, seing his corage, resolved thēseltes to his opinion, & ordered their men, and set them furth in Warlike fashion, for their inoste aduantage. The Duke of Somerset and other of the quenes part, knowyng perfitly, that if the Duke gat the victory, their daies wer minished, and then luynges left bare, like men quickened and exasperate, for the safeguard of their lifes, and defence of their goodes, determined to abide the chaunce, and to espie their moste aduantage, and so appointed the lorde Clifford, to lye in the one stale, and the Erle of Wilshire in the other, and ther theimselfes kept the mayne battaill. The duke of Yorke with his people, disconded doune the hill in good ordre and array, & was suffered to passe foreward, toward the mayne battaill: but when he was in the plain ground betwene his Castle and the toune of Wakefelde, he was enuironed on euery side, like a fish in a net, or a deere in a buckestall. so that he manfully fightyng, was within halfe an houre slain and ded, and his whole army discomfited, & with hym died of his trusty frēdes, his two bastard vnclis, sir Ihon, & sir Hugh Mortimers, sir Daui Halle his chief counsailer, sir Hugh Hastynges, sir Thomas Neuell, William and Thomas Aparre, bothe brethrien, and twoo thousande and eight hundred other, wherof many wer young gentlemen, and heires of greate parentage in the Southe parte, whose linages retiened their deathes, within foure Monethes, next and immediatly insuyng. In this conflicte was wounded and taken prisoner, Richarde Erle of Salisbury, sir Richard Lymbrike, Raufe Stanley, Ithō Harow, Capitain Hauson, and chuerse other. While this battaill was in fightyng, a

The battaill  
at Wake-  
feld

The duke of  
Yorke slain.

prieste called sir Robert Aspoll, chappelain and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland a sonne to the aboue-named duke of Yorke, scace of ȝ age of xii. yeris, a faire gētemā, and a maydenlike person, perceiuyng ȝ flight was more sauegaide, then tariyng, both for him and his master, secretly conueyed therle out of ȝ felde, by the lord Cliffoides bande, toward the towne, but or he coulde enter into a house, he was by the sayd lord Clifford espied, folowed, and taken, and by reson of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yōg gentelman dismaied, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees imploryng mercy, and desiryng grace, both with holding vp his hādes and making dolorous countenance, for his speache was gone for feare. Saue him sayde his Chappelein, for he is a princes sonne, and peradventure may do you good hereafter. With that word, the lord Clifford marked him and sayde. by Gods blode, thy father slew myne, and so wil I do the and all thy kyn, and with that woord, stacke the erle to ȝ hart with his dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother & brother worde what he had done, and sayde. In this acte the lord Clyfford was accompted a tyraunt, and no gentelman, for the propertie of the Lyon, which is a furious and an vnreasonable beaste, is to be cruell to them that withstande hym, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate them selves before him. Yet this cruell Clifforde, & deadly bloudsupper not content with this homicyde, or chylckillyng, came to ȝ place wher the dead corps of the duke of Yorke lay, and caused his head to be stryken of, and set on it a croune of paper, & so fixed it on a pole, & presented it to the Quene, not lyeng farre from the felde, in great despise, and much derision, sayng: Madame, your waite is done, here is your kioges raunsome, at which present, was much ioy, and great reioysing, but many laughed then, that sore lamented after, as the Quene herself, and her sonne: And many were glad then of other mens deaths, not knowing that their awne were nere at hande, as the lord Clifford, and other. But surely, mans nature is so frayle, that thinges passed be sone forgotten, and mischiefes to come, be not forscene. After this victory by ȝ Quene and her parte obteyned, she caused the erle of Salisbury, with all the other prisoners, to bee sente to Pomtret, and therc to bee belhedded, and sent all then heddes, and the dukes head of Yorke, to be set vpon poles, ouer the gate of the cite of Yorke, in despise of them, and their lignage: whose chyl dren shortly reuenged their fathers querell, both to the Quenes extreme perdicion, and the vtter vndoynge of her husband and sonne. This ende had the valeant lord, Rychard Plantagenet, duke of Yorke, & this fyne ensued of his to much hardines. The erle of Marche, so commonly called, but after the death of his father, in dede and in right very duke of Yorke, lyeng at Gloucester, heryng of the death of his noble father, and louyng brother, and trusty frendes was wonderfully amased, but after cōfort giuē to him, by his faithful louers and assured alyes, he remoued to Shrewsbury, and other townes vpon the riuer of Senerne, declaryng to them the murder of his father, the ieopardye of hym selfe, and the vnstable state and ruine of Realme. The people on the Marches of Wales, which aboue measure fauored ȝ lynage of the lord Mortimer, more gladly offered him their ayd & assistance, then he it either instantly requyred, or hartely desired, soo that he had a puyssant army, to the number of xxiii. M. redy to go agaynst the quene, and the murderers of his father. But when he was setting forward, newes were brought to him, that laspar eile of Penbroke, halfe brother to kyng IIēry, and Iames butler, erle of Ormond & Wylshyre had asseembled together a great number, both of Welshe and Irysh people, sodainly to surpriue and take him and his frendes, and as a captiue to conuey him to the quene. The duke of Yorke, called erle of Marche, somewhat spurred and quickened with these noueltyes, retired backe, & met with his enemies in a faire playne, nere to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford east, on Candelmas day in the mornyng, at whiche tyme the sunne (as some write) appered to the erle of Marche, like. iii. sunnes, and sodainly ioined all together in one, and that vpō the sight therof, he toke suche courage, ȝ he fiercely set on his enemies, & thē shortly discōfited: for which cause, men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnes for his cognisaūce or badge. Of his enemies were left dead on the ground. iii. M. & viii. C.



The erles of Penbroke and Wilshyre fled, and syr Owen Tewther, father to the sayd erle of Penbroke, which Owen had married kyng Henries mother (as you haue heard befoie) with Dauid floyde, Morgan apreuther, & diuers other were takē and behedded at the citie of Herford. During this season, ſ̄ quene was greatly encouraged with the victory, obtained late at Wakefeld, partly because the duke of Yorke, her viter enemy was ryd out of the worlde, & partly, because she perceyued, the lordes of the North country to adhere and cleue to her parte and facciō wherfore with a great multitude of Northrē people, she marched toward London, of whose approche the Londoners were nothing glad: for some affirmed, that she brought that rusty company, to spoile and robbe the citie: other saide, that she would be reuenged, of suche as fauored the duke of Yorke. So the pore citezēs hangyng betwene the water and the fyre, were much amased, but ſ̄ magistrates and gouernors caused great watches to be kept, and good order to be obserued. The Quene, still came forwarde with her Northrē people, entending to subuerte and defaict all conclusions and agremētes, enacted and assented to, in the last Parliamēt. And so after her long iorney, she came to the town of saint Albons: wherof ſ̄ duke of Northfolke, ſ̄ erle of Warwycke, and other, whom ſ̄ duke of Yorke had lefte to gouerne the kyng in his absence, beyng aduertised, by the assent of ſ̄ kyng, gathered together a great hoste, and set forward toward sainte Albons, hauyng the kyng in their company, as the head and chieftayn of the warre, and so not mynding to differre the time any farther, vpon shrouetuesday early in the morning, set vpon their enemies. Fortune ſ̄ day so fauored the Quene, that her parte preuayled, and the duke and the erle were discomfited, and fled leauing the king accompanied with the lord Bonuile, and syr Thomas Kyrnell of Kent, whiche vpon assuraunce of his promise, taried still and fled not, but their trust, them deceiued. For after the victorie obteyned, and the kyng brought to the Quene, they two were deteyned as prisoners, and so continued till the kynges departyng from that towne. In this battayl were slayn. xxiii. C. men, and not aboue, of whome no noble man is remēbred, saue syr Ihon Gray, which thesame day was made knight, with. xii. other, at ſ̄ village of Colney. Happy was the quene in her two battayls, but vnfortunate was the kyng in all his enterprises, for where his person was presente, ther victory fled euer from him to the other parte, & he cōmōly was subdued & vanquished. Whē quene Margaret had thus wel sped, first she caused the kyng, to dubbe prince Edward his sonne, knyght, with. xxx. other persons, which in the morning fought on the quenes side, against his parte. After she sent to the Mayre of London, commaunding him without delay, to sende certain Cartes, laded with lenten victayle, for ſ̄ refreashing of her and her army. The Mayre, incontinent made prouisiō, laded cartes, and sent them toward the quene. But the moueable cōmōs, which fauored not the quenes parte, stopped ſ̄ cartes at Crepulgate and boldely sayde, that their enemies, which came to spoyle and robbe ſ̄ citzens, should neither be releued, nor victayled by them. And notwithstanding gentill aduertisement to them gyuen, of the mischefes, whiche might ensue of their doynge: yet they remayned still in one obstinate mynd and wilfull will, not permitting the cariages, to passe or go forward. During which cōtrouersie, diuers of the Northen horsemē, came and robbed in the suburbs of the citie, and would haue entered at Crepulgate, but thei by the commoners were repulsed, and beten backe, and. iii. of them slayn. wherupon the Mayre sent the recorder to the kynges counsaill to Barne, to excuse the matter, and the duches of Bedford, & the lady Scales, with diuers sad fathers of the spiritualtie, went to the quene to mollifie her rancore, and asswage her melācolie, which she had conceiued agāst the citie. At this humble request, the quene and her counsaill appointed certayn lordes and knightes, with. iii. C. talle persons, to ryde to the citie, and ther to vewe, & se the demeanoure and disposicion of the people: & diuers Aldermen were appointed to mete them at Barnet, and to conuay them to London. But what soeuer man purposeth, God disposeth: for all these deuises were shortly trāsmuted into another forme, because trew report was brought, not onely to the citie but also to the quene, that

the erle of Marche had vanquished the erles of Penbroke and Wilshyre, and that the erle of Warwycke, in whome rested the chefe trust of that faction, after the last conflict, had at sainte Albons, had mete with the sayd erle of Marche at Chipping Norton, by Cottesold, and that they with both their powers were cominge toward London. These trew tales turned the quenes purpose, and altered all her long deuised ententes, in so much that she litle trustinge Essex, and lesse Kent, but London least of all, with her husband and sonne, departed from sainte Albons, into the Northcountrey, where the roote, & foundation of her ayde and refuge, onely consisted. But at the daye of her departyng, she caused the heddes of the lord Bonuile, and syr Thomas Kyriel, to be cut of, in the priesence of her sonne, cōtury to ſy mynd and promise of her husbād, but emōgest men of warre, faith or othe, sylldome is perfourmed.

THE duches of Yorke, seying her husband and sonne slayne, and not knowyng what should succede of her eldest sonnes chaunce, sent her. ii. yonger sonnes, George & Richard, ouer the sea, to the cite of Wtrechte in Almayn where they were of Philippe duke of Bourgoyne, well receyued and fested, and so there they remayned, till their brother Edward had obteyned the Realme, and gottē the regiment. Duringe which tyme diuers merchautes mistrusting the mutacion of the world, fled out of ſy realme, emōgest whom one Philippe Malpas, a man of greate riches, sayling into Flaunders, was taken by Ihon Columme, a French man and payed. iij. M. markes for his raunsone. The erles of Marche and Warwycke, hauyng perfit knowledge, that the kyng and quene with their adherentes, were departed from sainte Albons, determined first to yde to London as the chefe key, and common spectacle to the whole Realme, thinking there to assure them selis of the East and West parte of the kingdome, as king Henry and his faction nestered and strēgthēd him and his alies in the North regions and borcal plage meaninge to haue a buckelar against a sword, and a southerne byl to cōternayle a Northren bassard. And so these two great lordes, resolunng them selfs vpon this purpose, accompanied with a great number of men of warre, entered the cite of London in the first weke of Lēt. What should I declare how the Kentishmen resorted: how the people of Essex swarmed, & how the countie adioyning to Londō dayly repaired to se, ayd, & comfort, this lusty prince and flower of chualry, as he in whome the hope, of their ioy, and the trust of their quietnes onely then consisted. Thys wise and prudent noble man, perceuyng the most parte of the Realme, to be to him frendly and adherent, mynding to take time when time serued, called a great counsaill both of lordes spirituall and temporall & to them repeted the title, and right that he had to the Realme, & dignite royall: reherasing the articles of the agreement, not onely concluded betwene kyng Henry & his noble father, Richard duke of Yorke, by theyr wyntinges signed and sealed but also corroborated, & cōfirmed by auctoritie of the high court of Parliament. the breaches whereof, he neither forgat, nor omitted vndeclared. After the lordes had considered, & weyghed his title and declaracion, they determined by authoritie of the sayd counsaill, for as much as kyng Henry, contrary to his othe, honor and agreement, had violated and infringed, the order taken and enacted in the last Parliament, and also, because he was insufficient to rule the Realme, and inutile to the common wealth, and publike profite of the pore people, he was therefore by the aforesayd authoritie, depriued & delected of all kyngly honor, and regall souereigntie. And incontinent, Edward erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to Richard duke of Yorke, was by the lordes in the sayd counsaill assembled, named, elected, & admitted, for kyng and gouernour of the realme. on which day, the people of the erles parte, beyng in their muster in sainte Ihons felde, & a great number of the substanciall citezens there assembled, to behold their order. sodaynly the lord Fawcōbridge, which toke the musters, wisely declared to the multitude, the offences and breaches of the late agreements done and perpetrated by kyng Hēry the. vi. and demanded of the people, whether they woulde haue the sayd kyng Henry to rule and reigne any lenger ouer them. To whome they with a whole voycé, answered, nay, nay. Then he asked thē, if they would serue, loue, and obey the erle of March as their earthly prince and souereign lord. To which questiō they answered, yea, yea, crieng, king Edward



Kyng Edward the  
iii. proclaimed  
king of Eng-  
land.

ward, with many great showtes and clapping of handes. The lordes were shortly aduertised of the louyng consent, which the commons franckely and frely of their fre will had giuen, wherupon incontinent, they all with a conueniēt number of the most substanciall commons, repaired to Baynardes castel, making iust and new report to the erle of their eleccion and admission, and the louyng assent of the faithfull commons. The erle after long pausynge, first thanked God of his great grace and benefite, then to him declared and shewed, and the lordes and commons also, for their hartly fauour, and assured fidelitie, and notwithstanding that, like a wise pryncē, he alledged his insufficiencie for so great a roome and weighty burden, as lacke of knowledge, want of experieñce & diuers other qualities, to a gouernour apperteyninge yet in conclusion he beyng perswaded by the Archebishop of Cāterbury, the bishop of Excester and other lordes, thē beyng present, graunted to their petition, and toke vpō him the charge and vpon the next day, beyng the. iij. day of Marche, he as kyng, rode to the church of saint Paule, and there offered And after *Te deum* song, with great solemnitie, he was conueyed to Westmynster, and there set in the hawle, with the scepter royall in his hand, where, to all the people which there in a great number were assembled, his title and clayme to the crowne of England, was declaired by ii. maner of wayes: the firste, as sonne and heyre to duke Richard his father, right enheritor to thesame: the second, by auctoritie of Parliament and forfeiture committed by, kyng Henry Wherupō it was agayne demanded of the commons, if they would admitte, and take the sayd erle as their prince & souereigne lord, which al with one voice cried yea, yea. Which agrement cōcluded, He entered into Westmynster church vnder a canapy, with solēpne procession, and there as kyng offered, and after the homages taken of al the nobles there present, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the bishops palace Dayly making prouision, to go Northwarde against his aduerse faction and open enemies, and on the morow he was proclaymed kyng, by the name of Kyng Edward the. iij. throughout y. citie. While these thinges were in doying in the Southpart, king Hēry beyng in the Northcountrie, thinking because he had slayn the duke of Yorke, the chefe Capitayn of the contrary lynage, that he had brought all thyng to purpose and conclusion as he would, assembled a great army, trusting with litle payne and small losse, to destroy the residew of his enemies, whome he esteemed to be of no force, or of a small validitie. But he was sore deceined. for out of the dead stocke, sprang a stronge & mightie branchc, which by no meanes could either be broken, or made seie: which was this kyng Edward the. iij. whiche was so beloued and fauoured of the people, that no man was spokē of, no person was remēbred, but only he: for he was so much esteemed, bothe of the nobilitie and commonaltie, for his liberalitie, clemencie, integritie, and corage, that aboue all other, he was extolled and praysed to the very heauē. By reason whereof men of al ages & of all degrees to him dayly repaired, some offering theym selves and their men to leopaid their lifes with him, and other plenteously gaue him money, to support his charges and mayntayne his warre. By reason wherof, he assembled together a puyssant army to thentent to gyue to his enemies a fierce and sharpe battayle, & so in one day to obteyn his purpose and make an ende of all his trouble. When his army was redy, and all thinges prepaied, he departed out of London the. xii. day of Marche, & by easy iourneys came to the castell of Ponifret, where he rested, appoynting the lorde Fitzwater, to kepe y. passage at Ferybridge, with a great number of talle personages. Let no man thinke or yet imagine, that ether the counsaill of kyng Henry, or his vigilant quene, either neglected or forgat to know or searche what their enemies did, but that they prepared to their power all y. men, that they either could perswade or allure to their purpose to take their part. And thus thinking them selfs furnished, committed the gouernaūce of the armye to the duke of Somerset, the erle of Northumberland, and y. lord Clifford, as men desiring to reuenge y. death of their parētes slayn at the first battayle of saint Albons. These noble capitaynes, leauing kyng Henry, his wyfe, and sonne, for their most sauegard in the citie of Yorke, passed the ryuer of Wharfe, with all their power, entendinge to prohibite kyng Edward to passe ouer the ryuer of Ayree, and for the more expedition and exployt of their purpose

(after many comparisons made betwene the erle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, bothe beyng in lusty yought, & of francke corage) the lord Clifforde determined with his light horsemen, to make an assaye to suche as kepthe the passage of Ferybridge, and so departed from the great army on the Saturday before Palmsundaye, and early or his enemies were ware, gat the bridge, and slew the keepers of thesame, and al such as woulde withstand him. The lord Fitzwater healyng the noyse, sodainly rose out of his bed, and vnarmed, with a pollax in his hande, thinking y it had byn a fray emōgest his mē, came doune to appeace thesame, but or he either began his tale, or knew what the matter meāt, he was slayne, and with hym the Bastard of Salisbury, brother to the erle of Warwycke, a valeaunt yong gentelman, and of great audacitie. When the erle of Warwycke was enformed of this feate, he like a man desperate, mouēd on his Hackeney, and came blowyng to kyng Edward sayng. syr I praye God haue mercy of their soules, which in the begynnyng of your enterprise, hath lost their lifes, and because I se no succors of the world, I remit the vengeance and punishment to God our creator and redemer, and with that lighted doune, and slewe his hoise with his swourde, sayng. let him fle that wil, for surely I wil tary with him that wil tary with me, and kissed the crosse of his swouide

THE lusty kyng Edward, perceiuyng the courage of his trusty frēd the erle of Warwycke, made proclamacion that all men, whiche were afrayde to fighte, shoulde incontinent departe, and to all mē that tarried the battell, he promised great rewardes with this addicion, that if any souldiour, which volūtariely would abide, and in, or before the conflict flye, or turne his backe, that then he that could kill him should haue a great remuneraciō and double wages. After thys proclamaciō ended the lord Fawconbridge, syn Water Blont, Robert Horne with the forward, passed the ryuer at Castelford. in. myles from Ferebridge, intending to haue enuironed and enlosed the lord Clyfford and his cōpany, but they beyng therof aduertised, departed in great haste toward kyng Henries army, but they mete with some that they loked not for, and were attrapped or they were ware. For the lord Clifforde, either for heat or payne, putting of his gorget, sodainly w an arrowe (as some say) without an hedde, was stricken into the throte, and incontinent rendered hys spirite, and the erle of Westmerlandes brother and all his company alinost were there slayn, at a place called Dintingdale, not farr frō Towton. This ende had he, which slew the yong erle of Rutland, kneeling on his knees. whose yong sonne Thomas Clifford was brought vp w a shepperd, in poore habite, & dissimuled behauior euer in feare, to publish his lignage or degre, till kyng Henry the vii obteyned the croune, and gat the diademe. by whome he was restored to his name and possessions. When this conflict was ended at Ferebridge, the lord Fawcōbridge, hauyng the forward, because the duke of Northfolk was fallen syoke, valeaūty vpon Palmsunday in the twylight, set furth his army, and came to Saxton, where he might apparantly perceyue the hoste of his aduersaries, which were accompted. lx. M. men, and therof aduertised kyng Edward, whose whole army, they that knew it, and payed the wages, affirme to. xlviii. M. vi. C. & lx. persons, which incōtūēt with y erle of Warwycke set forward leuyng the rereward vnder y gonernāce of syr Ihon Wenlocke, and syr Ihon Dynham and other. And first of all he made proclamation, that no prisoner should be takē, nor one enemye sauēd. So thesame day about. ix. of the clocke, which was the. xxix. day of Marche, beyng Palmsundaye, both the hostes approched in a playn felde, betwene Towton and Saxtō. When eche parte perceyued other, they made a great shoute, and at thesame instantie time, their fell a small snyt or snow, which by violence of the wynd was druen into the faces of them, which were of kyng Henries parte, so that their sight was somewhat blemished and minished. The lord Fawconbridge, which led the forward of kyng Edwardes battail (as before is rehersed) being a man of great polecie, and of much experience in marciall feates, caused euery archer vnder his standard, to shot one flyght (which before he caused them to prouide) and then made them to stād still. The northrē mē, feling the shoot, but by reason of y snow, not wel vewing y distaūce betwene them and their enemies, like hardy men shot their schiefe arrowes as fast as they might, but al their shot was lost, & their labor vayn

The conflict at Ferebridge.

The conflict at Saxtō vpō Palmsundaye.

for



for they came not nere the Southermē, by. xl. taylors yerdcs. Whē their shot was almost spent, the lord Fawconbridge marched forward with his archers, which not onely shot their awne whole sheues, but also gathered the arrowes of their enemies, and let a great parte of them flye agaynst their awne masters, and another part thei let stand on ſ̄ ground which sore noyed the legges of the owners, when the battayle ioyned. The erle of Northumberlād, and Andrew Trolope, whiche were chefetayns of kyng Hēries vawgard, seynge their shot not to preuayle, hasted forward to ioine with their enemies: you may besure the other part nothing retarded, but valeauntly fought with their enemies. This battayl was sore foughtē, for hope of life was set on side on euery parte and takynge of prisoners was proclaymed as a great offence; by reason wherof euery man determined, either to conquere or to dye in the felde. This deadly battayle and bloody conflicte, continued. x. houres in doubtfull victorie. The one parte some time flowyng, and sometime ebbing, but inconclusiō, kyng Edward so coragiously comforted his mē, refreshyng the wery, and helping the wounded, that the other part was discomfited and oucroome, and lyke mē amased, fledde toward Tadcaster bridge to saue thē selves. but in the meane way there is a litle broke called Cocke, not very broade, but of a great deapnes, in the whiche, what for hast of escapyng, and what for feare of folowers, a great number were drent and drowned, in so much that the common people there asfirme, that men alyuē passed the ryuer vpon dead carcasis, and that the great ryuer of Wharfe, which is the great-sewer of ſ̄ broke, & of all the water comyng from Towton, was colored with bloude. The chace continued all night, and the most parte of the next day, and euery Northren men, when they saw or percciued any aduantage, returned again and fought with their enemies, to the great losse of both partes. For in this iii. dayes were slayn (as they knew it wrote) on both partes xxxvi. M. vii. C. lx. and. xvi. persons, all Englishmen and of one naciō wherof the chefe were the erles of Northumberland, and Westmerland and the lord Dakers the lord Welles, syr Ihon Neuell, Andrew Trolop, Robert Horne, and many other Knyghtes and Esquiers, and the erle of Deuonshyre taken prisoner, but the dukes of Somerset and Excester fled from the felde and saued themselves. This conflict was in maner vnnatural, for in it the sonne fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the vnclē, and the tenaūt against his lord, which slaughter did not onely sore debilitate and muche wekē the puyssance of this realme, considering that these dedde men, whē they were liuyng had force ynough to resist the greatest princes power of all Europe. But also gaue a courage to outward enemies and foren potētates, to inuade and make warre in this realme, whch thinge was not vnlikely to haue ensued, if either Lewes the French kyng had bene at this time quiet in his realme, or Iames kyng of Scōttes had bene of age and master of him selfe, yet thanked be God, for although the gate of a conquest were opened, yet it was shut agayn, or it was espyed.

After this great victorie, kyng Edward rōde to Yorke, where he was with all solempnitie receyued: and first he caused the heddes of his father, the erle of Salisbury, and other his frendes to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies. And there he caused the erle of Deuonshyre and. iii. other to be behedded, and set their heddes in the same place. After that he sent out men on light horsses, to espye in what parte kyng Henry lurked, which hearinge of the irrecuperable losse of his fiendes, departed incontinent with his wife and sunne, to the towne of Barwycke, and leauynge the duke of Somerset there, came to the Lynoges courte of Scotland, requyrng of him and his counsaill, ayde succor, relefe & cōfort. The yong kyng hauing compassiō on the miserabile fate and great mischaunce of this sorrowful man, not onely cōforted him with fayre woordes and frendly promises, but also assigned to him a compedent pencion to liue on, during the tyme of his abode within the realme of Scotland. Kyng Henry considering the great humanite, shewed to him by the Scottish kyng, in whome onely now consisted the whole hope and especiall trust of his ayde and succor, thought to bynd and oblige the sayd kyng, with some great benefite to his parte, and for that cause, deliuered to hym the towne of Barwycke vpon tweede. which towne the Scottes many yeres had desired, but yet thei neither by force nor fayre promises, could obteyne their desire

A great  
slaughter of  
Englishmen

Kyng  
Henry the  
vi. deliuered  
the towne of  
Barwycke  
into the  
handes of  
Iames kyng  
of Scotlande,

or

or purpose, before þ̄ time, Some writers affirme, that he not voluntarily, but coacted by necessity, rendered the same towne, or els he could not be permitted once to enter, or haue any succor in the realme of Scotlande But whatsoeuer the cause was after kyng Iames had taken possession of the toune, he frendly enterteyned and faithfully supported the parte and faction of kyng Henry, and concluded a marriage betwene his syster and the yong prince of Wales, which marriage, Philippe duke of Burgoyn, enemy to quene Margaretes father, labored muche to infringe and interrupte but by the consent of both the fr̄des, the matrimony was agreed, but it was neuer solemnised, as after you shall heare When kyng Henry was somewhat sotteled in the roalme of Scotlande, he sent his wyfe and hys sonne into Fraunce, to kyng Rene her father, trusting by his ayde and succor, to assemble a greate army, and once agayne to possesse hys Realme and dignitie, and he in the meane season determined to make hys abode in Scotland, to see and espye, what way his fiendes in Englande would studye or inuent for his restitution and aduancement But whether it were his destinye or his folye, he so imprudently demeaned hym selfe, that within shorte space, he came into the handes of hys mortall enemies Quene Margaret thus beyng in Fraunce, did obteyn & impetrate of the yong Frenche kyng, that all fautors and louers of her husbände and the Lancastreall band, might safely and surely haue resorte into any parte of the realme of Fraunce, prohibiting all other of the contrary faction, any accesse or repaire into that countrey.

THVS you haue hearde the variable chaunce and tragedicall hystory of kyng Henry the sixthe, whiche had reigned ouer this realme eight and thirtie yeres and odde monethes, whiche the tenth yere after hys deposicion, was agayne erected to hys throne and estate royall, as after shalbe declared. Nowe leuyng kyng Henry with the princes of his faction consultancy together in Scotlande, and Quene Margarete hys wyfe gatherynge men together in Fraunce, I wyll returne to the actes of kyng Edwarde

FINIS.

¶ The ende of the trobelous season of kyng Henry the. vj.

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## THE PROSPEROUS REIGNE OF KYNG EDWARD THE FOURTH.

PROSPEROUS fortune and glorious victory, happely succeeding to this yōg Prince and courageous Capitain, in the mortall battail fought at Towton, (as you haue heard) he beyng incouraged and set vp, partly because he had obtained so great a conquest, and partly, because he perceued, that aswell the nobles, as the commōs of the Realme, began to drave to hym, and to take his part after the fashion and maner of a triumpbaunt conqueror, and victorious champion, with great pompe returned to London. Where (according to the old custome of the realme) he called a great assemble of persons of all degrees and the xxix. daie of Iune, was at Westminster with all solempnitie crowned and anoynted kyng, and called Kyng Edwarde the. iij. after Willyam the Conqueror, which was in the yere of Christes incarnation. M. iij. C. lxj.

The first  
yere.



## THE II YERE OF

IN the whiche yere, he called his high Court of Parliament, wherewith thestate of the Realme was wholly set in good ordre, and specially such thynges as appertained to the common wealth, which wer to muche neglected and decayed. Duryng the tyme of the ciuill and intestine war, he caused all statutes and ordinaunces made by kyng Heny the sixte, (whiche either touched his title or his profite) to be adnihilate and frustrate. In the whiche Parliament, the Erle of Oxford faire stricken in age and the Lord Awbrey Veei, his sonne and heire, whethel it wer for malice of their enemies, or thei wer suspected, or had offended the Kyng, they bothe and diuise of their counsailors, wer attainted and put to execucion, whiche caused Ihon erle of Oxford, euer after to rebell. And afterward he created his two younger biethren Dukes, that is to saie. Lorde George, Duke of Claience, Lorde Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and lorde Ihon Neuell, brother to Richard Erle of Warwicke, he first made Lorde Mountacute, and afterwarde created hym Marques Mountacute. Beside this, Henry Burchier, brother to Thomas Archebishop of Cantorbury, was created Erle of Essex, and Willyam Lorde Fawconbrige, was made Erle of Kent. To this Lorde Henry Burchier beyng a noble man in marciall actes, highly approued and renoumed, Richard Duke of Yorke, long before this tyme, had geuen his suster Elizabeth in mariage. hauyng a firme hope, and a sure confidence, that he and his generacion should be a perpetuall aide to the Duke and his sequele, aswell in prosperitie as aduersitie, associate togethier in al chances of fortune, which trust he did not defraude, as afterward appered to Kyng Edward the fourth, sonne to thesaid duke Richard, which for his assured fidelitie made hym Erle of Essex. to thende that bothe he the father, and his sone, should euer be to hym, bothe an aide and a bulwarke. This Erle Henry, begat lady Elizabeth his wife, foure sonnes, William, Thomas, Ihon, and Henry, and one daughter named Isabell, whiche liued but a small season. In the whiche sonnes, in compassyng and bryngyng greate thynges to passe, there lacked no industrie, nor providence. in grauous and waightie affaies, there wanted neither labor nor diligence. in all ieopardies, thei wer hardy, strong, and coragious: and finally, in foiseyng of thinges, they neither lacked pollecie, nor wer destitute of counsaill. But in Lorde William, the eldest sonne of Henry, all these vertues wer suely planted and ingrauen. which William espoused lady Anne Woodwile, discended of an high parçtage, whose mother Iaquet was doughter to Peter of Luxenborough, erle of saint Paule, by whom he had Lorde Henry, afterward Erle of Essex, and Cicile, and Isabel, whiche died vnmaied. Cicile was maied, to Water lorde Feneis of Chartely. But now to returne to the purpose.

## ¶ THE SECOND YERE.

The 11  
Yere

WHen al these chaüces thus luckely happened to kyng Edward, and all thynges in maner were framed, as he would haue them. Henry duke of Somerset, sir Raufe Percie, and diuerse other, beyng in dispaire, and out of hope of all good chauce, that might happen to kyng Henry the sixte, came humbly and submitted themselves, whom he gentely inteiained, and louyngly receiued. Of whiche deede, the duke shortly repented him and so did some of the other.

ALL this season was kyng Henry the. vj in Scotlande, whiche to haue the more aide and comfort of the Scottishe king, he deliuered vnto hym the toun of Barwicke, (as you before haue heard) whiche had been continually, in the possession of Englishmen, from the tyme of Kyng Edward the firste, whiche, with hardy corage, manfull assautes, slaughter of many thousandes of Scottes, valiantly conquered thesame. This same season also, quene Margaret, beyng in Fraunce, by the meanes of her father and frendes, found suche frendship, at the Frenche kynges handes, that she obtained a crewe of fife hundred Frenchemen, whiche was but a small numbre, for her purpose, and yet a greater number then her husbände or she, were able to intertein in wages, of their awne coffers. She thus beyng accompanied, with these bostyng Frenchmen, of whom sir Piers Bracy, a Bryton knyght was Capitain, a man more fierce in the house then in the feld, and yet more fierce in flyng from the

the feld to the house, then hardy to set foreward from the house to the feld, set vp her sailes, and with a prosperous wind, arriued in Scotland. It she and her company, wei welcome to her husband and sonne, I report me to suche as languish, and would haue succor, and to suche as lacke aide, and would be comforted. The Quene and her company, thought to doo some greate enterpryse, (as the nature of the Fienchemen is, to be more busy then bold) sailed with her gallant band toward Newe Castle, and landed at Tynninouth. But whether she wei a fraied of her awne shadow, or that the Fienchemen cast to many doubtes, the truth is, that the whole army returned to their shippes, and a tēpest rose so sodainly, that if she had not taken a small Caiuell, and that with good speede, arriued safe at Barwicke she had neither vexed kyng Edward after, as she did with a newe inuasion, nor yet she had not liued all her old age, in misery wretchednes and callamtie, as she did, leasyng bothe her husbände, her sonne, her Realme, and her honor. And although fortune was so fauorable to her, yet her company wei with stormy blastes, diuen on the shore before Bāborough castle, where thei set then shippes on fire, and cowardly fled to an Island, called holy Island wher they wei so assailed by the bastard Ogle, and Esquire called Ihon Manners, with other of kyng Edwardes retinue, that many of them wei slain, and almoste iij C. taken prisoners, and put to raunsome. But the capitain Biacy more coward then coragious, happened by chaunce of a fisherman, & so came to Barwicke, to Quene Margarete his masties whether she gaue hym thanks or no I doubt, but sure I am he none deserued, yet she made hym capitain of Alnewike Castle, whiche he with his fresh men kepte till thei wer rescued. This chaunce lile amased the Quene, nor in any thyng abated her haute corage. For incontynently she obtained a greate company of Scottes, and other of her fiendes, and so bringyng her husband with her, and leauyng her sone called prince Edward, in the toun of Barwicke, entered Northumberlande, and toke the castile of Bamborough, and stuffed it with Scottes, and made therof capitain sir Raufe Gray, and came forward toward the bishopricke of Durham. When the Duke of Somerset heard these newes, he without delaye refused kyng Edward, and rode in poste to his kynsman, kyng Henry the sixte vercifyng the olde proverbe kynne will crepe, where it may no go. Refusyng the surety of his estate, whiche kyng Edward did promise hym, for the vncertain gain whiche he hoped to get, by supporting kyng Henry. With hym fled also sir Raufe Percy, and many other of the kynges frēdes, but many mo folowed hym, for coueteousnes of spoyle and rapyne. in so muche that the puyssaunce of kyng Henry, was thought to bee of asmuche force, as the strength and army of his enemy kyng Edward. The which army was iudged to be y greater, because he spoyled, & burned tounes, and destroyed feldes, whersoever he came. Kyng Edward (as you could not blame hym) was with these dooynges nothyng content, wherefore like a wise prince, intendyng to stop the gut of kyng Henries power or it made any farther issue. Prepared al munitions, conuenient for the warie, rigged and appareled, a greate naue of shippes, of whiche some were vtailed at Lyn, and some at Hull, and they were furnished with souldiors. When his army by the sea, was thus wailikely set forward he sent the lorde Montacute (whom bothe for his hardnesse and sage conduyte in marciall affaires, he muche trusted and beleued) into Northumberlande, there to raise the people, to withstande his enemies. And after this, he in his royall persone, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, not without a great and puyssaunt armie, marched toward his enemies, and came to the cite of Yorke, sendyng a great quantite of his faithfull subiectes, to the ayde of the lorde Montacute, least peradventure, he geuyng to muche confidence, to the men of the Bisshoprike and Northumberlande, might by them be deceiued and surprised. The Lorde Montacute, forgat not the office of a good capitain, nor beyng well furnished with suche as he knewe would neither flie backward, nor stande still lookyng, and not fightyng, thought no lēger to tract the tyme, but with a valiant corage, marched forward toward his enemies, and in his iorney, he was incountereid, with the lorde Hungerford, the Lorde Roos, sir Raufe Percy, and diuise other, at a place called Hegely More. Where sodainly thesaid lordes, in maner, without stroke strykyng, fled,

Quene  
Margarete  
with her  
company  
arriued at  
Tynninouth



and onely sir Raufe Percy abode, and was there manfully slain, with diuerse other, sayng, when he was dyng. I haue saued the birde in my bosome meanyng that he had kept, both his promise and othe, to kyng Henry the. vj. Forgettingt that he in kyng Henries moste necessitie, abandoned him and submitted hym to kyng Edward, (as you before haue heard.) The lord Mōtacute seyng fortune thus prosperously leadyng his saile, was auanced with hardy corage toward his enemies, & then in passyng forward, he had by his espialles perfite intelligence, that kyng Henry with all his power, was incamped in a faire plaine called Lyuels, on the water of Dowill in Exham shire. It was no neede to bid hym hast, as he that thought not to lese the occasion, to hym so manifestly geuen, & to leaue the good port of fortune, to hym opened and vnclosed: and therefore, in good ordre of battail, he manfully set on his enemies, in their awne cape, whiche like desperate persones, with no small corage receiued hym. There was a sore fought feld, and no partie by a long tract, could get any aduantage of the other, till at the last, the lord Montacute, cryng on his men to do valiantly, entered by plaine force, the battail of his enemies, and blike their array, whiche like men amased, fled hether and thether, desperate of all succor. In whiche flight and chase, wer taken, Henry duke of Somerset, whiche before was reconciled to Kyng Edward, the Lordc Roos, the Loide Molyns, the Lord Hungerford, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Thomas Husc, sir Ihon Fyndeine, & many other. Kyng Henry was this day, the beste-horseman of his company. for he fled so faste that no man could ouertake hym, and yet he was so nere pursued, that certain of his henxmen or folowers wer taken, their horses beyng triapped in blew veluet wherof one of the had on his hed, thesaid kyng Henries healmēt. Some say his high cap of estate, called abococket, garnished with two riche crounes, whiche was presented to kyng Edward, at Yorke the fourth dare of Mare. The duke of Somerset, was incontinently, for his greate mutabilitie and lightnes, beheaded at Exam, the other lordes and knightes, wer had to New Castlé, and there after a litle respite, wer likewise put in execution. Beside these persones, diuerse other to the nombre of. xxv. wer executed at Yorke, and in other places wherby other fautors of kyng Henries partie, should be out of all trust of all victory, considering that their capitaines, had hopped hedles. Fro this battail escaped kyng Henry the. vj. sir Humfrey Neuell, Willm Taylboys, callyng hymself erle of Kent, sir Raufe Gray, and Richard Tunstall, and diuerse other, whiche beyng in feare of takyng, hid themselves and lurked in dēnes and wholes secretly. Thei wer not so closely hid, but they were capied for the erle of Kent was taken in a close place in Riddesdale, and brought to New Castle, and there with an axe lost his life, Sir Humfrey Neuell, after long lurking in a Cave, was taken in Holdernes, and at Yorke beheaded. Thus euery man almoste that escaped, was after taken and scorged. so that it should seme that God had ordeined, all suche persones as rebelled against kyng Edward, to haue in cōclusion, death for their reward and guardone.

AFTER this battail called Exham field, kyng Edward came to the cite of Duresme, to the intent to bee more nerer to his enemies, if they would make any farther attempte. and sent from thence into Noithumberlande, the Erle of Warwicke, the lordc Montacute, the lordes, Fawconbrige and Scrope, and diuerse other, to recouer suche Castles and fortresses, as his enemies there held, and with force defēded. These lordes first besieged the castle of Alnewike, whiche sir Piers Bracy and the Frenchemen, by force and strong hande kepte, and in no wise would yeld, sendyng for ayde to the Scottes, wherupon sir George Douglas, erle of Angus, with xij. M. men well chosen, in the daie tyme rescowed the Frenchemen out of the castle, the Englishemen lookyng on, whiche thought it muche better to haue the castle without losse of their mē, then to lese bothe the castle and their men, considering the great power of the Scottes, and their smal nombre: and so thei entered the castle and manned it, and after thesaid lordes, besieged the castle of Dunstanborough, and by force toke it, and Ihon Goys seruauant to the duke of Somerset captain of thesaid castle, was taken and brought to Yorke where, with a hachet he receiued his reward. These Lordes also tooke by force the strong castle of Bamborough, and in it sir Raufe Gray, whiche was before sworne to kyng Edward, for the whiche perurie to bothe the princes, he was disgraded of

the

The battail  
at Lyuels,  
on the Wa-  
ter of Dow-  
ill in Exham  
shire.

the high ordre of knighthode at Dancastre, by cutting of his gylt spores, rētyng his cote of armes, and breakyng his sword ouer his hed : and finally, there his body was shorted, by the lēgh of his hed and had no more harine, thus was he rewarded for his doble deceit and manifest periurie

The disgradyng of a knight.

AFTER this victory, kyng Edward returned to Yorke, where, in despite of therle Northumberlande, whiche then lurked, in the realme of Scotland, he created sir Ihon Neuell, lorde Montacute, erle of Northumberland, & in reprove of Iaspar erle of Penbroke, he created William lord Herbert, erle of the same place. but after when by mediacion of frendes, therle of Northumberland, was reconciled to his fauor, he restored hym fully to his possessions, name and dignitie : and not intending therby, to diminishe the honor of his friend, he preferred sir Ihon Neuell, to the stile of Marques Montacute, and so by that meanes, he was in estate and degre higher, then therle of Warwicke his elder brother, but in power, pollicie, and possessions, farre baser and lower.

### ¶ THE THIRDE YERE.

ALTHOUGH that Kyng Edward might now thynke, all thynges to be in a good case, & hymself also to be of puyssance sufficient against al his enemies, (for y he had obtained so great a victory) yet did he prouide with all diligence, that neither kyng Henry, nor quene Margaret his wife, should by any meanes remain in Englande: least the sight with the persuasions of them, and especially with old frendes & allies, might alter and change the mindes, & also wyn the hartes of the mutable cōmonaltie. Wherefore he edified bulwarkes, and buylded fortresses on euery side & parte of his realme, where might be any place proper and mete, for an armie to arrive or take lande. Beside this, he wrote to all them in the South partes of his realme, that in no wise they should receiue the said quene, nor in any thyng should help or minister to her. and if any did presume or attempt, priuately or openly to infringe his will and commaundement, the offenders should be takē as his aduersaries, & punished as his vtter enemies. And on that parte that marcheth vpon Scotland, he laied watches and espialles, that no persone should go out of the realme, to kyng Henry and his company: whiche then lay sojournyng in Scotlande. But what so euer ieperdy or perill might bee construed or demed, to haue insued by the meanes of kyng Henry: all suche doubtles, were now shortly resolved and determined, and all feare of his doynge, wer clerely put vnder and extinct. For he hymself, whether he wer past all feare, or was not well established in his perfite mynde, or could not long kepe hymself secrete, in a disguised apparell, boldly entered into Englande. He was no soner entered, but he was known and taken of one Cantlowe, and brought towarde the kyng, whom the erle of Warwicke met on the waie, by the kynges commaundement, and brought hym through London, to the toure, and there he was laied in sure holde. Quene Margarete his wife, hearyng of the captiuitie of her husbande, mistrustyng the chaunce of her sonne, all desolate and comfortles, departed out of Scotlande, and sailed into Fraunce, where she remained with Duke Reyner her father, till she toke her infortunate iorney into Englande again: where she lost bothe husband and sōne, and also all her wealth, honor, and worldly felicitie. The newe Duke of Somerset and his brother Ihon, sailed into Flaunders, where they also liued in greate misery, till duke Charles, because he was of their kyn, and descended of the house of Lancastre by his mother, succored them with a small pencion, whiche to them was a greate comfort. Therle of Penbroke wēt from countrey to countrey, not alwaies at his hartes ease, nor in securitie of life, or suretie of liuing. Such an vnstable and blind goddes is fortune for. whē he that sitteth highest on the whele falleth to the grouūd, all that be vnderneath fall also, and can neither haue aide nor helpe of her, nor yet of themselves.

The iii. yere.

Kyng Henry the vi. taken and comitted to the Toure of London.

AFTER the takyng of kyng Hēry the. vi. and the departyng of his wife, this realme was in more quietnes & tranquillitie, because that men of the contrary part and faction, durst:



durst not once attēpt nor yet moue, any new tumulte or conspiacie, considering that bothe the hed was fallen, and the chief membres fied and vanquished. Wherefore kyng Edward, beyng clerely out of doubt, of all hostilitie and danger, set all his mynd the whole foure yeres folowyng, for bothe amending thynges preiudiciall to the common wealthe, and also for stablischyng of thynges, mete and necessary, for the people of his Realme and dominion. And firste of all, folowyng the old auncient adage which saith, that the husbandman ought first to tast of the new growē frute: he distributed the possessions, of suche as toke parte with kyng Henry the vi to his souldiors and capitaines, whiche he thought had well deserued it. And beside, he lefte no poynt of liberalitie vnshewed, by the whiche he might allure to hym, the beneuolence and louyng hartes of his people: and in especial to his nobilitie, he gaue bothe large and precious giftes and rewardes. And because y he would gladly haue the loue of all men, aswell noble as ignoble, aswell of riche as of poore, he shewed hymself more familiar, bothe with the nobilitie and the commonaltie, then (as some mē thought) was conuenient, either for his estate, or for his honor whiche gentilnes and frendly familiaritie, he euer after vsed. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newly augmented. The coyne bothe of golde and of siluer, whiche yet at this daie is curraunt, he newly deuised and diuided for the gold he named royals and nobles, and the siluer he called grotes and halfe grotes. After this, he caused open Proclamation to be diuulged, that all persones whiche were adherent to his aduersaries part, & would leaue their armure, & submit theselves wholly to his grace and mercy, should bee clerely remitted, pardoned, and released and they that obstinately would so refuse, should haue such paines, as by the law, to suche transgressors, was assigned and appoynted. What profite this gentle interteynyng of his people brought hym to. What good will and fixed hartes of the people, he obtained by this kynd and frendly handelyng, all mē may with their eyes manifestly perceue. For only by the fauor and ayde of the people, euer after in all his warres, he was a victor and a conqueror so that all enterprises afterward against hym attempted, had either euill successe, or wer sone refelled, as afterward you shall perceue. When he had brought his Realme into this estate, he surely thynkyng, and no lesse trustyng, but that he was set in the sure stall, stable thrōne, and vnmoueable chaire, of the croune of his realme and kyngdom, was not only desirous of hymself, beyng a prince of haut corage, young, lusty, and sanguyne of complexion, to haue a wite, but was also daily sollicitied, required, and mocioned of the peres and nobilitie of the Realme, to ioyne with suche a make, as should bee bothe to his honoure and contentacion, and also for the securitie & establisment, of the royall succession, and continuauce of his progeny, in his newe possessed cuntrye, and late recovered kingdom. Whereupon, like a wise and a circumspecte Prince, very desirous of a Quene, but moie thirstyng for suche a make, by the aide of whose parentes, alies and confederates: he beyng ioyned with them in perfite affinitie, might litle or nothyng doubt the attemptes of his aduersarie kyng Henry, nor yet the malice of his secret frendes and priuy fautors. This matter (as it was of great waight and impoirtance) hangyng long in consultation. Emongest other it was moued, to send to Iames the. iii. kyng of Scottes, for the obtaynyng of the faire lady Margaret his suster, to thintent, that on that side, kyng Henry his aduersary, should be desutute of all aide, refuge, succor, and comfort: but whether it wer for a priue sickenes, or an open impediment, to hym and his counsaill declared, or by them spied, this mocion vanished and toke no farther effect. Then (as many men haue said, & few or none haue written) it was farther consulted, that the lady Elizabeth, suster & heire apparant, to Done Henry kyng of Castile, (whiche afterward was his heire in deede, and married to Done Fernādo, kyng of Ariagon) was a marriage for hym moste conuenient, and not so conuenient, as profitable bothe to hym and his realme, and them that should lineally succede hym, considering that if he might obtain the kyngdom of Castell, of the whiche his greate graund mother, was one of the indubitate heires, as doughter to Done Peter, late kyng of Castell, (by the va-

Kyng Edward the iii.  
deuised the  
monies of  
the Coynes

haunt knight, Edward prince of Wales, restored to his seigniory, realme & kingdom) then wei he in cace, not onely hable to defend hymself, and his realme of Englande, against all foren enemies, and vtter muasions, but also he should be of puyssaunce sufficient to inuade, and likely to recouer the duchy of Guyen, yea, and whole Aquitaine, beyng his awne true and lawefull inheritaunce, with the ayde onely of the Castilians, puttyng the Englishemen to litle trauaill, & lesse charge. This mocion thus setforward semed highly to redounde, bothe to the honor of the kyng, and the high auancement of thestate of the realme - Considering first, the high parëtage of the woman, and secondly, the indubitate expectation of thinheritaunce, of the realmes of Castell and Lion. And this marriage agreed vpon, (whiche semeth more likely to be intreated of, then cōcluded as the tale telleis saie) The erle of Warwicke was sent into Spain, well instructed, and no lesse accompanied, for the conclusiō of thesaid marriage. But who so will diligently consider, and in egall balaunce ponder, the youth and appetite of kyng Edward, and the tendre age and minorine of this noble damosell - maie evidently perceiue, that it was neither decent nor conuenient, for hym nor his realme, to expect and tary the maturitie and ful age of this noble princes, nor that he beyng a prince, wel cherished, of lustie courage, and apte to generation, would or could lue sole and vmarried without a wife, till she were of age, mete & conueniēt for his bed. For it appereth on her goodly sepulture, in the cite of Gracnado (where she is buried) and also diuerse famous and notable Historiographers, bothe of Spain and other regions, write and affirme, that she changed this transitory life, in the yere of our Lorde. M. D. vi beyng L. yeres of age, one moneth onely lackyng By whiche report she shoulde be borne, in the yere of our lorde M. iii. C. lvi And when therle of Warwicke was sent for the mariage of kyng Edward, in the beginning of the third yere of his reigne, the yere of our lord. M. cccc. lxiii, so that then she was sixe and not fully. vii. yeres, at whiche tyme kyng Edward had fully accōplished. xxiii. yeres and more The treate of whiche marriage although it be not vnpōssible, yet for ſ causes aforesaid, it semeth not ahtle vnlikely. But admit that this marriage was moued, as it peraduenture might be, and that the erle of Warwicke sailed into Spain, (as he did not in deede) of likehōd his legacion was frustrate, & came to none effect. but sure it is that thesame yere, he came to kyng Lewes the. xi. then beyng Frenche kyng, liyng at Tours, and with greate honor was there receiued, and honorably intertained of whō, for kyng Edward his master, he demaunded to haue in mariage the lady Bona, doughter to Lewes duke of Sauoy, and suster to the lady Carlot, then French Quene, beyng then in the Frenche court. This marriage semeth pollitiquely deuised, and of an high imaginacion to be inuented, if you will well consider, the state and condicion of kyng Edwardes affaires, which at this time, had kyng Henry the. vi. in safe custody, in the strong toure of London, and the moste parte of his adherentes, he had as he thought, either profligated or extinct, Quene Margaret onely except, and Prince Edward her soune, whiche wer then soiornyng at Angiers, with old Duke Reiner of Aniou her father, writyng hymself kyng of Naples, Scicile, and Ierusalem, hauing as muche profites of the letters of his glorious stile, as rentes and reuenues out of thesaid large and riche realmes and dominions, (because the kyng of Arragon toke the profites of thesame, and would make no accōpt therof to duke Reiner) Kyng Edward therfore thought it necessary, to haue affinitie in Fraunce, and especially by the Quenes suster: whiche Quene, although she ruled not the kyng her husband, (as many womē do) yet he of a certain especiall humilite, was more content to haue her fauor & folowe her desire, (for wedded men oftē tymes doubt stormes) rather then to haue a lowryng countenaunce, and a ringing peale, whē he should go to his rest and quietnes: tusting that by this marriage, quene Margarete (whom thesame Quene Carlot litle or nothyng regarded, although her father was called a kyng and she a quene, & none of both hauing subiectes, profites, nor dominions) should haue no aide, succor nor any cōfort of ſ Frēch kīg, nor of none of his frēdes nor alies, wherfore quene Carlot much desirous to aduāce her blod & progenie, & especially to so greate a prince as kyng Edward was, obteyned both the

The treaty  
of a marage  
for kyng  
Edward the.  
iii



Thesamase  
concluded for  
kyng Edward  
the .iiij.

good will of the kyng her husband, & also of her syster, so that the matrimony on that syde was clerely assented to, & the erle of Dampmartine appoynted with other, to sayle into Englad, for the clerely finishyng of thesame. After these thinges thus concluded, the erle of Warwycke was dismissed and highly rewarded, & for the great & noble corage that was in him, he obteyned such fauor of the kyng, the quene and the nobles of Fraunce, that when he fled out of Englad, he was there honorably receiued, frendly mayntained, and louingly succored, as you shall perceyue hereafter.

Kyng Ed-  
ward falleth  
in love with  
the duchess  
of Bedfordes  
daughter, &  
after mari-  
eth her.

BVT now consider the old prouerbe to be true y saith: that manage is destine For during y time that the erle of Warwycke was thus in Fraunce, concludyng a mariage for kyng Edward. The king being on huntynge in the forest of Wychwood besyde Stonnystratforde, came for his recreation to the mannor of Grafton, where the duchess of Bedford sojourned, then wyfe to syr Richard Wodvile, lord Ryuers, on whō then was attendyng a daughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Greye, wydow of syr Ihon Grey knight, slayn at the last battell of saucte Albons, by the power of kyng Edward. This wydow hauyng a suit to y kyng, either to be restored by hym to some thyng taken from her, or requyryng hym of pite, to haue some augmentacion to her liuyng, founde such grace in the kynges eyes, that he not onely fauored her suyte, but muche more phantasied her person, for she was a womā more of formal countenance, then of excellent beaultie, but yet of such beaultie & fauor, that with her sober demeanure, louely lokyng, and femynyne smylyng (neither to wanton nor to humble) besyde her toungue so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to raiushe the mynde of a meane person, whē she allured and made subject to her, y hart of so great a king. After that kyng Edward had well considered all the linyamētes of her body, and the wise and womanly demeanure that he saw in her, he determined first to attēpt, if he might prouoke her to be his souereigne lady, promisyng her many gyftes and fayre rewardes, affyrming farther, y if she woulde therunto condiscend, she might so foitune of his peramour and concubyne, to be chaunged to his wyfe & lawfull bedfelow. whiche demaunde she so wisely, and with so couert speache aunswered and repugned, affymyng that as she was for his honor farre vnable to be hys spouse and bedfelow: So for her awne poore honestie, she was to good to be either hys concubyne, or souereigne lady. that where he was a littell before heated with the darte of Cupido, he was now set all on a hote burnyng fyre, what for the confidence that he had in her perfyte constancy, and the trust that he had in her constant chastitie, & without any farther deliberacion, he determined with him selfe clerely to marye with her, after that askyng counsaill of them, whiche he knewe neither woulde nor once durst impugne his concluded purpose.

BVT the duchess of Yorke hys mother letted it as much as in her lay alledgyng a precontract made by hym with the lady Lucye, and diuerse other lettes. all which doubtēs were resolved, & all thinges made clere & all cauellacions auoyded. And so, priuile in a mornyng he married her at Grafton, where he first phantasied her visage.

### ¶ THE. IIII. YERE.

The .iiii.  
yere.

AND in the next yere after, she was with great solempntie crowned quene at Westmynster Her father also was created erle Ryuers, and made high Constable of Englande: her brother lorde Anthony, was married to y sole heyre of Thomas lord Scales, & by her he was lord Scales. Syr Thomas Grey, sonne to syr Ihon Grey, the quenes fyrst husband, was created Marques Dorset, and married to Ciole, heyre to the lord Bonvile. Albeit this mariage, at the first apparaunce was very pleasaunt to the king, but more ioyous to the quene & profitable to her bloud, which were so highly exalted, yea, & so sodainly promoted, that all the nobilitie more maruayled then allowed this sodayne risyng and swift eleuacion. Yet who so will marke the sequele of this stori, shall manifestly perceyue, what murder, what miserie, & what trouble ensued by reason of this mariage. for it can not be

denied, but for this mariage kyng Edward was expulsed the Realm, & durst not abide, And for this mariage was theile of Warwycke & his brothei miserable slain By this mariage were kyng Edwardes. ii. sonnes declared bastaydes, & in cōclusion prived of their lifes. And finally by this mariage, the quenes blond was confounded, and vtterly in maner destroyed So y men did afterward djuyne, that either God was not contented, nor yet pleased with this matrimony, or els that he punished kyng Edward in his posteritie, for the deepe dissimulynge and couert clokyng, with hys faithfull frende the erle of Warwycke. But such cōiectures for y most part, be rather more of mens phātasies, then of diuine reuelacion. Whē this mariage was once blowen abrode, forren kynges and prynces maruayled and musyd at it. noble men detested and disdained it the commō people grudged and murmured at it, and al with one voyce sayde, that hys vnadvised wowyng, hasty louyng, and to spedy mariage, were neihei meete for him beyng a kyng, nor consonant to the honor of so high an estate The French kyng and his quene were not a littell discontent (as I can not blame them) to haue their sister, first demaūded and then graunted, and in conclusion reiected, and apparantly mocked, without any cause reasonable. Wherefore shortly to appese her dolor, they married her to Ihon Galēce, duke of Millayn, where she liued in great felicitie. But when the erle of Warwycke had perfit knowledge by the letters of his trusty frendes, that kyng Edward had gotten him a new wyfe, & that all that he had done with kyng Lewes in his ambassade for the cōioynyng of this new affinitie, was both frustrate & vayn, he was earnestly moued and sore chafed with the chaunce, and thought it necessarye that kyng Edward should be deposed from his crowne and royal dignite, as an inconsistent prince, not worthy of such a kyngly office All men for the moste parte agre, that this mariage was the only cause, why the erle of Warwycke bare grudge, and made warie on kyng Edward. Other affirme that ther wer other causes, which added to this, made y fyre to flāme, which before was but a littell smoke For after that kyng Edward had obtained his kyngdome (as it was then thought) by the onely helpe and meane of the eile of Warwycke, he begā to suspect, yea, and to doubt him, fearing, lest he beyng in such auctoritie and estimacion of the people, as he well might worke him pleasure or displeasure, when he therunto were mynded, wherefore he thought it cōueniēt a litle and a litle to plucke away and minyshe the power and auctoritie, which he and his predecessors had gyuen to the erle, to thentent that he then myght do at his pleasure, bothe at home and in outward parties, without feare or dread, without checke or taunt, whatsoeuer to his awn mynde semed most conuenient. By this a man may se that often it chaūreth, that frendes for one good turne will not render another, nor yet remember a great gratuite and benefite in time of necessitie, to thē shewed and exhibited: But for kyndnes they shew vnkindnes, & for great benefites receyued, with great displeasure they do recompense Of this the erle of Warwycke was nothyng ignorāt, which although he loked for better thanks & more ample benefites at kyng Edwardes handes. yet he thought it best to dissimule the matter, tyll such a time were come, as he might fynd the kyng without strength, and then to embraide him with the pleasure that he had done for him And farther it crieth not from y treuth that kyng Edward did attempt a thyng once in the erles house which was much against the erles honestie (whether he woulde haue deflowred his daughter or his nere, y certayntie was not for both their honors openly knowen) for surely such a thyng was attempted by kyng Edward, which loued well both to loke and to fele fayre dammosels But whether the injury that the erle thought he had taken at kyng Edwardes handes, or the disdayne of auctoritie that the erle had vnder the kyng, was the cause of dissolucion of their amitie and league, trueth it is that the priue intencions in their hartes brake into so many smal peeces, that England, Fraunce, and Flaunders, could neuer ioyne them agayn, duryng their naturall lytes

Incommodi-  
tus y sprang  
of kyng Ed-  
wardes mar-  
riage

The d splea-  
sure betwene  
kyg Edward  
the iii &  
the erle of  
Warwycke

THE erle of Warwycke beyng thus moued, inflāmed, & set against the kyng, lest in his fury, his purpose might be espied and broughte to nought, determined him self, couertly dissimulyng, so longe to suffer all such wronges & injuries, as were to hym done, till he

M m

might



might spye a tyme conueniēt, & a world after his awn appetite, for the setting furth of his enterprise, and accomplishing of his purpose: wherupon he sayled into England, and with reuerence saluted the kyng as he was wont to do, & declared his Ambassade and the xployt of thesame, without any spot of grudge to be perceyued, as though he were ignorant of the new matrimony. And when he had tayed in the courte a certayn space, more for to shewe that he was thesame person, and of thesame good mynde towarde the kyng, as he was before the tyme of his legacion, then for any great affeccion that he bare, either to the kyng or the quene, he obteyned licence of the kyng, to depart to hys Castel of Warwycke, both for hys health and recreation, whither with great honour he was accompanied with diuers of the kynges familer seruitors, as though none inward grudge or couert dissimulation had ben hydden betwene them, where he remayned tyll all his priue imaginations were made open, and all hys enterprises were ready to be set forwarde. Duryng whiche time, the quene was deliuered of a yonge and fayre lady, named Elyzabeth, whiche afterward was wyfe to the noble prince kyng Henry the vii. and mothei to kyng Henry the. viii.

## ¶ THE. V. YERE.

*The. v. yere.* When kyng Edward had reigned thys, full the terme of. v. yeres, not all in pleasure, nor yet so in displeasure, but either by policie or fiēdshippe, he euen was superior, & had the vpper hande of hys enemies: He dayly studied and intentyuely applied his whole mynd with all labor and diligence to obtayne the loue, fauor and amitie of outward princes & foren potentates. First to haue a Rowlad for an Oluer, for the Frēch king whome he knew not to be hys frendes, by reason of the refusall of hys quenes syster, he procured an amitie with Henry, kyng of Castell, and Ihon kyng of Arragon At the concludyng of whiche amitie he graunted lycence and libertie for certayn cottesolde shepe to be transported in to the countie of Spayne (as people report) which haue so there multiplied and encreased, that it hath turned to comoditie of England, moche to the Spanyshe profit, & to no small hynderance of the lucie and gayne whiche was beforetymes in England, raysed of wolle and felle. Beside thys to haue an amitie with hys nexte neyghbor, the kyng of Scottes he wyntyng at the towne of Barwyke, was comēt to take a truce for xv. yeres.

Kyng Edward lycēced a certayne number of shepe to be transported into Spayne

BVT Lord what happy chaūce and good lucke had kyng Edward for besyde these new frendes and conserates (of the whiche, some were more farther of, then he coulde cal to for helpe with a whistel, when he stode in moost daunger and distresse) Fortune besyde all his expectaciō prouided hym euen at hys elbowe, A brother in lawe, a perpetuall allye and frendly neyghboure: whiche offered allyaunce and new amitie, if he had either refused or myssed surely of al his other putatyue (I dare not say fayned) frendes, for all their leage, in his extreme necessitie, he had bene clerely abandonyd, and of all comfort left disconsolate. Thys happy chaunce came by thys occasion, In thys same season was lord and prince in Flaunders, Brabant and Zelādt, and other the lowe contrais therabout Philippe duke of Burgoyne, a man as he was of greate age and yeres, so was he had in muche honoi, great estimacion & high reuerēce emongest all kynges and prynces in hys dayes: which duke as you harde before, was enemye mortall to kyng Henrie the sixte This duke had only one sonne legitimate, called Charles erle of Charoloys, a man of suche haute corage, of so high enterprice and vntimeous audacite (euen lyke the sonne of Mars) as fewe or none was sene in hys tyme For how he discomfited kyng Loys the. xi. then the Frēch kyng at the battayle of Montcherrye, the Frenchemen hathe not yet forgotten The lāda of Luke also hath in recent memorie his sore scorge and cruell plage. Thys erle Charles was at this tyme a wydower, hauyng onely a sole doughter, and no sonne, wherfore bothe by hys father and hym selfe and the companions of the order of the goldē flece, being of their cōsail, it was thought not onely expedient but much more necessary, that he should take a wyfe, ye and

in such a place as they might by that matrimony haue both alliaunce and ayde agaynste all their outwaide enemies, and especially agaynst the Frenche kyng, whome they knew dayly to wayte & watche lyke a serpente, how he by fraude might swallow or catche them or their possessions vpon which cōmunicaciō it was declared by certayne, there beyng present, that kyng Edward of Englande had a fayie virgyn to hys syster, called lady Margarete, a lady of excellent beautie, and yet more of womanhod then beautie, and more of vertue then womanhode, whose innumerable good qualities, beside the giftes of nature, grace and fortune, were so seriously setfurth to duke Philip, and the erle of Charoloys hys sonne, that bothe the father & the child iudged that mariage to be the mooste metest matrimony in Christendom, not onely for the excellent qualities and manifold vertues emprinted in the person of the noble virgyn, but also for the great profite, allyance and continuall frendship that shoulde growe and ryse betwene the realme of Englande, and the dukes landes.

THE. VI. YERE.

After that thys poynte was clerely resolued on, the Duke appoynted hys bastard sonne lorde Anthony, commonly called the bastarde of Bourgoyne, chefe Ambassadoure for this purpose. a man of great witte, corage, valiantnes and liberaltie, whiche beyng richely furnished of plate & apparel, necessary for his estate, hauing in his cōpany gētelmen & other expert in all feates of chualry, and merciall prowes, to þ nūber of cccc horses (as the Brabanders write) toke hys ship, and with prosperous wynde arryued in Englande, where he was of the nobilitie receyued and with al honorable entertainment, conueyed to the kynges presence which like a prince, that knew what appertained to his degre, loungly welcomed, and familiarlye embrased the bastard & other nobles y came with hym. And after hys commissionscene, and hys message declared, the Kyng gaue to hym a gentell answer for that tyme, and so the ambassadours departed to their lodgyng, where they kept a great housholde, and made triumphat there. You may thinke that kyng Edward was not so vnwyse, nor yet so vnpurueyed of counsail, to forsake thys beneficiall alliaūce, amicable consanguinitie and lounge frendshyp, thus frankly to hym profered and graunted but that he and all hys counsail with fote and hande endeaoured theym selves to bryng too passe, and fynally to conclude thesame, the Erle of Warwycke onely excepte, whiche berynge hys harty fauoure too the Frenche kyng by yll reportes, dyd asynuche as in hym laye to hynder thys mariage and affinitie, of whose good will duke Charles was well informed.

The. vi.  
yere.

But for all hys opinion at a certayne daye, the kyng sente for the Ambassadours, and there declared too theym howe he gladlye dyd bothe accept and graunte their lounge request, and demaunde, promisyng them in the word of a Prynce, that he should be duryng his life frend to the frēdes of the Duke and the Erle, and enemies to their aduersaries and ennemies, which wordes not a littel pleased the Burgōnyons. After this he caused the lady Margaret his syster to be sent for which beyng richely appareled, accompanied with a great multitude of ladyes and gentelwomen, entred into the kynges great chāber, with so sober demeanure, so faire a visage, so lounge a cōtenaunce, & so princely a port, that she was esteemed for hei personage and qualities, bothe of the Burgonnyons and other, not to be vnworthy to matche in matrimony, with the greatest prynce of the worlde. And after the kyng, she & the ambassadours had cōmoned a good tract of tyme, the lord Anthonye bastaid of Burgounye, contracted openly the sayde lady Margaret, for and in the name of his brother the erle Charles, and there in the name of the duke his father, and the Erle his brother, he presented to þ lady Margaret a ryche and a costly Iuell, whiche she ioyously receyued with great thankes and many gratulations geuen, both to her father in lawe and her new contracted husband.

After thys mariage, was thus concluded and contracted to speke what bankettes, festes, disgysynges pastymes & pleasures were made and shewed to the ambassadours, it were to



A challenge.

longe to write the matter, beyng no more serious, & much more tedious to here. But one thig was very honorable, and not mete to be put in obliuio. The Bastard of Burgoyne, a man of a haute corage, challenged Anthony lord Scales, brother to the Quene, a man both egall in haite, and valyantnes with the bastard to fight with hym bothe on fote & on hoisbacke, the lord Scales gladly receyued hys deimaunde and promised hym on the othe of a gentelman, to aunswere hym in the felde, at the day appoynted. lyke chalenges were made by other Borgonyons, to the gentlemen of Englande, which you may surely beleue were not refused. The kyng entēdyng to see thys marciall sport and valiant chaluenge performed, caused lystes royall for the champions, and costely galleries for Ladies to loke on, to be newly erected and edefied in West Smythfelde in Lōdon. And at the day by the kyng assigned, the. ii. Lordes entered within the listes, well mounted, richely trapped and curiouslye armed. On whiche daye they ran together, certayne courses wyth sharpe speres, and so departed with egall honor. The next daye, they entered the felde, the bastarde siting on a bay courser, beinge somewhat dymme of sight, and the lord Scales had a gray couiser, on whose schaffiō was a long and a sharpe pyke of stele. Whē these. ii. valeāt persones coped together at the tornay, the lord Scales horse by chaūce or by custome, thrust hys pyke into the nostrelles of the hoise of the bastarde, so that for very payne he mouēd so hygh, that he fell on the one syde with hys master, & the lord Scales rode rōūd about him with his sworde shakyēg in hys hand, tyll the kyng cōmaunded the Marshall to helpe vp the bastarde, whiche openly sayed, I can not holde by the cloudes, for though my horse fayled me, surely I will not fayle my cōter-cōpaignions. And when he was remounted, he made a countenaūce to assayle his aduersarie, but the kyng either fauoryng his brothers honor then gotten, or mistrustyng the shame, whiche mighte come to the bastarde, if he were agayne foyled, caused the Heraldes to cry, *a l'estel*, and euery man to depaite. The morow after, the two noble men came in to the felde on fote, with two Poleaxes, and there fought valiantly lyke two coragious champions, but at the laste, the point of the axe of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the healmē of the bastard, & by fyne force might haue plucked hym on his knees, the kyng sodaynely caste doune his warder, and then the Marshalls them seuered. The bastard not content with this chaunce, very desirous to be reuenged, trustyng on his cunning at the Poleaxe (the whiche feate he had greatly exercysed, & there in had a great experiment) required the kyng of iustice, that he might performe his enterpryse the lord Scales, not refused it. The kyng sayd he wolde aske counsaill, & so calling to hym the Cōstable and Marshall with the officers of armes, after longe consultation had, and lawes of armes rehersed, it was declared to the bastarde for a sentence diffinitue by the duke of Clarence, then Constable of Englande, and the duke of Northfolke Erle Marshall, that if he woulde prosecute farther his attempted challenge, he muste by the lawe of armes, be deliuered to his aduersarye in thesame case and like condicion, as he was when he was taken from him, that is to saye, the poynt of the lord Scales axe to be fixed in the sighte of his healmē, as depe as it was when they were seuered. The bastard heryng this iudgēmt, doughted much the sequele, if he so should procede agayne, wherfore he was content to relinquyshe hys chaluenge, rather then to abyde the hasarde of hys dishonor. Other chalenges wer done, & valiantly acheued by the Englishmen, which I passe ouer. When all these coragious actes wer thus with ioy accomplished, sorowfull tidinges were broughte to the bastard, that duke Philip his father was passed this transitory lyfe, of whiche tidinges he was not a littell sorowfull, and there-vpon takyng his leue of kyngē Edward and his syster, the newe Duches of Bugoyne, liberally rewarded with plate and Iewels, with all celeritie he returned to the new duke Charles his nephew, accōpyting to him what exployt he had made in his Ambassade & message, which answere was to the great contentacion and accomplisheiment of the desire of the said Duke, and therof moste hartely thanked the lady for her consent, as for the thyng that he most desired, not forgettyng to gratefie kyngē Edwardes for his preferment and furtherance in his louinge request. This contract was made, and duke Philip dyed in the yere of our saluacion. M.CCCC.LXVII. and in the. vj. yere of kyngē Edward the. iij. in whiche yere

Kyng Edward more for the Marques Montagewes loue, then for any fauour he bare to the erle of Warwycke, promoted George Neuell their brother, to the Archebishopyrke of Yorke.

THE. VII. YERE.

NOW to returne to Charles duke of Burgoyne, whiche was with greate victory, and victorious triumphe returned from the conquest of the lande of Luke to Bruscles, he not forgetting the contract, which his bastard brother the lord Anthony had made in his name, with the noble princesse lady Margaret, systei to Edward kynge of Englande, deuised alwayes how he might with all honor and royaltie, haue her receyued into his countrey And first he wrote to the kyng of England, to sende her ouer the sea with all diligence, accordinge to the pact and leage betwene them concluded, whiche beyng nothyng slacke, and especially in suche a cause, as so highly magnified his bloude, prepared shippes and all thynges necessary, for the honorable conduyte of her and her cōpany and so accompanied with the dukes of Exceter and Southfolke and their wyfes, beyng both her systers, and a great companye of lordes and ladies and other, to the number of. CCCCC. horsses, in the beginninge of Iune departed out of Londō to Dover, & so sayled to Sluys, how she and her companye were there receyued and from thence conueyed to Bruges, where the marriage was celebrate and solempnized, what abundaūt faie and Delicate viand was serued at the feast, with how riche hanginges the house was garnished and trimmed, with how many Cupperdes of golde & silver the palace was adourned, with how many garnyshe of siluer vessell the companyes were serued, what Iustes, what Tourneys, what bankettes, and what disportes were at this Nupciall feast? I neither dare nor wil write, accordinge to the Brabāder Chronicle, lest perauenture some men might thinke that I flattered a litle, as perchance I thinke they saye not trow in a greate dele.

The vii.  
yere.

But now to let go ſ matters of ioy & solace, & to returne to the pestilent serpent, whiche so longe had sucked vp his poyson, and now began to vomit and cast it so abrode, that all thé. ij. yeres folowyng the whole Realme was continually infected with thesame, whiche infection, neuer ceased till the ayre was purified with the bloudde and deathe of him selfe at Barnet felde for if you call to youre remembraunce the depe dissimulinge of the Erle of Warwycke at his retorne from beyonde the sea, and the continuall grudge that lurked in his stomack, toward kyng Edward syth ſ tyme, ye must thinke that of very necessitie it wolde at length either burst the vessell, and by some meanes issue out, as it did now euen at this tyme. he beyng at his towne of Warwycke, accompanied with his two bretherne the Marques Mountacute, and the Archebishop of Yorke, fliamed comunicacion too make them merye and to passe furth the tyme two or thre dayes, and at the last hauynge an occasiō to speake of the kyng & his doynge and procedinges, he then first moued and excited them by al waies possible to helpe and ayde, & to restore kyng Hēry the sixte, to the Crowne and royall dignitie agayne, sayng to thē after this wise. My dere & welbeloued biethene, the incredible faythefulnes, the secrete sobernes, and the polytique prudence that I haue euer by long cōtinuāce of tyme experimented in you both, doth not onely encourage my harte, yea and setteth me in great hope of obteynynge my purpose, but also putteth me out of all dreade & mistrust, fermely beleuyng, & surely iudging, ſ you both wyl with tothe and nayle endeuer your selfe, to the vttermost of your power to bring to effect & purpose ſ thing that I now shal declare vnto you. Surely, I woulde in nowise that you shoulde thinke that, that whiche I shall speake to you, of kyng Edward and kyng Heny, shoulde rise of any lightnes or phantasie of my mynd, or any triffling toye, lately fallen into my imagination, but the true experience and iuste iudgement, that I haue of them bothe, their qualities and condicions, in maner cōpell and constraîne me to saie as I saie, and to doe as I doo. For surely Kyng Henry is, a Godly, good, and a verteous persone, neither forgettyng his frendes, nor puttyng in obliuion any benefite by hym, of a meane persone receiued, nor yet

The persuas-  
ion of y-  
erle of War-  
wycke vnto  
his two bre-  
thre agāst  
kyng Edward  
the fourth



yet any paine for his causes susteined, he hath lefte vnrewarded: To whom God hath sent a sonne, called Prince Edward, borne to be of great worthynes and prayse, of muche bountefulnes and liberalitie, of whom men maie, many laudable thynges coniecture, considering the pain, labor and trauaill, that he taketh to helpe his father out of captiuitie and thraldome. Kyng Edward on the contrary side, is a man, cōtumelious, opprobrious, & an iniurious person, to them that deserue kyndnes, he sheweth vnkynndnes, and to them that loue him, he dedly hateth, now detestyng to take any pain, for the preferment or maintenaunce, of the publike wealth of this realme, but all geuen to pastime pleasure, and dalliance. Soner preferringg to high estate, men discended of lowe bloud, and basse degree, then men of old and vndefiled houses, whiche hath bothe supported hym, & the common wealth of his realme: So that now I perceiue, that it is euē come to this poynt that he will destroye all the nobilitie, or els the nobilitie must shortly, of very necessitie destroye and confounde hym. But reason would, that we that wer first hurt, should first reuēge our cause. for it is not vnknewen to you bothe, how that he, immediatly after he had obtained the crowne, began first secretly, and then openly, to enuie, disdain, and impugne the fame, glory, and renouue, of our house and familie, as who saied that al the honor, preferment and auctoritie that we haue, we had onely receiued at his handes, and that we had neither obtayned, dignitie nor rule by our great labor, aide and trauaill. Whiche to all men maie seme vntreue, whiche consider that our name, chief title and principall auctoritie, was to vs geuen by kyng Henry the sixte, and not by hym. But if euery man will remembre, who firste toke parte with his father, when he claimed the Crowne: who at that tyme, for that cause was in greatesceperdie, and almost slain by the kynges meniall seruantes, and who neuer lefte this man in prosperitie nor aduersitie, till he had the garlande, and the realme in quietnes, shall manifestly perceiue, that we and oure bloudde, hath shewed our selves more like fathers to hym, then he like a frend to vs. If we haue receiued any benefites of hym, surely thei be not so muche, as we haue deserued, nor so muche as we looked for, and yet they bee muche more, then he would wee should enioye, as ye bothe well perceiue and knowe. Let these thynges ouerpasse, and speake of the vngentle, vntreue and vnpryncely handelyng of me, in the laste ambassade, beyng sent to the French kyng, for to treate a marriage for hym, hauyng full auctoritie to bynd and to lose, to contracte and conclude. Whiche thyng when I had finished and accomplished how lightly his mynde chaunged, How priuily he vowed, and how secretly he married, Bothe you knowe better then I. So that by this meanes, I was almoste out of all credence, in the Courte of Fraunce, bothe with the kyng and queene as though I had come thether like an espiall, to moue a thyng neuer mynded, or to treat of a marriage determined before, neuer to take effect. Whereby the fame of all our estimacion, whiche all kynges and Princes haue conceiued in vs, partly obtained by the vertue and prowesse of our noble auncestors, and partly acheued by oure awne peines and forward actes shall now be obfusate, vtterly extinguished, and nothyng set by. What worme is touched, and will not once turne again? What beast is stricken, that will not rore or sound? What innocēt child is hurt that will not crye? If the poore and vnreasonable beastes. If the sely babes that lacketh discrecion, grone against harme to them proffered, How ought an honest man to be angery, when thynges that touche his honestie, be daily against him attempted? But if a meane person in that case bee angery: how muche more ought a noble man, to fume and sturre coales, when the high tye of his honor is touched, his fame in maner brought to infamy, and his honor almoste blemished and appalled, with out his offence or desert? All this biethren you know to be true, the dishonor of one, is the dishonor of vs all, and the hurte of one, is the hurte of all. Wherefore, rather then I will lye vneuengeed, or suffre hym to reigne, whiche hath sought my decaye and dishonor, I will surely spend my life, lande, and goodes, in setting vp that iuste and good man kyng Henry the sixte. and in deposyng this vntreue, vnfaithfull, and vnkynde Prince (by our onely meanes) called kyng Edward the fourthe.

These faire wordes allured the Archbishop shortly, to his intent and purpose, but the Lorde

Lorde Marques could by no meanes bee reduced, to take any parte against kyng Edward till the erle had bothe promised hym great rewardes and high promociōns, and also assured hym of the aide and power, of the greatest princes of the realme. Euē as the Marques vnwillingly, and in manner coacted gaue his consent, to this vnhappy coniunction, at the instisement and procurement of therle, so with a fainte haite and lesse courage, he alwaies shewed hymself enemy to Kyng Edward, excepte in his laste daie. whiche lukewarme harte, and double dissimulacion, wer bothe the destruccion of him and his brethrē. The erle of Warwicke beeynge a man of a greate wit, farie castyng, and many thynges vigilantly foreseeyng, either perceiued by other, or had perfect knowledge of hymself, that the duke of Clarence, bare not the best will to kyng Edward his brother (as he did not in dede) thought firste to proue hym a farr of, as it wer in a probleme, and after to open to him (if he sawe hym flexible to his purpose) the secrete imaginacions of his stomacke: thynkyng that if he might by policie or promise, allure the duke to his partie, that kyng Edward should be destitute, of one of his best Hawkes, when he had moste nede to make a flight. So at tyme and place conuenient, the erle began to complain to the duke, of the ingratitude and doublenes of kyng Edward, sayng: that he had neither handled hym like a frende, nor kepte promise with hym, accordyng as the estate of a Prince required. The erle had not halfe tolde his tale, but the duke in a greate fury answered, why my loide, thynke you to haue hym kynd to you, that is vnkynnd, and vnnatural to me beyng his awne brother, thynke you that frendship will make hym kepe promise, where neither nature nor kynred, in any wise can prouoke or moue hym, to fauor his awne blood? Thynke you that he will exalte and promote his cosin or aie, whiche litle careth for the fall or confusiō, of his awne line and lignage: This you knowe well enough, that the hene of the Lorde Scales he hath married to his wifes brother, the heire also of the lorde Bonuile and Haryngton, he hath geuen to his wifes sonne, and theire of the lorde Hungerford, he hath graunted to the lorde Hastynges: thre mariages more meter for his twoo brethren and kynne, then for suche newe foundlynges, as he hath bestowed theim on. But by swete sainte George I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester would ioine with me, we would make hym knowe, that we were all three one mannes sonnes, of one mother and one lignage discended, whiche should be more preferred and promoted, then straungers of his wifes blood.

When therle of Warwicke had hard the dukes wordes, he had that whiche he bothe sore thrust and lusted for, and then began boldly to disclose to the Duke, his intent and purpose even at the full, requyryng hym to take parte with hym, and to bee one of the attempted confederacie. And least the duke might thynke, that the matter was lightly, and vncircumspectly begon, he declared to hym, howe wailely, howe secretly, howe speedily all thynges concernyng this purpose, had been compassed, studied, and forsene, requyryng hym in so greate and vrgente a cause, bothe to take pain & trauaill, and also to studie with all circumspeccion and forseying, how these thynges thus begon, might be brought to a certaintie and a finall conclusion. And the rather to wynne the dukes hart the erle beside diuerse and many faire promises made to the duke, offered hym his eldest daughter (beeyng of ripe age and elegant stature) in mariage, with the whole halfedele of his wifes inheritance. The duke at the perswasion & request of therle, promised to do all thynges whiche he would or could, in any maner require or desire. After that the Duke and the erle had long consulted, concernyng their straunge and dangerous affaires: thei first determined to saile to Calers, of the which toun the erle was chief capitain, where his wife and twoo daughters then sojourned, whom to visite, the duke of Clarence beyng in amours, had no small affection. But the erle continually remembryng the purpose that he was set on, thought to begin and kindle the fire, of his vngracious coniunction (whiche so many yeres vexed and vnquieted the realme of Englande) before his departure, wherefore he appoynted his brethiren the Archebishop and the Marques, that they should by some meane in his absence, stirre vp newe cominociō or rebellion, in the Countie of Yorke and other places adiacente. so that this



## THE. VIII. YERE OF

this ciuill warre should seme to all men, to haue been begon without his assent or knowledge (he beyng in the partes of beyond the sea).

## THE. VIII. YERE.

The viii.  
yere

When all these thynges wer thus determined, and in graue counsaill allowed, the erle and the duke sailed directly to Caleis where thei were solemnely receiued, and ioyously interteined of the Countesse and of her two daughters. And after that the duke had sworne on the Sacrament to kepe his promise and pacte inuiolate made and concluded with the erle of Warwicke, he married the Lady Isabell, eldest daughter to thesaied erle, in our Lady Church at Caleis, with greate pompe and solempnitie. After whiche mariage so solemnized, the duke and therle consulted sadly together, by what meanes they should continue the warre (whiche as it was by them appoynted) was recently and within fewe daies begonne in Yoikeshire. not without great rumore and disturbaunce, of all quietnes in that country.

The mother of this pernicious commocion, was vncharitie, or very impiety, for there was in the citee of Yorke, an olde and riche Hospitall, dedicated to Sancte Leonarde, in the whiche Almoeshouse the poore and indigente people were harbored and refreshed, and the sicke and impotent persones were comforted and healed. For this good purpose and charitable intent, all the whole Prouince of Yorke, gaue yerely to this Hospitall certain measures of corne in maner as an oblation of the first frutes of their newe grayne, thynkyng their gyfte geuen to so holy a place, for so holy an expence, should bee to them meritorious, and before God acceptable. Certain euill disposed persones of the erle of Warwickes faccion, intending to set a bruiil in the countrey, perswaded a great nombre of husbände men, to refuse and deny to geue any thyng to thesaied Hospitall, affirmyng and sayyng: that the corne that was geuen to that good intent, was not expended on the poie people, but the Master of the Hospitall waxed riche with suche almosse, and his priestes waxed fat, and the poore people laie leane without succour or comfort. And not content with these sayynges, thei fell to dooynges, for when the Proctors of the Hospitall, accordyng to their vsage, went aboute the countrey, to gather the accustomed come they were sore beaten, wounded, and very euil intreated. Good men lamented this vngodly demeanure, and the peruerse people much at it reioysed, and toke suche a courage, that they kept secrete conuenticles, and priue comunicaciōs, in so muche, that within fewe daies, thei had made suche a confederacie together, that thei wer assembled to the nombre of. xv. thousād men, euen redy prest to set on the citee of Yorke. When the fame of this commocion and great assemble. came to the eares of the citizēs of Yorke they were firste greatly astonied but leauyng feare aside, they were in a greate doubt and vncertaintie, whether it were best for them to issue out of their walles, and to geue battaill to the rebelles, or to kepe their citee, and repulse the violence of their enemies, by the manfull defendyng of their walles and portes. But the lorde Marques Montacute, gouernor and presedent of that countrey for the kyng, did shortly put the citizēs out of all feare and suspicion of inuasion, for he takyng spedy cōsail, and considering the oportunitie of the tyme, with a small nombre of menne but well chosen, encountered the rebelles, before the gates of Yorke. where after long conflicte, he toke Robert Huldaine their capitain, and before them commaunded his hed there to be stricken of, and then he caused all his souldiours (because it was darke to entre into the citee of Yorke) and after their long labor to refreshe them.

Here is to be marueiled, why the Marques thus put to death the capitain and ruler of the people, stirred and raised vp by hym, and the felowes of his comuracion and conspiracie. Some saie he did it to the intent, that he would seme faultes and innocent, of all his brothers dooynges, and priue imaginacions: But other affirme and saie, that he for all his promise  
made

made to his brother, was then deliberately determined to take parte with kyng Edward, with whom (as it shall after appere) he in small space entered into greate grace and high fauor. The people beyng nothing abashed at the death of their capitain, but rather the more eger, and fierce, by faule meanes and craftie perswasions found the meanes to get to them, Henry sonne and heire to the lorde Filz Hughe, and sir Henry Neuell, sonne and heire of the Lorde Latimer, the one beeyng nephew, and the other cosyn germain to theile of Warwicke. Although that these young gentlemen, bare the names of capitaines, yet they had a tutor & gouernor called sir Iohn Conyers, a man of such courage & valiauntnes, as fewe was in his daies, in the Noi the partes. And firste consideryng that they could not get Yorke, for want of ordinaunce and artillery, whiche they did lacke in dede, they determined with all spede to marche toward Londō, intending by the waie to reise suche a phantesie in the peoples hartes, & they should thynke that kyng Edward was neither a iust prince to God, nor profitable to the cōmon welth of & realme.

When kyng Edward (to whom all the dooynges of the Erle of Warwicke, and the Duke his brother, were manifest and ouerte, and wer come to that poynt, that he expected and looked for) was by diuerse letters sent to him, certified that the great armie of the Northren men, wer with all spede comyng toward London. Therefoie in greate hast he sent to Wylliam lorde Herbert, whom, within twoo yeres before, he had created erle of Penbroke, that he should without delaye encountre with the Northren men, with the extremite of all his power. The erle of Penbroke, commonly called the lorde Herbert, was not a litle ioyous of the kynges letters, partly to deserue the kynges liberaltie, whiche of a meane gentleman, had promoted hym to the estate of an erle, partly for the malice that he bare to the erle of Warwicke, beyng the sole obstacle (as he thought) why he obtained not the wardship of the Lorde Bonuilles daughter & heire, for his eldest sonne. Whereupon he accompanied with his brother sir Richard Harbert, a valiaunt knight, and aboue. vi. or. vii. thousande Welshemenne well furnished, marched forwarde to encountre with the Northren men. And to assiste and furnishe hym with archers, was appoynted Humfray lorde Stafford of Southwike (named, but not created) Erle of Deuonshire, by the kyng, in hope that he valiauntly would serue hym in that iorney, and with hym he had eight hundred archers. When these twoo Lordes were met at Cottishold, they made diligent inquiry, to here where the Northren menne were, and so by their exploiators they were ascertained, that they were passyng toward Northampton, whervpon the lorde Stafford, and sir Richard Harbert with twoo thousande well horsed Welshmen, said. they would go veue and se the demeanor and nombre of the Northern men, and so vnder a woodes side, they coueily espied the passe forward, and sodainly set on the rerewaide: but the Northren men with suche agilitie so quickly turned aboute, that in a moment of an houre, the Welshemen wer clene discomfited and scatered, and many taken, and the remnaunt returned to the armie with small gain.

Kyng Edward beeyng nothing abashed of this small chaunce, sente good woordes to the Erle of Pembroke, animatyng and byddyng hym to bee of a good courage, promisyng hym not alonely ayde in shorte tyme, but also he hymself in persone royall, would folowe hym with all his puyssance and power. The Yorke shire menne, beyng glad of this small victory, were well cooled and went no farther Southward, but toke their waie toward Warwicke, loking for aide of theile, whiche was lately come from Caleis, with the Duke of Claiēce his sonne in lawe, and was gatheryng and reisyng of men, to succor his fiendes and kynsfolke. The kyng likewise assembled people on euery side, to aide and assist theile of Penbroke and his compaignie. But before or any part receiued comfort or succor, from his frend or partaker, bothe the armies met by chaunce, in a faire plain, nere to a tounne called Hedgecot, three myle from Banbery, wherin be three hilles, not in equal distance, nor yet in equall quantitie, but lying in maner although not fully triangle: the Welshemen gat firste the West hill, hopyng to haue reconered the East hill whiche if they had obtained, the victory had been theirs, as their vnwise Prophesiers promised the before.



## THE. VIII. YERE OF

The Northren men incamped themself on the Southe hill. The erle of Penbroke and the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, wer lodged at Banbery the daie before the feld, whiche was saint James daie, and there the erle of Pembroke, putte the Lorde Stafforde out of an Inne, wherein he delighted muche to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house. contrary to their mutuall agrement by thom taken, whiche was, that whosoever obtained first a lodgyng, should not be deceiued nor removed. After many great woordes and crakes, had betwene these twoo capitaines, the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, in greate dispute departed with his whole compaignie and band of Archers, leauyng the erle of Pembroke almoste desolate in the towne, whiche, with all diligence returned to his host, lyng in the feld vnpurueied of Archers, abidyng suche fortune as God would sende and prouide. Sir Henry Neuell sonne to the Lorde Latimer, tooke with hym certain light horssemen, and skirmished with the Welshemen in the euenyng, euen before their Campe, where he did diuerse valiaunt feates of armes, but a litle to hardy, he went so farre forward that he was taken and yelded, and yet cruelly slain. whiche vnmerefull acte, the Welshemen sore rued the next daie or night. For the Northren men beyng inflamed, & not a litle discontented, with the death of this noble man, in the mornyng valiauntly set on the Welshemenne, and by force of archers, caused them quickly to descende the hill into the valey, where bothe the hostes fought. The erle of Penbroke behaued hymself like a hardy knight, and expert captain, but his brother sir Richarde Herbert so valiauntly acquitted hymself, that with his Polleaxe in his hand (as his enemies did afterward reporte) he twice by fine force passed through the battail of his aduersaries, and without any mortall wounde returned. If euerly one of his felowes and compaignions in armes, had doen but halfe thactes. whiche he that daie by his noble prowes achued, the Northrenmen had obtained neither sauety nor victory.

Beside this, beholde the mutabilitie of fortune, when the Welshemē were at the very poynt, to haue obteyned the victory (the Northernmē beyng in manner discōfited) Ihon Clappam Esquier, seruauante to the erle of Warwycke, moued vp the syde of y east hyl, accōpaied onely with. CCCCC. men gathered of all the Rascal of the towne of Northampton and other villages about, haunyng borne before them the standard of the Erle with the white Bere, Cryenge a Warwycke a Warwycke. The Welshmen thinkyng that y Erle of Warwycke had come on them with all his puyssance, sodaynlye as men amased fledde the Northernmē, them pursued and slew without mercy, for y cruelty that they had shewed to the lord Latimers sonne. So that of the Welshmē there were slayn about v. M. besyde them that were fled and taken

A greete  
slaughter of  
Welshmen.

The erle of Pembroke, syr Rychard Herbert his brother, and diuers gentelmen were taken, and brought to Banberie to be behedded, much lamentacion and no lesse outreate was made to saue the lyfe of Syr Rychard Herbert, both for hys goodely personage, whiche excelled all men there, and also for the noble Chivalry, that he had shewed in the felde the day of the battayll, in so muche that his brother the Erle, when he should laye doune his bed on the block to suffer, sayd to syr Ihon Conyers and Clappam, Masters let me dye for I am olde, but saue my brother, which is yonge, lusty and hardy, mete and apte to serue the greatest prince of Christendom. But syr Ihon Conyers and Clappam, remembryng the death of the yonge knyght syr Henry Neuell, Cosyn to the erle of Warwycke, could not here on that side, but caused the erle & hys brother with diuers other gentelnē, to the number of. x. to be there behedded. The Northamptonshire men, with diuers of y Northernmē by them procured, in this fury made them acapitayne, and called hym Robyn of Riddesdale, and sodaynly came to the manner of Grafton, where the erle Ryuers father to the Queene then lay whom they loued not, and there by force toke the sayde erle and and syr Ihon his sonne, and brought them to Northampton, and there without wdgement stroke of their heddes, whose bodies were solemply enterred in the Blackefreers at Northampton. When kynge Edward was aduertised of thys vnforgunate chaūces, he wrote in all hast to the Shiriefes of Somersetshyre and Deuenshyre, that if they coulde by any meane take the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, that they vpon payne of their lyues, should without delay put hym in execution, whiche

Robyn of  
Riddesdale.

accordingly to the kynges commaundement, after long exploracion made, founde hym hyd in a village in Breutmarche, called where he was taken & brought to Bridgewater, & there cut shorter by the hedde. Thys was the order, manner and ende of Hegecot felde, comely called Banberie felde, foughten the morow after saint Iames daye, in the viij yere of kyng Edward the. iij. the whiche battaile euer synce hath bene, and yet is a cōtinuall grudge betwene the Northernmen and the Welshemen. After thys battaile the Northernme resorted towarde Warwycke, where the erle had gathered a greate multitude of people, whiche erle gaue hygh commēdacions to syr Ihon Conyers and other capitaynes of ſ North, much reioysing, that they had obteyned so glorious victory, requiring them to continew as they had begon. The king likewyse sore thrusting to recouer his losse late susteyned, and desirous to be reuenged of the deathes and murders of hys lordes and frēdes, marched toward Warwycke with a great armye, and euer as he wente forward, his company increased, because he commaunded it to be noysed and published to the common people, that his onely entent was to destroy, and vitely to confounde the vnhappy stocke and yll graffed generacion, of suche pernicious persones, as wolde disturbe and bring in thraldome, ſ quiet comons and peaseable people. The erle of Warwycke had by his espialles perfyt, knowlege how the kyng with his armye was bent toward hym, & sent in all hast possible to the duke of Clarence (which was not far from him with a great power) requyng him that bothe their hostes myghte ioyne in one for as farre as he could imagyne, the tyme of battaile was very nere. The duke hearynge these newes in good order of battaile, came and encamped him selfe with the erles host. When all thynges were redy prepared to fight: by the meanes of frēdes, a meane was founde how to cōmon of peace, for the whiche letters were writtē from eche parte to other, declaring their griefes and the very bottoms of their stommackes: Herauldes spared no horse-flesh in ridynge betwene the kyng and the erle, nor in retoungynge nom the Erle to the kyng. the kyng conceyunge a certayne hope of peace in his awne imaginacion, toke bothe the lesse hedc to him selfe, and also lesse fered the outward attēptes of his enemyes, thinkyng and trustyng truly that all thynges were at a good poynt and should be well pacified. All the kynges doynge were by espials declared to the erle of Warwycke, which lyke a wyse and politique Capitayne entyndyng not to lese so great an auantage to hym geuen, but trustyng to brynge all his purposes to a tynall ende and determinacion, by onely obteyning this enterprise in the dead of the nyght, with an elect company of men of warre, as secretly as was possible set on the kynges felde, kylling them that kept the watche, and or the kyng were ware (for he thought of nothyng lesse then of that chaunce that happened) at a place called Wolney iij myle from Warwycke, he was takē prysoner, and brought to the Castell of Warwycke. And to the entent that the kynges frendes myghte not know wher he was, nor what was chaunced of hym, he caused hym by secret wayes in the nyght to be conueyed to Myddelham Castell in Yorkeshire, & there to be kept vnder the custody of the Archebishop of Yorke his brother, and other his trusty frendes, which entertayned the kyng, like his estate, and serued hym lyke a prynce. But there was no place so farre of but that the taking of the kyng was shortly knowē there with ſ wynde which newes made many men to feare, and greatly to dead, and many to wonder and lament the chaūce. Kyng Edward beyng thus in captiuitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop and to the other keepers, (but whether he corrupted them with money or fayre promises) he had libertie diuers dayes to go on huntynge, and one day on a playne there met with hym syr William Stanley, syr Thomas of Borogh, and dyuers other of hys frēdes, with suche a great bend of men, that neither his keepers woulde, nor once durst moue him to retorne to prison agayn.

Hegecot felde commonly called Banberie felde.

Kyng Edward the. iij. taken prisoner, by the erle of Warwycke

Kyng Edward escaped out of prison.

Thus as you haue harde was kyng Edward deliuered. Some saye that he was set at large by the erles consent and commaundemente as who sayd, I had hym in my kepyng, and might haue destroyed hym, I had hym in captiuitie, and so might haue deteyned him but yet of myne awne freewill & gentelnes, without pacte or ransom I am contented to set him at libertie & to deliuer him. Thys doynge might seme to be some countenance of treuth, if the erle after this had desisted from persecutyng the warre by hym newly begonne. but for a treuth



this good chaunce happed to kyng Edward, by the yll lucke of kyng Henry, for surely by this yll fortune a man may plainly cōiecture, that the extreine poynt of decay of hys house and estate was apparantly at hande, considering that neither by mannes pollicie, nor by worldly riches his vnhappy predestinate chaunce coulde not by any pollicy be put by, nor by any instrument scraped away (wel such was Goddes pleasure) for if you consider how that the erle of Warwycke and his frendes, onely to thentent to ayde, conserue and defende kyng Henry the vi. haue dispended their substances, aduentured their lyues, and taken paynes intollerable, hauing a sure determinacion fixed in their myndes, that as long as kyng Edward lyued, that kyng Henryes faction should neuer prosper & yet when he was by the Erle taken prisoner, & in captiuitie, he by fortune escaped, or was wilfully deliuered. By thys you may plainly perceyue that the lucke of kyng Henry was vnfortunate, and that all that was done for hym, and in is quarell, euer redounded to hys misfortune and detriment, euer noting this, that when thinges contriued & Imagened come to an vnlucky successe, all the senses of our bodyes be then by anger, feare or madnes, rauyshed, and in mannei distracte from them selves. But to retorne to the purpose, when kyng Edward had escaped the handes of hys enemyes, he went streyghte to Yorke, where he was with great honor receyued of the Citizens, and there taried two dayes to prepare some small army, to accompany hym in hys iorney, but whē he perceyued that he coulde haue no hoster mete and conuenient to passe to London, thorough the middes of his enemies (as he was appoynted to do) he turned from Yorke to Lancaster, where he founde the lord Hastynges hys Chamberlayne, well accompanied. He then with ſ ayde of the lord Hastynges, and suche other as diew to hym beyng well furnished with spedy iorneys, came safe to his cytye of London.

When the erle of Warwycke & ſ duke of Clarēce, had knowledge how the kyng by treason of them ſ they put in trust, was escaped their handes, & that in one moment of tyme, all their long studyes and forcastes were brought to none effect or conclusion, they waxed angrie, & chafed without measure, & by and by callynge together all their chief frendes began to consult agayn, of new, & to enquire the estate of their enemies, to the entent that they might make a beginnyng of a new warre, which they coniectured to haue taken an ende when the kyng was brought into captiuitie. The myndes of these Princes were much satisfied, & their corage greatly kindeled, by reason that a great number of men hauing more pleasure in discoid then in concord, louyng better stryfe then vnitie, offered themselves to beginne newe warre of their awne desire & request. Kyng Edward toke enen lyke study for the waïres as his enemyes dyd myndinge either to bringe them to conformitie or reason, by dent of sworde, or els by power of Battayle vtterly to destroye & extirpate them and their affinitye, to the entent ſ all men might lede a more quiet lyfe, & lyne in more securitie & rest: for by the sedicious rebelling of these persons, the state of the Realme was brought to great miserie, for Churches and Temples were euery where robbed & spoiled, houses burnt and men slayne in euery place, all the Realme was replenished with blood, slaughter, sorow & lamentacion, Cornefeldes were destroyed Cities and Townes were made desolate and languished witht a myn & dearthe, besyde many other thinges, which happen by the crueltie and furye of warre and rebellion. This tumult and trouble in the common wealthe of this Realme sore vexed and troubled many, but in especial ſ nobilitie muche lamented and pitied the state of the commonaltie which with all diligence rode betwene the kyng the Erle and the Duke to reconcile thē eche to other, and to cōclude a perfect peace & amitie, requiring them rather more to remēber the benefites, that euerye of thē haue receyued of other, then to set forth the vngratitude or injury, whiche one hath done to the other, which is rather the occasion of discord, then the meane to come to amitie. Further, they exhorted theym rather to deserue the loue of all men, by keepyng of peace & vnitie, then by fightinge and intestine warre to destroy the Realme, and wyne the hatred and malice of all the nacion for as he is vnkynd and vnnatural, that will not cherishe hys natural parentes and procreators, much more vnatural and wicked are they, which will suffer their natyue cōtreay, beyng their common father and mother, by their contencion & stryfe to be brought to decay and vtter perdition.

The

The authoritie first of the nobilitie of the Realmc, and secondarily their charitable mocion, so mitigated the myndes, bothe of the kyng, the Duke and the erle, that eche gaue fayth to other to go and come, sauely without reopaidy. In whiche promise, the Duke & Erle, hauing perfight trust and cōfidēce, came both to Lōdon, accompanied with to smal a number of men, in comparison to the great dangier that they were in. And at Westmynster, the kyng, the Duke and the Erle had a lorge communicacion together, for some end to be taken or made betwene them. But they fell at such great wordes with such exprobracions, and opening: either of olde benefites shewed or of olde ingratitude receiued, that in a great furye, without any cōclusion they departed, the kyng to Canterbury, and the Duke and the Erle to Warwycke, where the Erle of Warwycke prepared a new host to ryse in Lyncolnshyre, and made there of capitayn syr Robert Welles, sonne to Rychard lord Welles, an experte man in armes and very pollitique in warre.

These newes sodaynly brought to the kyng, did not a littell vexe & tykil hym because he euer feruētly hoped, that his aduersaries wolde rather come to some honest condiciōs of cōcorde, then so temerariouly and so sodaynly renouate the warre. And the more rumor & was sprede (contrary to his expectacion) of this new begonne battayll, the soner he gathered together an host for the resistance of thesame, and out of hand he sent to Rychard lord Welles, willing him vpon the sight of his letters with ail hast to repayie vnto hym, which oftentimes he had excused by syckenes and debilitie of his body. But when that excuse serued not, he thynkyng to purge him selfe sufficiently before the kynges presence, toke with hym syr Thomas Dymocke, which had married his syster, and so together came to Londō. When he was come vp, his frēdes certified hym that the kyng was with hym not a littel displeased, but highly discontented. Wherefore for verie feare, he with his brother in law toke the sentuarie at Westmynster, entendinge there to abyde tyll the princes. He was somewhat aswaged and miigate. King Edward which thought to pacifie all thys besy tumulte, withoute anye farther bloodshed, promisyng both those persons their pardons, caused them vpon hys promise tō come out of Sentuary to hys presence, and callyng to hym the lord Welles, willed hym to write to sir Robert hys sonne to leaue of the waie, and not to take the Erles parte. And in the meane season, he with hys army went forward towarde his enemyes, hauyng with hym the lord Welles, and syr Thomas Dymocke, and beyng not past two dayes iorney from Staford, where hys enemyes had pitched their telde, had perlyt knowlege that syr Robert Welles nothyng moued with hys fathers letters, styl kept his campe, abyding the kyng and his power. The kyng hauyng hygh indignacion at hys presumption and mynded to be reuenged in parte, cōtrary to his faith and promise caused the lord Welles, father to the saide syr Robert and syr Thomas Dymocke to be behedded there, to the terrible example of other, which shal put their confidēce in the promise of a prince. Whē syr Robert Welles hard that the kyng drew nere, and that hys father & syr Thomas Dymocke were behedded, he stode firste in a greate perplexitie, studyeng whither he should gve battail or no, because it was both perilous and doughtfull to fight with so great an armye, before the erle of Warwycke with hys power were assembled, but yet hauyng a yonge and a lusty courage, and with manly boldnes stimulate, and pricked forward, he set on hys enemyes.

The battayle was sore fought on bothe partes, & many a man slayne. And in conclusion, whyle syr Robert was exhortyng and prouokynge hys men to tary, which were in maner disconft, and redy to flye he was enuyroned and beset aboute with his enemyes, and so was taken, and with hym syr Thomas Delaund knyght and many mo. After hys takyng, the Lyncolnshyre men amased, threw away their coates, the lighter to iunne away, and fled, and therefore thys battayll is yet there called Losecote telde. The kyng, glad of this victory, commaunded out of hand syr Robert Welles and diuers other, to be put to executiō in thesame place. The fame was, that at thys battayll were slayne .x. M. men at the least.

Losecote  
felde

The erle of Warwycke lay at this tyme at his Castell of Warwycke, and was counge with a houghe host the nexte day towarde his armye in Lyncolneshyre, but when he hard saye that they had foughte soner then he thought either they could or woulde, and that hys paytye was ouerthrowen.



ouerthrowen and vanquished: Although he might now be discouraged yet he thought it necessary to dissimule the cace, because oftentimes in battayles, vain thinges be regarded before trew, and to thentēt to comfort certayn of his company (beyng in dispayre, and redy to flee) both in woorde and dede, he conscribed and prepared a new host, and with all the studie and industrye, that he coulde practise or vse, he imaged how to compasse Thomas lord Stanley, which had married hys syster, that he might be one of the confederacy and conitracion: whiche thyng when he coulde not bryng to passe for the lord Stanley hadde answered him plainly that he woulde neuer make warie against kyg Edward, he thought to spende nō longer tyme in watse, and mistrustyng that he was not able to mete with hys enemyes, he with the Duke of Clarence his sonne in lawe, departed to Exceter, and there taryenge a few dayes, and peceuyunge that all thynges lacked whiche were apt and necessary for the warre, determined to sayle to kyng Loys the French kyng, to renew the familer acquayntaunce, whiche he had with him when he was there of Ambassade, for the marriage of kyng Edward as you haue hard, hauyng a sure cōfidence and hope, either to haue a great ayde of the French kyng, or els to incense hym earnestly to make battayll agaynst kyng Edward. And resting vpon this opinion, they hyred shippes at Dartmouth in Devonshyre, well armed, and at all poyntes tymmed and decked. And when wynde and wether serued theym, the Duke and the Erle with their wyues and a great number of Seruauntes, plucked vp the sayles, & toke their way fyrst toward Caleys where the erle of Warwycke was chiefe capytayn, and thought there to haue left hys wyfe and daughters, tyll he had returned out of Fraunce.

## THE. IX. YERE.

The ix.  
yere.

When the erle of Warwicke thus fled out of England, the yere of our Lorde was 1470. and the yere of King Edwardes reigne was then ix. This sodain departing of kyng Edwardes aduersaries, did not onely vex and bite hym at the very stomacke, but also did stimulat and quicken hym to loke the more diligently to his affaires, and busines, and especially, because that the absence of the erle of Warwicke, made the common people daily more and more, to long and bee desirous to haue the sight of him, and presently to behold his personage. For they iudged that the Sunne was clerely taken from the worlde, when he was absent. In such high estimaciō emongest the people, was his name that neither no one manne, thei had in so muche honor, neither no one persone, thei so much praised, or to the Cloudes so highly extolled. What shall I saie? His onely name sounded, in euery song, in the mouthe of the common people, and his persone was represented with greate reuerence, when publique plaies, or open triumphes should bee shewed, or set furthe abroad in the stretes: which haitie fauor, was the apparant occasion why his faction and compaignie, within a few dayes, merueilously increased and augmented. For the whiche cause, the kyng was vexed with a double mischief, for he doubted muche, whom he should moste feare of two, either the familer enemies abiding at home, or the extrauagant foes, lyngeryng beyond the sea: But chiefly he provided, Bat very slackly, to withstande the erle of Warwikes landyng. And first he wrote to Charles duke of Burgoyne, whiche had married the lady Margaret his suster, to helpe that therle nor his compaignie, should haue neither aide nor refuge, in any part of his, nor his frides territories or dominions. These tidynges were ioyfull to the duke of Burgoyne, as to hym whiche (accordyng to the okle proverbe) hated the erle of Warwycke, worse then the curie dogge, or serpent. partly, because he was the ouerthrower and confounder, of the house of Lancastie, of the which, the erle was finally descended by the duchess his mother, partly because therle had eache high offices, and was so renoumed in Englande, that kyng Edward the dukes brother in lawe, might not do liberally all thynges in his realme, as he hymself woulde (whiche the duke esteemed to be a greate bondage). And partly, because the erle with stooode with all his power and might, the conclusion of the marriage, betwene the kynges suster and the said duke. But the chief rancor was, because the erle of Warwicke, fauored the Frenche kyng, whom the duke loued not, for at his last beeyng in Fraunce, he promised the Frenche kyng,

to be frende to his frendes, and ytter enemye to his foes and aduersaries. This noted hated, and cankarde malice, whiche the Duke bare to the Erle, caused him to attempte mo displeasures, and to inuent mo mischiefes against therle, then either kyng Edward could imagin, or was of the Duke required as you shall plainly perceiue, by the sequel of this hystorie.

Now let vs speake of the erle of Warwicks doynges, whiche muste nedes play a pagiaunt in this enterlude, or els the play wex at apoynt. The erle as you haue hard before, sailed from Dartmouth toward Caleis, where he was capitain generall, and with a prosperous wind came before the toun, in whiche fortiesse was deputie for the erle, the Lorde Vawclere a Gascoyne, beside diuerse of therle of Warwicks seruantes, whiche bare great offices and auctorities in the toun. This Vawclere, whether he did it by dissimulation, or bearyng his good mynde to kyng Edward, (as by the sequels hereof, I doubt whether he did or no) Instede of receuyng of his master with triumphe, he bent and discharged against hym, diuerse peres of ordinaunce, sendyng him worde, that he should there take no land. This nauie lyng thus before Caleis at ancre, the duches of Clarence, was there deliuered of a faire sonne, whiche child, therles deputie vnneth would suffre to be christened within y<sup>e</sup> toun, nor without great intreaty, would permit two flagons of wine to bee conueighed aborde, to the ladies lyng in the hauen. This was a greates rigor and extremite, for the seruaut to vse against the Master, or the inferior to vse against the superior, wherefore the erle hoped, and nothyng lesse mistrusted, then to be assured and purueyed in that place, whiche is the greatest treasure, that belongeth to Englande, and the fairest captainship of the worlde, at the least in Christendom. But he was faine to kepe the seas without comfort or aide, of any of his seruantes. The kyng of Englande was quickly aduertised, of the refusall that Monsire de Vawclere, made to his capitain therle of Warwicke, whiche manful doyng so muche pleased the kyng, that incontment he made hym chief capitain of the toun of Caleis, by his letters patentes, whiche he sent to him out of hand, and therof discharged clerely therle as a traitor and a rebell. Duke Charles of Burgoyne, lyng at sent Hoimers (which would nedes haue an ower in the erle of Warwicks boate) beyng aduertised also, of Monsire de Vawcleres refusall made of his Master, sent hym his trustie seruaut, Philip de Communes (whiche wrote al these doynges in a Chronicle) and gaue to hym yexely a thousand crounes in pension, (a small reward God wotte, for so high a seruice, as vtruly to kepe his Master from his office) prayng and requyryng hym, to continue in truth and fidelitie, toward kyng Edward, as he had shewed and begonne. The messenger founde hym so towarde and of suche conformite, that he was content to sweare in his presence, truly to take kyng Edwardes part against all men, and onely to his vse to kepe and defend the strong toun of Caleis. But the said Philip de Communes sore mistrusted Monsire de Vawclere, because he sent worde to the erle of Warwicke priuily, lyng at whitsandbay, that if he landed he should be taken and lost. for al England (as he said) toke part against hym, the duke of Burgoyne and all inhabitanes of the toun wer his enemies, the Lorde Duras the kynges Marshall, and all the retinue of the garrison wer his aduersaries. so that for a finall conclusion, his onely sauagegarde and comforte, were to withdrawe hym and his compaignie into Fraunce where he knewe he should bee highly receiued and better welcomed, & as for the toun of Calice, he should take no thought, for the said Monsire de Vawclere, promised thereof to make hym a good reconyng, when tyme and opportunitie should serue. This counsaill was profitable to the erle of Warwicke, but not to the kyng of England, and lesse pleasant to the duke of Burgoyne. which princes might very well think bothe the office of the Captainship of Caleis, and the pëcion of the M. crounes (if it wer paid) on suche a depe dissimuler, to be euill employed.

The erle of Warwicke, as he was bothe before his departure out of Englande determined, and also now by Monsire de Vawclere, newly counsailld and aduised, with his nauie sailed toward Normandy, and in the meane waie, robbed, spoyled, and tooke many riche shippes, of the Duke of Burgoyns countreys (whiche sore netteled the duke and caused hym to pre-

The duchess of Clarence deliuered of a sonne vpon the 13. before the toun of Caleis.



pare a st ong and a greate armie on the sea, to take therle prisoner, as he returned homeward) & at the last with all his nauie and spoyle, he tooke laude at Depe in Normandy, where the gouernor of the cuntry for the Frenche kyng, fiendely welcomed hym, and louyngly hym entertained, certifying king Lewes of his landing and arriual

Kyng Lewes a great ceason before, had so muche merueiled at the publique fame and common renoume, of the noble actes and high prowes, of the Erle of Warwike, that he thought nothyng might more pleasauntly happe, or chaunce towarde hym, then to haue a cause or occasion to him ministered, whereby he might do the Erle some profite or pleasure. Which long last accordyng to his desire, was now likely to take effecte, to his contentacion, and the erles greate commodity wherefore heyng ioyous of his landyng in France, he sent vnto hym certain Princes which declared to hym on the kynges behalt, that as the kyng had long tyme sought waies and meanes, how to do him pleasure, aid and comfort. So seyng that now the tyme was come, that the Erle had necessite of all those thynges, he assured him that he would neither forget him, nor yet desist to do for him any thing, which might be consonaunt to his louing request, or fiendly desire requynyng him with the duke his sonne in law, to take pain to come to his castle of Amboys, set on the Ruer of Leyre affirming & ther should neither lose their labor, nor thynk their iorney to haue euil successe in the conclusion

When Duke Charles knew that therle was landed in Normandie, he sent in all hast a Poste to King Lewes, with whom he was then ioyned in a league, requynyng hym neither to help with men nor money, the erle of Warwicke, nor the Duke of Clarence, open enemies to kyng Edward, his felowe, frende, and brother in lawe, and his perpetuall alye and trustie confederate adding thereto sharp woordes, and imminatorie saynges, if he would in any case, be to them a refuge or succor.

The Frenche king did not onely contempne his proude wordes, and laughed at his manacynge, and bolde braggyng, but soberly answered, that without enfringyng of any league or treaty, he lawfully might & would helpe his frendes, and in especiall suche, whiche by their desertes, bee aboue other renouned and extolled Of whiche nombre, he affirmed therle of Warwicke to be one, whiche thyng if he did, he saied it should be neither cost, charge, nor burthen to the Duke of one blancke, nor put hym to the pain of a moment of an houre. When the duke had certefied the kyng of Englande of this answer, he was sodainly in a dompe, and began seriously to immagyne, who were his frendes, and who were his foes, and apprehended some, whom he thought gyltie, began with them to question, who were frendes to his enemies and of their comuracion (whiche was the occasion that many fearing themselves, fled vnto Sanctuary) and many trustyng the kynges pardon, submitted and yelded themself to the Kynges clemencie. Emongest whom, Ihon Marques Montacute, humbly yelded hymself, and vowed to bee euer true to the kyng (as he had doen before tyme) whom he with muche humanitie and faire woordes, did receiue and intertain, to the intent to flecte and allure the hartes of other men, to ioyne and knit with him, against all hostilitie and vtter enemies

While these thynges were thus treated in Englande, therle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, rode with greate pompe toward Amboyse, where the Frenche kyng laie, and by the way the people gathered and in greate nombre flocked, to se and beholde with their eyes, the persone and visage of hym, of whose valiant actes and wonderfull dooynges, their eares haue many tymes been fulfilled and replenished. Whē he came to the kynges presence, he was with all kyndes of curtesie and humanitie receiued and welcomed: To whom by long tracte of tyme, he declared the causes & consideracions, of his comyng into Fraunce. Kyng Lewes aswell hauyng nowe delectacion, with the presence of his frende as he was accustomed to reioyse and be ioyous, when he harde either laude or praise of him in his absence promised hym his power, his riches, and all thynges that he might or could doo, to helpe hym in his trouble, and to refreshe hym in his aduersitie.

When

When Quene Margarete, whiche sojourned with Duke Reyna her father, called kyng of Sicile, &c. Harde tell that the erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, had abandoned Englande, and wer come to the Frenche Courte hopying of newe comfort, with all diligence came to Amboyse, with her onely son Prince Edward. And with her came Iasper erle of Penbroke, and Ihon erle of Oxenford, whiche after diuise long imprisonementes lately escaped, fled out of Englande into Fraunce and came by fortune to this assemble. After that thei had long comoned, and debated diuerse matters, concernyng their suetie and wealthe, they determined by meane of the Frenche kyng, to conclude a league and a treatie betwene them: And first to begin with all, for the more sure foundation of the newe amitie, Edward Prince of Wales, wedded Anne second daughter to therle of Warwicke, which Lady came with her mother into Fraunce. This marriage semed very straunge to wise men, considering that the erle of Warwicke, had first disherited the father, and then to cause his sonne, to mary with one of his daughters, whose suster the duke of Clarence before had married, whiche was euer extreme enemye to the house of Lancaster: wherevpon they diuined that the marriage of the Prince, should euer be a blot in the dukes eye, or the marriage of the Duke, a mote in the eye of the Prince, eche of them lokyng to be exalted, when therle on hym smiled and eche of them again thinkyng to be ouer throwen when the erle of hym lowred. After this marriage the duke and therles toke a solempne othe, that they should neuer leaue the waire, vntill suche tyme as kyng Henry the sixt, or the prince his sonne, were restored to the full possession and Diademe of the Realme: and that the Quene and the Prince, should depute and appoynt the Duke and the erle, to be gouernors and conservators, of the publike wealthe, till suche tyme as the Prince wer come to mannes estate, and of habilitie meete and conuenient, to take vpon hym so high a charge, and so greate a burden. There were many other condicions concluded, which bothe reason, & the weightines of so great a busines, requied to be setforward.

While these Lordes wer thus in the Frenche Courte, there landed at Caleis a damosell, belonging to the Duches of Clarence (as she saied) whiche made Monsieur de Vawclere beleue, that she was sent from kyng Edward to the erle of Warwicke, with a plain ouerture and declaraciō of peace. Of the which tidynges, Vawclere was very glad for the erles sake, whom he thought (by this peace) to bee restored to all his old possessions, ioues and dignities. But he was sore by this damosel deceived for her message (as it after proued) was the beginning of the erles confusion. For she perswaded the Duke of Clarence, that it was neither natuall, nor honorable to hym, either to condescende or take parte, against the house of Yorke (of whiche he was lineally descended) and to set vp again the house of Lancaster, whiche lignage of the house of Yorke, was not only by the whole Parliament of the realme, declared to be the very and indubitate henes of the Kyngdome. but also kyng Henry the sixte and his blood affirmed thesame, and therupon made a composicion, whiche of record appereth. Farthermore she declared, that the maniage with therles daughter with Prince Edward, was for none other cause but to make the Prince kyng, and clerely to extinguish all the house of Yorke, of whom the duke hymself was one, and next hene to the crowne, after his eldest brother and his children. These reasons, and the maniage of the Prince to the Erles daughter, so sancke in the Dukes stomacke, that he promised at his returne, not to be so an extreme enemye to his brother, as he was taken for, whiche promise afterwarde he did not forget. With this answer the damosell departed into Englande, therle of Warwicke therof beyng clerely ignorant.

When the league was concluded (as you before haue harde) the Frenche kyng lent them shippes, money, and men, and that thei mighte the surer saile into Englande, he appoynted the Bastard of Burgoyne, Admirall of Fraunce with a greate nauie, to defende them against the armie of the Duke of Burgoyne, whiche was stronger then bothe the Frenche kynges nauie, or the Englishe flete. Kyng Reyna also did help his daughter, to his sinall power, with menne, and munitions of waire. When this armie (whiche was not small) was conscribed and come together to Harflete, at the mouthe of the riuer of Seyne, expectyng wind



and wether. The Erle of Warwicke receiued letters out of Englande, that men so muche daily and hourelly, desired and wished so sore his arriual and returne, that almoste all men were in harnesse, loking for his landyng wherefore he was required to make hast, yea, hast more then hast, although he brought no succor with hym. For he was farther assured, that assone as he had once taken lande, there should mete hym many thousandes (as after it proued in deede) to do hym what seruice or pleasure, thei could or might: all this was the offer of the cōmon people. Beside this diuerse noble men wrote, to helpe hym with mē, harnesse, money, and all thynges necessary for the warre beside their awne persones, whom thei promised to aduenture in his querell. When therle had receiued these letters, he not a litle regardyng suche an offer, and so many greate benefites to hym, euen at hande apparauntly proffered, fully determined with the duke, and the erles of Oxenford and Penbroke (because Quene Margaret and her sonne, were not fully yet furnished for suche a iorney) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of tharme, and to attempt the firste brunte of fortune and chaunce, whiche if it well succeded, then should Quene Margarete and her soonde, with the residue of the nauie and people followe into Englande. The erle of Warwicke thinking this weighty matter, not worthy to be lingered, but to be accelerate with al diligence possible, takyng his leue of the Frēche kyng Lewes, geuyng him no small thanks, bothe on the behalfe of kyng Henry, and also for his awne parte, and so beyng dismissed, came where his nauie laie at Anker, commaundyng his men to go on ship boird, myndyng to take his course toward Englande.

The Duke of Burgoyne whiche was not content, that therle of Warwicke and his compaignie, was succored and aided of the French kyng against his brother in lawe kyng Edward of England, to withstande that armie, and to take therle of Warwicke prisoner, if it were possible. He prepared suche a greate nauie, as lightly hath not been sene before, gathered in maner of all nacions, whiche armie laie at the mouthe of Seyne, ready to fight with therle of Warwicke, when he should set out of his harborowe.

Se the worke of God, thesame night before the erle departed, ther rose such a sodain wynde and a terrible tempest, that the dukes shippes wer scattered one from another, some drowned, some wether driuen into Scotland, so that two of them wer not in compaignie together, in one place. In the morning next folowyng, the wether waxed faire, and the wynde prosperious, wherupō in hope of a bone voiage, the Erle and his company halsted vp their sayles, and with good spede laded at Dartmouth in Deuonshyre, from which place he passed into Fraunce, almost the. vj. monethe, last passed.

Before this tyme the duke of Burgoyne Charles, which more hated the Erle of Warwycke, and eniued his prosperitie, then he loued kyng Edward, sauynge for his ayde y he trusted of in tyme of necessitie, wrote to kyng Edward, bothe of the doynges of the erle of Warwycke in Fraunce, and of his armye and power, and also certefied hym by hys trusty seruantes of the place, where the Erle purposed with all his people to take lande, kyng Edward passed litle on the matter, trustyng to much to the inouable commons of his Realme, and without anye army layd, either to kepe the Erle from landyng, either to encoūre wyth hym at the first arryual, to the entent that his frēdes should not draw in hepes to hym for his strength, left all purueiance for defēce alone, & rode on huntyng, Hawkyng, and vsing all maner of pastimes, with Ladyes and Damosels, for his disport and solace that could be imagined or inuented. When the erle of Warwycke had taken lade, he made a Proclamation in the name of kyng Henry the. vi. vpon high paynes, commaunding and charging all men apt, or able to bere armour, to prepare them selfs to fight against Edward duke of Yorke, which contrarie to al right, Iustice and law, had vntrewly vsurped the Croune and Imperial dignite of this realme. It is almost incredible to thinke how sone the fame of the erles landyng was blowen ouer, and thorow all the whole Realme, and how many thousand men of warre, at the very first tidings of his landing, were sodainly assembled and set forward to welcome him. When he was thus, according to hys desire, fully furnished on euery syde with his kynred & frendes,

he toke his way toward London, where he iudged and faythfully beleued, to fynde more open frendes then priue enemies, or cancard hartes.

When kyng Edward knew of the Erles landyng, and of the great repayre of people, that to him incessantly without intermission dyd resort, he then began to thynke on his busines, and studied how to fynd a remedy for a mischief, (but this was to late) And first he wrote to the Duke of Burgoyne, requyryng hym to haue a vigilant eye to the sea, and so to se the stremes kept and scoured with his nauie, that the Erle neither should nor might retaine agayn into Fraunce, if he shoulde be agayne propulsed out of the Realme And as for the doyniges in Englande he bad let hym alone, for he was both of puissance and abilitie, sufficient to ouercome and defende all his enemies and rebelles, within his awne Realme and countrey This sayng littel or nothing pleased the duke of Butgoynes messengers, for they thought that it had bene much more profitable to kyng Edward, to haue circumspectly forsene afore, and prouided to stoppe his landyng, then now sodainly to abide the fortune of battayle, which is euer dubious and vncertayne. Kyng Edward accompanied with the duke of Glocester his brother, the lord Hastynges his Chamberleyn, which had married the Erles sistei, & yet was euer trew to the kyng his Master, and the lord Scales brother to the Quene, sent out curriers to al his trustye frendes, for the fornyture of able persons, mete for the warre and conueniente for the defence of his awne royall person, entending if he might by any pollicie or subtil engyn to circūuent or trappe the eile of Warwycke, knowing perfittly that if he had once mastred the chief belwether, the flocke wolde sone be disperled.

Of them that were sent for, fewe in effect came, and yet more came then were wyllyng, and more came wyllyngly then were betrusted, some came for feare, and some muche doughted to come, but the greatest heddes wynded and sayd they could not, but they ment they would not come. Kyng Edward beyng in this perplexitie, and in diffidence of reysyng any army, with such trusty frendes as he had departed, into Lyncolnshyre, consulting what was best to be done, but sodainly or he was fully determined on any certayn purpose, newes were brought to hym, that all the Townes and all the countrey adiacent was in a great rore, and made fiers and sang songes, cying kyng Henry, kyng Henry, a Warwycke a Warwycke. King Edward was much abashed with these new tidynges, and moie and moie, his especials and explorators declared and accōpted to hym, that all the Realme was vp, and by open Proclamacion cōmaunded to make warre agaynst him, as enemy to kyng Henry and the Realme, wherfore his nere frendes adused and admonished him to flye ouer the sea to the duke of Burgoyne, hys brother in lawe, there to tary tyll God and fortune should sende him better luck and chaunce, he beyng somewhat ruled by this consayll, but much more quickened by hauyng knowledge, that some of the erles of Warwyckes power was within a halfe dayes iorney, and lesse of his tayle, with all hast possible passed the wasshes (in greater ieopardye then it besemed a Prince to be in) & came to the towne of Lynne, where he founde an English shyp & ii Hulkes of Hollād redy (as fortune wolde) to make sayle and take their iorney, wherupon he beyng in a maruelous agonye and doughtyng the mutabilite of the Townes men, takyng no farther leysure for his sure succor & sauegard, with his brother the duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, & diuers other his trusty frendes entered into the ship, without bagge or baggage, without clothe sacke, or male, and perchance with a great puise, & littel treasure, for he nor his had no leyser to prouyde, accoiding to their degrees & estates. The lord Chamberlayne taryed a while after exhortyng all his acquayntance, that of necessitie should tarye behynde, to shew them self openly as fiēdes, to the parte aduerse for their awne sauegard, but hartely requyryng them priuelie to cōtnew in their hartes trew to kyng Edward, & fiendly to him & his. this perswasion declared he entered, the ship with the other, which were iedy to depart This was in the yere of our lordes blessed incarnation. M. v. C. lxx. & in the ix. yere of kyng Edward. When he with one smal ship of hys awn, & ii. Hulkes, & vii. or viii. C. persones, with him hauyng no rayment, but apparel for warre, & smal store of money, sailed toward Holland.



Holland. At which tyme the Easterlynges were mortal enemyes, aswell to the Englishmen, as to the Frenche naciou, & had done y last yeres past much preiudice & damage to the Englishe marchantes, both in takyng and spoylyng of shyppes

And as the kyng with sayle and ower was makynge his course as fast as could be possible, the Easterlynges, whiche had many shippes of warre on the sea, hym espied (according to the olde proverbe) one yll cometh neuer alone, and with vii. or viii. gallant shyppes, began to chace the kyng & his cōpany. The kynges shyp was good with sayle, & so much gat of the Easterlynges, that she came on the coast of Holland, and so descended lower, before a towne in Holland, called Alqueinare, and there cast Ancker as nere the towne as was possible, because they could not enter the Hauen at an cbbying water. The Easterlynges also approched the Englishe shippe as nere as their great shyppes coulde come at the lowe water, entending at the fludde to haue obteyned their pray, and so they were likelv to do, if Monsieu de Gronture, gouernour for duke Charles in Holland had not at that season bene personally present in those parties

O what a miserable chaunce & straunge lucke was this to happen so sodaynly to a kyng, and in especial to such a kyng, as by his owne valyantesse & prowes had ouercome his foes, & destroyed his enemyes in more then v or vi great & mortal battayles. First to be persecuted, exiled, & expulsed hys awne Realme & kyngdom, by hys awne seruantes, subiectes and kynsmen. Secundarely, beyng destitute of all helpe and consolacion, flyng to his onely frende & brother in law duke Charles, for refuge and comfort, to be chased on the sea by hys mortall enemyes and deadly foes, & lyke to be taken prisoner, and brought into captiuitie, which thyng, if it had happened (as God woulde that it should not) he had lyen long vnransoned (kyng Henry beyng restored to hys pristinate estate and dignitie royall) or els he had dyed prisoner in greate wretchednes & misery. These soure sauces he tasted as a penaunce for his wanton luyng, & negligent ouerseying of thinges that he myghte well haue forsene & preuented, but his mynd was so geuen to pastyme, dalyaunce, & sensuall pleasure, that he forgat the olde adage, saynge, in tyme of peace prouyde for waire, & in y tyme of waire prouyde for peace which thing if he either had well remēbried, or politiquely prouided for he had not bene chased & expulsed his Realme within. xi. dayes as he was in dede. The onely excuse of his foly is to say, that he so much trusted fortunes flatteryng, that he thought neuer to see her chaunge, nor yet to haue at dyce any yll chaunce, or at chestes any checke mate

Kyng Edward thus lyeng at Ancker in great feare of the Easterlynges, was by good chaunce cōforted, & of his great perplexite releued, or he wist how, for thesame tyme lays in the towne of Alquemare the lord Gronture, chief gouernour of Hollande, for duke Charles of Boigoyne, which beyng incontinent aduertised of the kynges arryual, & also of the great icopardy that he was in, prohibited firste the Easterlynges in no wyse on payne of death, to intermit or medle with any Englishmē which were both the dukes frendes & allies which comaunderment so vexed and troubled the Easterlynges, makynge sure reconynge to haue had for their pray & pryse, a Kyng, a Duke, diuers Barōns & ryche gētelmen, that they cryed out of God, rayled & cursed the duke & hys officer, and in a rage, halsed vp theyr sailes, & without any more expectaciō of good lucke, departed home to their countray. The lorde Gronture came a borde y shyppe, where kyng Edward was, & hym honorably saluted & requyred him to come to lād, offering hī his seruice with al pleasures that he coulde do or imagine to be done. The kyng hym hartely thanked, & was wel reuiued & cōforted with his wordes, & so he with al hys company were set on land, & wel refreshed. The lord Gronture, lyke a noble man, cōsidering in what poore, estate & necessitie the king & his people were in, ministred to them habundantly all thinges conuenient & necessary, according to euery mans estate and degrec, at the dukes charge & cost. And after they had bene wel refreshed & newly appareyled, he conduyted them to the Hage, a ryche towne in Holland, where they arryued on the chaiche holy daye, not longe after Mychelmas. The lord Gronture, of all this aduenture wrote to the duke hys master,

master, which there at, was at the fyrst so abashed & amased to se þe erle of Warwyke, whome he hated more then a Cocodrylle, to haue the vpperhande of hys brother, that he had rather haue harde of kyng Edwardes death, then of hys discomfiture, & especially by the erle of Warwycke, whom he more feared & disdayned, then any one man huyng, yet he willed the lord Grounture to se hym & hys company, well enterteyned at the Ilage, tyll he sent for them.

Now let all Englishmen consider (as before is rehersed) what profyt, what commoditie, & what helpe in distresse, the maniage of the lady Margarete, kyng Edwardes syster to the duke Charles, did to hym in hys extreme necessitie & but by that meane vncurable extremitie, for his alyes & cōfēates in Castell & Arragon, were to faire from hym, either speedely to flye to, or shortly to come to with any ayde or armye. The French kyng was hys extreme enemye, and frende to kyng Henry, for whose cause in the kyng of Scottes (for all the leage betwene them) he did put littell confidence & lesse truste. The stedes & all Eastland were with him at open warre, & yet by thys maniage, God prouided hym a place to flye to, both for refuge & for releue.

When the fame was spred of kyng Edwardes flyenge, innumerable people resorted to the erle of Warwycke to take his parte, but all kyng Edwardes trusty frendes went to diuers sentuaries, dayly loking, & howerly harkenyn, to hear of his health, & prosperous retorne who afterward serued hym manfully & truly. Emongest other, Quene Elizabeth his wyfe, all mooste desprate of all comfort, toke sentuaries at Westmynster, & their in great penurie forsakē of all her freudes, was deliuered of a fayre sonne called Edward, which was with small pōpe like a pore mans child. Christened & Baptused, the Godfathers being the Abbot & Pryor of Westmynster, & the godmother the lady Sciope.

Kyng Edward the v borne in sanctuary.

The Kentyshmen thys season, whose wyttes be euer mouable at the chaunge of Prynces came to the subberbes of London, & spoyled houses, robbed herehouses, & by the counsayll of syr Geffray Gates, & other sentuary men, they brake vp the kynges Benche, & deliuered prisoners, which fell at Radclefe, Lymehouse, & sanct Katherynes to burnynge of houses, slaughter of people, & rauishyn of women which small sparcke had growen to a greater flame, if the erle of Warwycke with a greate power had not sodaynly quenched it, & punished the offenders. whiche benefite by him done, caused hym much more to be praysed & accepted emonges the commons then he was before. When he had setteled & put an order in all thinges, according as he thought most conuenient, Vpō the xii. daye of October he rode to the towre of London, whiche was to him without resistence deliuered, there toke kyng Henry the vi. out of the waide, where he before was kept, & was brought to the kings lodging & there serued, according to his degre. And the xxv. daye of the sayd moneth, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the erles of Warwycke, Shrewsbury, & the lord Stanley, & other lordes & Gentelmen, some for teare, & some for loue, and some onely to gase at the waueryng world, resorted with a greate company to the towie of London, & from thence with great pompe broughte kyng Henry the vi. appareled in a longe gowne of blew veluet, through the high stretes of London, to the cathedral church of sanct Paule, the people on the right hand and on the left hand, reioysing & cryeng God saue the Kyng, as though all thyng had succeeded as they would haue it, and when he had offered as kynges vse to do, he was conueyed to the palleys of the bishop of London, and there kept hys housholde lyke a kyng.

Kyng Henry the vi. thus readepted (by the meanes, onely of þe erle of Warwycke) his crowne & dignitie Royall, in the yere of oure Lorde 1471. newly, after so many ouerthrowes beginnyng to reygne, lykely within short space to fall agayn, & to taste more of his accustomed captiuitie & vsuall misery. This yll chaūce & misfortune, by many mēs opiniōs happened to him, because he was a man of no great wit, such as men comonly call an Innocent man, neither a foole, neither very wyse, whose study always was more to excell, other in Godly huyng & vertuous example, then in worldly regiment, or temporall dominion, in so much, that in cōparison to the study & delectacion that he had to vertue

Kyng Henry the vi. agayne restored to his kyngly estate



and godlines, he litel regarded, but in maner despised al worldly power & temporal authoritie, which syl dome folow or seke after such persons, as frō them flye or disdayne to take them. But his enemies ascribed all this to hys coward stommack, affirming that he was a man apt to no purpose, nor mete for any enterprise, were it neuer so small: But who so euer dispiseth or dispaiseth, that which the cōmon people allow and marueyll at, is often taken of them for a mad & indiscrete person, but notwithstanding the vulgare opiniō, he that foloweth, loueth and embraseth the contrary, doth proue bothe sad and wyse (verifieng Salomons prouerbe) the wisdom of this world, is folishenes before God. Other there be that ascribe his infortunite, onely to the stroke & punishment of God, affirming that the kyngdome, whiche Henry the iii. hys grandfather wrongfully gat, and vniustly possessed agaynst kyng Rychard the ii. & his heyres could not by very diuine iustice, longe contynew in that iniurious stocke. And that therfore God by his diuine prouidence, punished the offence of the grandfather, in the sonnys sonne.

When kyng Henry had thus obtained agayn, the possession & dominion of the Realme, he called his high court of Parliamt to begin *ſ* xxvi. day of Nouember at Westminster, in the which kyng Edward was declared a traytor to his cōtrei, & vsurpor of *ſ* Realme, because he had vniustly taken on him, the Croune & Scepter, & all his goodes were cōfiscate & adiudged, forfayted & lyke sentence was geuen agaynst all his partakers & frēdes. And beside this, it was there enacted that extreme punishment should be done without delay ouer suche persons, as for his cause were taken or apprehended, & were either in captiuite, or went at large vpon trust of their suerties, eniongest whom lord Ihon Typtoft, erle of Worcester lieutenent, for kyng Edward in Ireland exercising there more extreme crueltie (as the fame wēt) then princely pity, or charitable cōpassion & in especial on. ii. enfantes, being sonnes to the erle of Desmōd, was either for treason to him layed or malice agaynst hym conceyued, atteynted & behedded. Beside this, all estatutes made by kyng Edward, were clerely reuoked, abrogated, and made frustrate. The Crounes of the realmes of England & Fraūce, was by *ſ* authorite of thesaue Parliamt entayled to kyng Henry the. vi. and the heyres males of hys body lawfully begotten, & for default of suche heyre male of his body begotten, then *ſ* sayd Crounes & dignities were entayled to George duke of Clarence, & to theyres males of hys bodye lawfully engendred, and farther the sayd Duke was by authoritie aforesayd enabled to be next heyre to hys father, Rychard duke of Yorke, & to take by discent from him all hys landes, dignities & preheminences as though he had ben his eldest sonne & heyre, at the tyme of his death. Iasper erle of Penbroke, and Ihon erle of Oxenford, and diuers other by kyng Edward attaynted, were restored to theyr olde names, possessions, and auncient dignities (kepe them euen as longe as they myght). Beside this, the erle of Warwycke as one to whome the commō welthe was much beholden, was made Ruler, & Gouvernor of the Realme, with whom as felow and compaignon was associated, George duke of Clarence his sonne in law. So that by these ineanes the whole estate, both of the realme, and the publike wealth of the same, wer newly altered and chaunged, yea, and in maner clerely transfigured and transmuted. To this Parliamt came the lorde Marques Montacute, excusing himself that onely for feare of death, he declined to kyng Edwardes parte, whiche excuse was so accepted that he obtained his pardon, which, after was the destrucciou, of him and his brother: For if he had manfully and appartyly taken kyng Edwardes parte, surely he beyng an open enemy, had much lesse hurted, then beyng a fained, false and a coloured frende. for suche thynges as wee se before our eyes, we bee well ware of, and seldome thynges before known, do vs any hurt or preiudice.

Queene Margaret after that the erle of Warwicke was sailed into England, euer forcastyng and doubtyng, the chaunce that might happen, did neuer cease to prae to God, to sende victory to her frendes and confederates whiche, when she knewe by her husbandes letters to bee obtayned, she with Prince Edward her sonne, and her trayne, entered their shippes, to take their voyage into Englande. but the Wynter was so sore, the wether so

stormie, and the wynde so contrariant, that she was faine to take land again, and defer her iorney till another season. Her enemies saied, that it was Goddes iuste prouision, that she whiche had been the occasion of so many battailes, and of so muche manslaughter in Englande, should neuer returne thether again, to doo more mischef. Her frendes on the otherside, said, that she was kept awaie, and her iorney empeched by Sorcerers and Necromancers thus as mennes imaginacions ranne, then toungues clacked.

In this season Iasper erle of Penbroke, went into Wales, to visite his Countie of Penbroke, where he found lord Henry, sonne to his brother Edmond Eile of Richmond, hauyng not fully ten yeres of his age complete, whiche was kept in maner like a captiue. but well and honorably educated, and in all kynde of Ciuilitie brought vp, by the Lady Harbert, late wyfe to Willyam Eile of Penbroke, beheded at Banbery, as you before haue hard. This lorde Henry was he, that after king Richarde, brother to kyng Edward, was vanquished and ouerthrowen, obtained the Croune and regalltie of this Realme, whom wee ought to beleue, to be sent from God, and of hym onely to be prouided a kyng, for to extinguish bothe the faccions and partes, of kyng Henry the. vi. and of kyng Edward the. iii. (whiche had almoste brought the nobilitie of this realme, to a finall destruccion and an viter decaye) considerynge, that he once exalted to that dignitie, nothing more mynded, nor to any one thyng more his studie applied. This Henry was borne of Margaret, the onely daughter and heire, to Ihon the first Duke of Somerset, then not beyng fully of. xiii. yeres of age. The whiche Lady Margaret, although she were after comoynd in mariage, with Lorde Henry sonne to Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, and after to Thomas Staley erle of Darby, bothe beyng lustie, and of age mete for generaciō. yet afterward she brought furthe no more fruite, as though she had done her part sufficiently, for to haue borne one man child, and thesame to be a kyng. Iasper erle of Penbroke toke this child beyng his nephew out of the custodie of the Lady Harbert, and at his returne, he brought the childe to London, to kyng Henry the sixte, whom, when the kyng had a good space by himself, secretly beholden and marked, both his wit and his likely towardnes, he said to suche princes, as were then with hym. Lo, surely this is he, to whom both wee and our aduersaries leuyng the possession of all thynges, shall hereafter geue rome and place. So this holy man shewed before, the chaunce that should happen, that this erle Henry so ordered by God, should in tyme to come (as he did in deede) haue and enioye the kyngdome, and the whole rule of the realme.

This was  
Kyng Hen-  
ry the se-  
uenth.

As I haue shewed to you before, what thynges wer done in Englāde after that kyng Henry had obtained the newe possession, of his old kyngdome, thynkyng surely to haue possessed, and enioyed thesame lenger season then either he did, or could by his aduersaries, bee permitted or suffered to do so must I of congruent necessitie declare vnto you, what greates perplexitie, what sodain trouble, what multiplictie of imaginacions, the landyng of kyng Edward in Friseland, brought to and encombered with all, Charles Duke of Burgoyne and how fraudulently for his awne auantage he dissimuled, first with king Edward, and after with his partie aduerse, and how that he openly denied aid to king Edward, when he piuely ministered, ample and large succors to hym and his. I thynke you would not, that these thynges should be forgotten wherefore you must call to remembraunce, how that Duke Charles had before this (as you haue hard) greates intelligence with Monsire de Vawclere, as he list hymself to be called, either chief Capitain of Caleis or els deputie Capitain, to the erle of Warwicke, whiche had promised to hym by the Duke, a pencion yerely of a thousand Crounes, to the intent to stande still true to king Edward, and to relinquish kyng Henry, but in especial to abandon therle of Warwicke. The duke although that he had smal confidence, but rather greates diffidence in the othe and promise of Mōsire de Vawclere: thought it necessary to knowe, in what case Caleis stode, and what mutaciōs wer there, because it was his next neighbor, (for that tyme Bulleyn, and Bullenoyes, and all Aitoys, were in the bandes of Duke Charles) as a pledge deliuered to his father, as is before rehearsed. Wherefore in al hast (before he sent for king Edward or spake with hym) he sent his trustie

counsaile.



counsailer Philip de Commines, accompanied with two gentlemen to Caleis, which two gentlemen fauored more the partie of Lancastre then of Yorke. The lorde of Argeton met with the people of the countrey of Bullenois, flyng from euery parte like wyldere. For the erle of Warwicke, had now lately sent to Caleis, foure hundred archers on horsebacke, whiche forsed and spoyled all the countrey of Bullenoys. The dukes messengers, whiche had not sene so sodain mutacion of worldly thynges, durst not kepe on their iorney, but thesame night taried at Turneham, and sent to Monsire de Vawclere for a sauconduite, and also wrote to the Duke, of the feare that they were in. The Duke sent woorde to Philip de Commines, that he and his with all speede, should passe toward Caleis, and if they there wer taken, he would shortly for a raunsom, bye or redeme them again. For he passed litle, either of the pain of his seruaut, or of his charge and expence, so that his purpose might be serued. When this woorde was brought to the messengers at Turneham, at thesame time they receiued a letter, from Monsire de Vawclere, with louyng wordes and gracious termes, declaring that they might safely come, and frely departe, as before they wer liberally accustomed: so that sir Phillip and his compaignions came to Caleis, without any meting or solempne entertainment contray to tholde fashion that he had sene. Whē thei entered the toune they might perceiue euery man, did weare thierle of Warwikes badge, & on euery dore wer set white Crosses and ragged staues, with iumes and poyses, which purported the French kyng, and the erle of Warwicke wer al one. These thynges semed very straunge, and nothing pleasaunt to the Burgonions. The lorde Vawclere sent for them to diner the next day, beyng wel accompaigned, & did weare on his cappe, a white ragged staffe of gold enameled, and so did many other, and he that could haue it neither of gold nor of siluer, had it of silke or cloth. This badge was taken vp within one quarter of an houre, after the newes come out of England: suche is the mutacion of the comon people, like a rede with euery wind is agitable & flexible. While these Burgonions laie thus in Caleis they had knowledge that thierle of Warwicke had prepared. iii. M. valiaunt men, to maké frontier warie on the Dukes countreis, whereof by poste they certified the Duke, whiche so fumed, and smoked at the matter, that he wist neither well what to do, nor of whom to aske confortable or wholesome counsaill. For waire he was compelled to haue with the French kyng, which had taken from him certain townes. and if he succoured king Edward, he was sure that with the Erle of Warwicke, he should haue no peace. and if he lette kyng Edward his confederate and alie, in the tyme of his tribulacion, disconsolate, and destitute of aid and succour, all the worlde of hym might speake shame, vnfaithfulnesse and dishonor. When the duke had well aduised this matter, he wrote to his messengers, that thei should require to haue the league made, betwene the two realmes, kept and obserued, with diuerse other priue instructions. Phillip de Commines, beyng wise and well learned, declared to the counsaill of Caleis, that the Duke his Master not a litle marueiled why the Englishemen should ouerrule and destroye his Countreis, hauyng a league so sure, so strong, and with so many wordes of efficacie enforced, lately made betwene the two countreis, their territories. and dominions, affermyng that the mutacion of the Prince, is no dissolucio of the league. For although the Princes be named, as chief contractors in euery treatie and amitie concluded, yet the Countreis are bounden, and the subiectes shall make recompence, if any thyng bee altered wrongfully out of his course. And the rather toobtem their desire, thei caused all the merchautes goodes of Englande, beyng in the Dukes Countreis, to be attached for the rediesse of thespoylle, that the English men had done in the Dukes Countrey. Whiche sore greued the Merchautes, and muche hindered their voyages. beside this, the Merchātes of the Staple of Caleis, wrote to the king, and to the erle of Warwicke. how, if their Wolle and fell at Caleis, were not sold and vttered, as it was wont to be (the greatest part wherof, was bought by the Dukes subiectes and vassals for redy money) the souldiers of the garrison, should lacke their wages, the king should not be paid his custome, and the Merchaunt in conclusion should stande in aduenture, bothe of losse of stocke and credence. These perswasions mollified thierle of Warwikes

Warwicks mynde, and especially, because the kyng had no greate store of money, to furnishe Calais with al, which store if he had had, surely the duke of Burgoyne for all the league, had been a litle disturbed, and greuously molested. But considering that all things were not correspondent at this time to theiles appetite: he was content that it should be thus condescended and agreed, that the alyauce made betwene the Realme of Englande and the Dukes dominions, should still remain inuiolated, sauynge in the stede of Edward, should bee put for the kyng, this name Henry. This conclusion thus brought to an ende, came (euen as a man would wishe) to passe, for the Duke of Burgoyns purpose, for at this same tyme, the Frenche kyng had wonne from hym, the faire toune of Amias, and saïnt Quintines, so that if the Duke should haue had war both with Fraunce and England, he had been likely to haue been shortly a poore Duke, and els vtterly vndoed and brought to destruction. And to pacify and please the Eile of Warwicke, whom he neuer loued and lesse fauoured. he wrote loungly to hym declaryng that as he was lineally descended, and naturally procreated, of the noble stocke and familie of Lancaster, by his grand mother, beyng daughter to the high and mightie Prince Ihon of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster so was he by nature obliged, and by alyance enforced to support, honor, maintein, and defend thesaid noble house and lignage, during his life, as euer he hath done, bothe in worde and deede against all maner of persones and estates: furthermore promysynge to beare his good harte, lounge mind, and frendly fauor, to kyng Henry the sixte and his sequele, before all other Princes and Potentates, with many other flatteryng termes, and glosyng wordes: which faire promises, I thinke neither the Duke hymself inwardly mynded, nor yet the erle outwardly beleued.

Now to returne to kyng Edward, beyng in the duke of Burgoyns land, whiche, although he were out of his cuntry, yet did he neuer dispaire, but had a ferme hope, to haue a matuie and ready occasion to him geuen, how to obtain his kyngdome and dominion, and that in shorte space. For partly, he hoped of a greate helpe, of his brother in lawe the Duke of Burgoyne, and partly, he was daily solicited by the letters and messages of men of his faction in Englande, to returne with all spede, promising him compaignie and comforte. Many other there wer, whiche either for feare of the rigor of the law, which they had offended, or els disdainyng that the worlde was so altered. or els being brought in to kyng Edwardes fauor, had hope to exercise their pollyng romes, as they did before his flyng out of England, daily came to him from England, and prouoked hym more and more, to take his iorney homward Kyng Edward in maner rauished with their golden promises, came to the Duke of Burgoyne, to the toune of Sent Poll, and there declared to hym what great intelligence he had in the realme of Englād, and what assured fiedes he had in thesame, requirynge hym to aide hym with spede as his onely truste, and sole hope of reliefe was in him, beyng not onely his brother in law, but eche beyng compaignion of others order: for the kyng ware the golden Flees, and the duke ware the Garter. The duke of Somerset which was cosin germain, remoued to the Duke of Burgoyne, and brought vp and had a pencion in the Dukes house. (For surely the Duke of Burgoyne loued better the house of Lancastre, then the house of Yorke) sore labored to the contrary, affirming that it was bothe vngodly, vnpryncely, and vnnaturall, to exalte and set vp a straunger, hauyng no right, and to depose and depriue his naturall kynsman, hauyng a iuste title descended to hym, from the kyng his father, & the kyng his grandfather, from his scepter and regalitie. Duke Charles was in a great perplexitie, not knowyng well what to say, whether consanguinitie should preuaile more, or affinitie, or nature before fauor, not willyng if he might, to displease any of bothe the parties. But because the warre was ouert at his very nose, with the French king: he concluded openly (but intending another thing secretly) to aide the duke of Somerset, and other that were with hym, takyng of thein certain promises, for thynges to be done against the erle of Warwicke: when they should espie their tyme, moste propice and conuenient: The duke of Somerset ioyous of these newes, sailed into Englande, and made report to Kyng Henry. Kyng Edward was present,



and heard all this determinacion, whiche brought him into a great heauines, and a depe perplexitie. how beit, he was priuely aduertised by a fiende, that these cloked dissimulacions, were only for this cause, that Duke Charles would in nowise, haue warre with both the realmes at once, and further, if thesaid duke were put to the worse, or vanquished by the French kyng, then he were not able, neither to aide, not to succor king Edward. Wherefore to blind with al the French kyng, whiche sore desired, that the duke might haue warre with England: for then he knewe that his enterprise, were more then halfe gotten. The Duke declared openly that he would in nowise minister any succors to kyng Edward, streightly chargyng & commaūdyng, vpon payne of the harte, that no man should once passe the sea with hym, or in his armie. But all this proclamacion notwithstanding when the duke saw that kyng Edward, vpo hope of his frendes, would nedes repaire into England again (he hauyng cōpassion of his vnfortunate chaunce) caused priuely to be delivered to him fiftie. M. Florence, of the crosse of saint Andrewe, and further caused foure greate shippes to be appoynted for him, in the hauen of Vere in Zelande, which is fre for al men to come to, and the Duke hired farther for hym. xiiij shippes of the Esterlynges, well appoynted, and for the more suretie, toke bonde of the to serue them truly, till he wer landed in England, and xv. daies after. Of which returnyng, the Esterlynges were glad, trustyng that by that meane, if he obtained again the possession of the realme, they shoud the soner come to a concord and a peace, and to the restitution of their liberties and franchises, which they claimed to haue within England. The Duke of Burgoyn as men reported, cared not much on whose side the victory fell, sayyng for paymēt of his money. For he would oft saie that he was frend to both partes and eche part was frendly to hym.

## THE X. YERE.

The. x.  
yere.

Kyng Edwardes land-  
yng

KYng Edward beeyng thus furnished, thought nothyng more painfull & wretched, then the taryyng of one daie lenger, nor nothyng more to be desired, then with all celerite to saile toward his cuntry whervpon hauyng with hym onely. ii. M. men of warre, beside manneres in the spring of the yere. In the yere of our Lorde 1461. at thesame very season, that the Duke of Burgoyn, went to fight with the French kyng at Amias. He sailed into England, and came on the cost of Yorke shire, to a place called Rauenspurr, and there setting all his men on lande, he consulted with his Capitaines to knowe to what place, they should first for succor resort vnto. for he imagined that no waie could be for hym sure, hauyng so small a company of souldiours.

After long debatyng, it was concluded, that diuerse persones hauyng light horses, should skoure the cuntry on euery side, to se if by any perswasions, they might allure the hartes of the rusticall and vplandishe people, to take kyng Edwardes part, and to were harness in his querel: which, with all diligence, folowed their cōmission. It semeth somewhat to leane to the truthe, that kyng Edward beying a wise and a circūspecte Prince, would not haue been so foolishly hardy, as to enter England with a halfe a handfull of men of warre, excepte he had been sure of speddy succor, and faithfull frendship: in whiche argument is no doubte, but that the Duke of Clarence and he, were secretly agreed before, and that the Marques Montacute, had secretly procured his fauor, of which priue signes and cloked workynges, open tokens, & manifest doynge, afterward appered. The light horsemen whiche were sent about, after they had felte the myndes and ententes, of the rude people (as much as they might) they returned to kyng Edward the nexte daie, makyng relacion that all the tounes round about, wer permanent and stiffe on the parte of kyng Henry, and could not be remoued: and that it was but a folye farther to sollicite or attempt them, consideringe that when they were moued and exhorted too, be trow too kyng Edward, not one man durste speke for fere of the Erle of Warwycke.

Which aunswere, when kyng Edward had perfittly digested, of very necessitie he chaunged hys purpose: for where before his clayme was to be restored to the croune and kyngdome

kyngdome of England, nowe he caused it to be published that he only claymed the Duchie of Yorke, to ſentent that in requyryng nothyng, but that which was bothe trew and bonest, he might obtayne the more fauor of the common people. It was almost incredible to ſe what effect this new imagination (all thoughte it were but fayned) ſorted and toke immediately vpon the fyrſt opening (Such a power hath Iuſtice euer emōgeſt all men) whē it was blowen abroad that kyng Edwardes deſyre was farther from nothyng, then from the couetyng or deſyre of the kyngdome and royall dominion, and that he no erthely promociō deſyred before hys juſt patrimony, and lyneall enheritance. All men moued with mereye and compaſſion, began out of hande either to fauor hym or els not to reſiſt him, ſo that he mighte obteyne his duchye of Yoike, when he had ſounde theſe meanes to pacifiē mens myndes, and to reconcile their hartes, he determined to take hys iorney toward Yorke, and ſo went to Beuerley. The erle of Warwycke which then lay in Warwykeshyre, beyng enformed that kyng Edward was landed, and goyng toward Yorke, with all haſt wrote to the marques Montacute hys brother, whiche had lyen at the caſtel of Pomfret all the laſte wynter, with a great company of ſouldears, geuyng hym warnyng, and aduerteyng him in what perill their whole affayes ſtoode in if their enemy ſhould obtayne the poſſeſſiō, or entie into the cite of Yorke, willing and commaunding him to ſet on kyng Edward with all expedition, & byd hym battayle, or els to kepe the paſſage, that he ſhould paſſe no farther, tyll he hym ſelf had gathered a greater hoſt, which with all diligence, he was aſſemblyng to come and ioyn with hys brother the Marques. And becauſe that the erle knew not by what way hys enemies wolde take their iorney, he wrote to all the townes of Yorkeshyre, and to the cite alſo, commaunding all men on the kynges behalfe to be redy in harnes, and to ſhutte then gates againſt the kynges enemyes. Kyng Edward without any wordes ſpoken to him, came peaceably nere to Yorke, of whoſe comyng, when the citezens were certefied, without delay they armed them ſelfe, and came to defend the gates ſendyng to hym two of the chiefest Aldermen of the cite, whiche ernestly admoniſhed hym on their behalfe to come not one fote nerer, nor temerariouſly to enter in to ſo great a ieopardy, conſidering that they were fully determined, and bent to cōpel hym to retract with dēt of ſwourd, kyng Edward maikyng well then meſſage, was not a littell troubled and vnquieted in hys mynde, and druen to ſeke the furtheſt poynt of hys wit, for he had both two miſchieuous and perilous chaunces, euen before his eyes, which were hard to be euaded or refelled, one was if he ſhould go backe agayn, he feared leſt the rural and commen people for coueteuſnes of pray, and ſpoyle, would fall on hym, as one that fled away for feare & dreade. The other was, if he ſhoulde procede any farther in hys iorney, then myght the citezens of Yorke iſſue out with all their power, and ſodaynly circūuent hym and take hym, wherfore he determined to ſet forward, neither with army nor with weapon: but with lowly wordes, and gentel entreatynges, requyryng moſt hartely the meſſengers that were ſent, to declare to ſ citizens, that he came neither to demaunde the realme of Englande, nor the ſuperioritie of the ſame, but onely the duchie of Yoike his olde enheritance, the which duchie, if he might by their meanes readept and recouer he woulde neuer paſſe out of hys memorie ſo great a benefite, and ſo frendly gratuite to hym exhibited. And ſo with fayre wordes and flatteryng ſpeche he diſmiſſed the meſſengers, and with good ſpede he and his folowed ſo quickly after that they were almoſt at ſ gates as ſone as the Ambassadors. The citezens heryng his good aunſwere, that he ment, nor intended nothyng preiudiciall to kyng Henry, nor his royall authoritie, were much mitigated & cooled, & began to commen with hym from their walles, willing hym to conuey hym ſelfe in to ſome other place without delay, which if he did they aſſured hym ſ he ſhould haue neither hurte nor damage, but he gently ſpeakyng to all men, and eſpecially to ſuche as were aldermen whome he called worſhipfull, and by their proper names them ſaluted, after many fayre promiſes to them made, exhorted and deſyred them that by their fauorable frendſhyp, & frendly permiſſiō he might enter in to his awne towne, of the which he had both his name and title. Al the whole daye was conſumed in doutfull communicacion and ern eſtinterlocution. The citezens partely wōne by hys fayre wordes, and partly by hope



Kyng Edwardes othe  
of obedience  
to kyng  
Henry the  
vi.

of hys large promyses, fell to this pact & conuēcion, that if kyng Edward woulde swere to entertayne hys citezens of Yorke after a gentell sorte & fashyon, and here after to be obedient, and faythfull to all kyng Henryes commaundementes and preceptes that then they woulde receyue hym into their cite, & ayde and cōfort hym with mney. Kyng Edward (whome the citezens called onely duke of Yorke) beyng glad of this fortunate chaunce, in the next morning, at ʒ gate where he should enter, a Priest beyng redy to say masse, in ʒ masse tyme, receyuyng the body of our blessed Sauor, solemnly swearyng to kepe and obserue the two Articles aboue mencioned, and agreed vpon, when it was far vnlike, that he either intended or purposed to obserue any of them, which plainly afterward was to all men manifest, euidently perceyuyng, that he toke no more studye or diligēce for any one earthly thyng, then he dyd to persecute kyng Henry, & to spoile him of his kingdome. So it is dayly sene that aswel princes, as men of lesser reputatiō led by blynd auarice and deuclish ambicion, forgettyng the scruple of conscience, & the ende of all honesus, vse, to take an othe by ʒ immortal God which they know perfily, shalbe brokē & violate hereafter, before the othe be fyrst made or sworne: yet these persons (as examples, thereof be not very straunge to synde) at one tyme or other be worthely scorged for their perurie, in so much oftentymes that the blot of suche offence of the parentes is punished in the sequele & posteritie of this thyng I may fortune to speke more in the lyfe of Rycharde the iii as the cause shall arise, where it may euidently appeare, that the progeny of kyng Edward escaped not vntouched for this open perurie.

When kyng Edward had apposed the citezens, and that their fury was past, he entred in to the cite, & clerely forgettyng his othe, he first set a garrison of Souldiers in the towne, to the entent ʒ nothyng should be moued agaynst hym by the citezens, & after he gathered a great host, by reason of his money. Whē all thing was redy, accordyng as he desyred, because he was enformed that his enemyes did make no great preparacion to resist hym, he thought it necessarie therefore with the more spede and diligence to make hast toward London and as it were for ʒ nones, he left the right way toward Poinfret, where the Marques Mōtagew with his army lay, and toke the way on the right hand, not fully iij. myle from the cape of his enemyes. And whē he saw that they made no stirryng, nor once shewed thē selfe in sight, he returned into ʒ cōmen hygh way agayne, a littel beyonde their campe, and came sauely to the towne of Nottingham, where came to him syr William Parre, syr Thomas a Borogh, syr Thomas Montgomeie, and diuers other of hys assured frerdes with their aydes, which caused hym at the fyrst cōmyng to make Proclamacion in hys owne name, kyng Edward the iij. boldely sayng to hym, that they would serue no man but a kyng. This Proclamacion cast a great shame and dolor in to the hartes of the citezens of Yorke, for that they might apparantly perceyue, that they were fraudulently seduced, and for their good will vnbonestly (if it might be sayde) deluded and mocked. But when the fame was blowne abrode, ʒ kyng Edward without any detriment, was in sadetyme come to Notyngham, Princes and noble men on all sydes began to fall to hym, feimely beleuyng, that either the Marques Montacute, beryng fauor too kyng Edward, woulde not once with hym encounter, or that he was a frayde to set ouer or to geue battayl, knowyng not to what parte his souldiers would encline. But what soeuer the occasion was, the moste parte thought it more for their securitie and auantage of theim selfs, to take parte and ioyne with kyng Edward, beyng at all poyntes furnished with men of warie, rather then to cleue to kyng Hēry, and to be alwayes in jeopardy, both of lyfe and lande. Kyng Edward (as you can not blame hym) beyng with these good fortunes animated & with his army furnished at all poyntes, came to his towne of Leicester, & there heryng that the erle of Warwycke, accompanied with Ihon erle of Oxford were together at Warwycke with a great power, & were both determined to set on hym, he politiquely imaginng to preuent their inuēcion, determined in great haste to reinoue his whole army, hopynz surely, either to geue them battayle, or elles to allure and bryng to his side hys brother George duke of Clarence, and to comen with him in some priue place, before he came to his confederates:

lest

peradventure he should be by them, illaquiated & cōpased, knowing that the duke was nothyng constant, nor in one mynd long permanent.

In this very season to tell you how the erle of Warwycke was displeased, and grudged ynst his brother the Marques, for lettynge kyng Edward passe, it ware to longe to write: where he hym self had vigilantlye provided & politiquely forsene, for all thinges, y<sup>e</sup> Marques erthelcsse where the power of their enemies first began to gather, neuer moved tote, nor the resistance as he was commaunded, but besydes thys suffered them with a so small nber of souldiers, before hys eyes & in his open sight, without any battayle to passe by: afore the erle considering that kyng Edward did dayly encrease hys power (as a runnyng er by goyng more & more augumenteth) thought it moste necessary for hym, to geue him ayde with spede, and therupon accerred & called together hys army, and in all haste sent the duke of Clarence, to ioine with him which had conscribed, & assembled together a host about London. But when he perceiued that the duke lyngered, & dyd all thinges lightly, as though he were in doubt of warre or peace, he then began somewhat to suspect that the duke was of hys bretherne corrupted & lately chaūged, & therefore without delay reached forward toward Couentry, to thentent to set on his enemyes. In the meane season, kyng Edward came to Warwycke, where he founde all the people departed, and from thence had diligence auauūced his power toward Couentre, & in a playne by the cite he pyched felde. And the next day after that he cam thither, hys men were set forward, and shalled in array, & he valiantly had the erle battayle. which mistrusting that he wold be deceaved by the duke of Clarence (as he was in dede) kept hym selte close within walles. And yet he had perfect worde y<sup>e</sup> the duke of Clarence came forward toward hym with a great army, kyng Edward beyng also therof enformed raysed hys campe, & made aid the duke. And lest that there might be thought some fraude to be coked betwene the kyng set his battayles in an order as though he would fight without any lēger delay, the duke did likewise. Whē eche host was in sight of other, Rychard duke of Glocester, ther to them both, as though he had bene made arbitrer betwene them, fyrst rode to the duke, and with hym communed very secretly. from him he came to kyng Edward, and with secretmes so vsed hym, that in conclusion no vnaturall waire, but a fraternall amitie concluded and proclaymed, and then leuyng all armye and weapō a syde, both the brene longyngly embraced, and familiarly communed together. It was no meruayll that the duke of Clarence, with so small persuasion and lesse exhortynge, turned from the erle of Warwycke parte, for as you haue hard before, thys marchandyse was labored, conduyted and condeyded by a damsell, when the duke was in the French court, to the erles vter confusion. After this, kyng Edward caused to be proclaymed, that the duke & all that came with hym, wold be taken as hys trew frendes, without fraude or yll suspicion. But this notwithstanding, it semeth that God dyd neither forgeue nor forget to punishe the duke with condigne ishment, for violating and brekyng hys othe solempnely, and aduysedly taken and made the erle of Warwycke, for God not many yeres after, suffered hym like a peiured person lyke a cruell & a straūge death.

Then was it concluded emongest the iii. bretherne to attempte the erle of Warwycke, if by any waye meanes he might be recōciled or by any promise allured to their parte. To whom the duke of Clarence sent diuers of hys secret fiendes, first to excuse him of the act that he had done, secondurely to requyre him to take some good ende now, while he might with kyng Edward.

When the erle had hard patiently the dukes message, lord, howe he detested & accūrsed, & cryenge out on him, that he cōtray to his othe promise & fidelitie, had shamefully betrayed his lace from his confederates & allies. But to the dukes messengers he gaue more answer but this that he had leuer be always lyke hym selfe, then lyke a false & a peiured duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leue war tyll either he had lost hys naturall lyfe, or vterly exquynished & put vnder his foes and enemyes.

From thence kyng Edward thus beyng furnished of a strong host, went without any maner

of



of diffidēce or mistrust toward Lōdon: where after that it was knowen that the duke of Clarence was come to hys brethern, & that all they came together in one knot to the cite, suche a feare rose todaynly emongest the citezens, that they were driuē to their wittes ende, not knowing either what to do or to say, but at y last very feare compelled them to take kyng Edwardes parte. The selfe same season, the erle of Warwycke sent letters to king Henry, to the duke of Somerset, tharchebishop of Yorke, & other of hys counsayll, that they should kept the cite from their enemies handes, by the space of ii. or. iii. dayes after the coming of their enemies, and that he shortly woulde be at hande with a puyssant armye. They as they were cōnaunded defended the cite strongly, but it was to small purpose, for the citezens in thesame tyne began maturely to consult, what part they should folow for their most indeclinable and in conclusion when they considered that kyng Henry was such an innocent person, as of hymself was not most apte to moderate and gouerne the publique wealth of the realme. And that on the other syde kyng Edward by no other mens document, but onely by hys awne pollicie and wit was wont to order the Realme, and gouerne the kyngdome. And farther that kyng Edward was such a person as was able bothe to defende hym selfe and also all hys, from iniurie and hostilitie, wherupon all men were glad to leane to hym, and to take hys parte. They concluded to take hys parte & to receyue hym in to the cite: which determinacion beyng blowē abroad (as the nature of the people is euer to delyte in nouelties) the cōmunalte coulde not be compelled by no commaundement to tarye at home, but ranne in hepes out of the cite, to mete him, and saluted him as their kyng and souereyne lord. When the duke of Somerset and other of kynges Henryes fiēdes, saw the world thus todaynly changed every man fled, and in hast shifted for hym selfe, leuyng kyng Henry alone, as an host that should be sacrificed, in the Bishops palace of London, adioyning to Poules church, not knowing of whom nor what counsayll to aske, as he which with trouble and aduersite was clerely dilled and appalled, in which place he was by kyng Edward taken, and agayne committed to prison and captiuitie.

Kyng  
Henry the  
vi. agayne  
taken and  
cōmitted to  
prison.

Thys was a sodayne change, for thesame day, the Archebishop of Yorke to the entent that the people myght more fermely stycke on his syde, caused him to ryde about London, appareled in a gowne of blewe veluet, with a great company cryeng kyng Henry, kyng Henry (whiche sight asmuch pleased the citezens as a fier paynted on the wall, warmed the olde woman) not knowyng that or nyght, hys tryumphynge shoulde be torned to tremblyng, and hys solempnitie conuerted into mourning, such chaūce was to hym provided. King Edward returned to London agayn the. xi. daye of April, sixe monethes after that he had sayled in to Flaunders and fyrste callynge before hym a greате assemble of people, highly commēded the fidelitie of the citezens, which they constantly bare vnto hym, rendryng to the Aldermen most hartly thanks for that, that they had kept, and caused the people to continew, and be permanent in their good myndes and loyalte toward hym, blaming farther and rebuking as well Marchaunt straungers, as Englishemen, whome he knew to haue prested, and lente money to kyng Henry for the arrayenge and settinge forth of a new armye agaynst hym. But when he had greuously wyth terrible wordes declared to them their sedicious crime & trayterous offence, he bad them be of good comforte, & to expell all feare, for he released to them both the punyshment of theyr bodies, and losse of gooddes, and graunted to them Pardon for theyr faultes and offences, by whiche gentell meane and easy indulgence, he reconciled to him the hartes of the whole multitude, obteynng that, by fayre and lounge wordes, which he could not haue acheued with sharpe strokes, and bloody woundes.

Theile of Waiwicke pondering, that the gain of the whole battaill stode in makyng haste, with all diligence, followed hisenemies, hopyng (that if they were let neuer so litle, with any stop or taryng by the way) to fight with thē before they should come to Lōdon the which he thought, should be muche to his auantage, cōsideryng that he perfightly knew the citee to be destitute of men of warre for defence, and to haue no maner of municions to set on the walles or towers, so that they were no able to abide a siege, and for that cause, euer they inclined to the victorious and stronger parte. But when he folowyng his enemies, had passed

a greate part of his iorney, he was enformed that kyng Edward, peaceably was entered into London, and had taken, and sent kyng Henry to prison again: Whiche thynges depely considered, he saw that al cauillacions of necessitie, wer now brought to this eqde, that they must be cōmitted to thasard and chaunce of one battaill, wherfore he rested with his army, at the toune of saint Albons, partly to refresh his souldiers and partly, to take counsaill what was best to do. In the erles armie wer Ihon Duke of Excester, Edmond Erle of Somerset, Ihon Erle of Oxenford, and Ihon Marques Montacute, whom the erle his brother well knewe, not to be well mynded (but sore against his stomacke) to take part with these Lordes, and therefore stode in a doubt, whether he at this tyme, might trust him or no, but the fraternal loue betwene thē, washed awaie and diminished all suspicion. But what so euer opinion therle conceiued of him or any other, the erle as a man past all feare, determined coragiously to set on his enemies. And from saint Albones, he remoued to a village in the meane waie, betwene London and saint Albones called Barnet, beyng tenne mile distaunt Barnetfelde. from bothe the tourres. This toune standeth on an hill, on whose toppe is a faire plain, for twoo armies to ioyne together, on the one part of this plain, the Erle of Warwicke pitched his field, taryng for his enemies. The rumor of the erles commyng, was spred in an instant ouer all London, whiche quickened kyng Edward not a litle, wherefore with all sped he adroyned to that hoste, that he brought with hym firste to London, a compaignie of elect, picked, and chosen persones, strong, young, and mete for all assaies, beside other new aides, that were then come to him. Harnesse, weapons, horsē, and all other engines, instrumentes mete for the warre, he neither forgatte nor slackly furnished. What shall I saie more, he determined clerely to spende all his riches, yea, and all that he could imagin vpon the chaunce of this battaill. Firmely beleuyng, that this conflict, should knit vp the knot of all his labor, and bryng hym to quietnes. So with a puyssaunt armie, he marched forward, and to put his people in vre, that thei might bee the more redy to fight, when so euer they should encounter with their enemies, he deuinded them in foure partes. He brought with hym also kyng Henry the sixte, of all likelyhod for this intent, that either his aduersaries, seying their kyng stande as a prisoner in captiuitie, should be abashed and discomfited by hym, or els if the fortune of the battail should turne against hym, that then kyng Henry should be to hym bothe a sauegard and a protecciō. On Easter eue at after noone he came to Barnet, and there not farre from his enemies, he encamped his army, and least his enemies should compel him to fight that night, he enuironed his campe with newe fortifications and trenches: for taryng that night, was to hym a synguler profite, and to his enemies a greate detriment: Consideryng the longer he taried, the more people came to his aide, the more stronger was his power, and the stronger that his power was, so much weaker was the part of the aduersaries, whiche was farre from all succor, and hoped of no newe relief nor comforte. Thus bothe the armies lodged that night on the plain, but not out of their harnesse, for their tentes were so nere together, in the which, what for neighyng of horssees, and talkyng of menne, none of bothe the hostes could that night take any rest or quietnes. At the breakyng of the daie, the erle of Warwicke sette his men in a raie, in this maner: In the right wyng he set the Marques Montacute, and the erle of Oxenford, with certain horsemen, and he with the Duke of Excester, toke the left wyng, and in the middes betwene bothe, he set archers and to them he appointed the Duke of Somerset to be capitain. And when he had set his men in an order, he encouraged his men to fight, with many comfortable wordes, willing them to strike with a good and a fircce corage, and to remembre that they fight not onely for the libertie of the countrey, against a tiraunte, whiche wrongfully and against all right, had inuaded and subdued this realme, but they fight in the querell of a true, and vndubitate king, against a cruell man, and a torcious vsurper, in the cause of a Godly and a pitiful Prince, against an abhominable māqueller, and bloody butcher: In the title of a gentle, liberal, and bountifull kyng, against an extreme nigard, and a coueteous extorcioner. In which cause being so good, so godly, & so iust, God of very iustice must nedes be their sheld and defence. Kyng Edward likewise ordred his battailes.



In the forward he set the duke of Gloucester, the middle ward, he himself with the Duke of Clarence, hauyng with them kyng Henry, did rule and gouerne, the lorde Hastynges led the rereward, and besides these thre battales, he kept a compaignie of freshe men in store, whiche did hym great pleasure, and this done he encouraged his men, saying: that their aduersaries wer onely traitors to the realme, spoylers of the pore commonaltie, and people destitute of al grace, good fortune & good liuyng. Which mischeuous persones, if they should preuaile through the faintnesse of your hautes, all you gentlemen and richmen, wer in ieoperdy of your lifes, all meane men in doubt of robbyng and spoylyng. and all inferior persones, in hasard of perpetual bondage and seruitude.

When the daie began to spryng, the trompettes blewe coragiously, and the battaill fiersly began, Archers first shot, and bill men theim folowed, Kyng Edward hauyng the greater nomber of men, valiauntly set on his enemies. The erle on the otherside, remembering his auncient fame and renoune, manfully withstode him. This battail on bothe sides was sore fought & many slain, in whose romes succeded euer fresh and freshmen. In the meane season while all men were together by the eares, euer loking to whiche way fortune would encline. The Erle of Warwicke after long fight, wisely did perceiue his men to be ouer pressed, with the multitude of his aduersaries: wherefore he caused newe men to relief them that fought in the forward, by reason of whiche succors, kyng Edwardes parte gaue a litle backe (whiche was the cause that some lokers on, and no fighters, galloped to London, sayyng that therle had wonne the feld) which thyng when Edward did perceiue, he with all diligence, sent freshe men to their succors.

If the battaill wer fierce and dedly before, now it was crueller, more bloody, more feruent and fierre, and yet they had fought from mornyng almoste to noone, without any part gettyng auantage of other. Kyng Edward being wery of so long a conflict, and willyng to se an end, caused a greate crewe of freshe men (whiche he had for this onely pollecie, kepte all daie in store) to set on their enemies, in maner being wery and fatigate: but although the erle sawe these new succors, of freshe & newe men to enter the battaill, beyng nothing afiaied, but hoppyng of the victory (knowyng perfily that there was all kyng Edwardes power) cōforted his men beyng wery, sharpely quicknyng, and earnestly desiryng them with hardy stomackes to bere out this last and finall brunt of the battaill, and that the felde was even at an ende. But when his souldiers beyng sore wounded, weryed with so long a conflict, did geue litle regarde to his wordes, he beyng a man of a mynde inuincible, rushed into the midst of his enemies, where as he (auentured so farre from his awne compaignie, to kill and sleigh his aduersaries, that he could not be rescued) was in the middes of his enemies, strikē doune and slaine. The marques Montacute, thynkyng to succor his brother, whiche he sawe was in greate ieoperdey, and yet in hope to obtene the victory, was likewise ouer throwen and slaine. After the erle was ded, his parte fled and many were taken, but not one man of name, nor of nobilitie.

Some authors write, that this battaill was fought so nere hande, that kyng Edward was constrained to fight his awne persone, & fought as sore as any man of his partie, and that the erle of Warwicke, whiche was wont euer to ride on horsebacke, from place to place, from ranke to ranke comfortyng his men, was now aduised by the Marques his brother to relynquish his horse, and trie the extremitie by hande strokes, whiche if he had been on his horsebacke, might fortune to haue escaped.

This ende had Richard Neuell erle of Warwicke, whose stoute stomacke, and inuincible corage, after so many straunge fortunes, and perillous chaunces by him escaped, caused death before he came to any old age priuile to stele on hym, and with his darte to take from hym all worldly and mundain affections: but death did one thyng, that life could not do, for by death, he had rest, peace, quietnes, and tranquillite, whiche his life euer abhorred, and could not suffre nor abide. On bothe partes wer slain at this battaill, more then tenne. M men. Of prisoners the nomber could not be certainly knowen: on the kynges part wer slain sir Humfrey Burchier, soonne to the Lorde Barnes, els no man of estimation.

The death  
of therle of  
Warwicke

The occasion of this greate slaughter was, because that where kyng Edward was wont, after the battaill obtained, to crie. save the cōmons, and kill the capitaines, now he spared them not, because they not onely so high fauored theile of Warwicke, but also because thei came with the erle against hym in battaill. After this feld ended, the duke of Somerset, with Ihon Erle of Oxenford, wer in all poste hast, flyng towarde Scotlande, but feryng the reoperies, that might chaunce in so long a iorney, altered their purpose, and turned into Wales, to Iasper erle of Penbroke. euery man fled whether his mynde serued him. The duke of Excester with muche difficultie, escaped into Westminster disguised, and there toke Sanctuary. Kyng Edward after this victory, although he wanne it not without greate effusion of blood, aswell on his awne parte, as the part of his enemies, was greatly reioysed and comforted, after the maner of a victorious conqueroure, leadyng with him kyng Henry like a captiue, in moste triumphant maner, on Easter day at after noone, made his entery, solempnly, into the cite of London, and at the Church of saint Paule, he offered his standerd, and rendered to almighty God, for his greate victory, moste hūble and hartie thanks. The ded bodies of the erle and the Marques, wer brought to London in a coffin, and before thei should bee buried, by the space of three daies, thei lay open visaged, in the Cathedral Church of S Paule, to thintēt that all men might evidently perceiue, that thei vnfaignedly were dedde least perauēture the common people hereafter, here of some dissimulyng persone, to take on hym the name of theile of Warwicke, thynkyng him to be liuyng, might stirre a newe sedicion, & excite an vnware rebellion.

The common people saied, that the kyng was not so iocound nor so ioyous for the destruction of theile, but he was more sorrowful and dolorous, for the death of the Marques, whom both he knewe and it appered to other, to be inwardly his faithful frend. For whose onely sake he caused both their bodies, to bee with their auncestors, solempnly enterred at the Priory of Bissam. In the meane season, quene Margaret hauyng knowledge, that all thynges in Englande, were now altered and brought into trouble and broyle, by reason of kyng Edwardes late returne into the realme: gathered together no small compaignie, of hardy and valiaunt souldiours, determined with all haste and diligence, with prince Edward her soonne, to saile into Englande, but yet once again (suche was hei destinie) beyng letted for lacke of prosperous wynd and encombered with to muche rigorous tempeste, a daie after the faire, as the common prouerbe saeth, landed at the Port of Weymouth, in Dorset shire. When she had passed the sea and taken lande, it was to her declared, how that kyng Edward had gotten again the garland, and that kyng Henry her husband, was desolately left post a lone, and taken prisoner, how the Erle of Warwicke and his brother were bothe slain and ded, and all their armie destroyed, scatered or taken, and in conclusion that her parte had sustained, the moste bitter plague and scorge, consideryng bothe the chaūce and the tyme that in many yeres before, had been red or sene. When she harde all these miserable chaunces and misfortunes, so sodainly one in anothers necke, to haue taken then effect, she like a woman all dismaied for feare, fell to the ground, her harte was perced with sorowe, her speache was in maner passed, all her spirites were tormented with Malencholy. The calamitie and misery of her time, she detested and abhorred, her vnstable and contrariant fortune, she stedfastly blamed and accused, her painfull labor, her care of mynde, turned into inelicitie she muche lamented and bewailed the euill fate and destenie of her husband, whiche eminently before her eyes, she sawe to approche she accused, reprocued, and reuled, and in conclusion, her senses were so vexed, and she so afflicted, and caste into suche an agony, that she preferred death before life, rather desiryng soner to die, then lenger to lue, and perauenture for this cause, that her interior iye sawe priuily, and gaue to her a secret monicion of the greate calamities and aduersities, which then did hang ouer her hed, and were likely incontinent to fall and succede whiche other persones, neither loked for nor regarded

This Quene Margarete might well consider and thynke, that these euill adventures, chaunced to her for the moste parte, for the vnworthy death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, vnkle to her husbände: Of the whiche mischaunce, although she wei not the very occasion



and provoker, yet she greatly offended in that she concented thereto, and did not saue his life, when she rulyng all other, might conueniently haue staid and letted it. For surely he beyng a liue, and hauyng the moderaciō and gouernaunce of the common wealth, kyng Henry had neuer wauered in so many hasardes, and reoperdies of his life as he did. I would desire of God, that all men would in egall balance, ponder & indifferently consider the causes, of these misfortunes and euill chaunces, the whiche beyng eleuate in auctoritie, dooe mete and measure, Iustice and iniury, right and wrong, by high power, blynd auctoritie, and vnbridled will

But nowe to the purpose, when Quene Margarete sawe, that to bid battaill was to no purpose, and in maner, in dispaire, of the wealth of her self and her sonne: she with the Prince and her compaignie, departed to a Sanctuary there by, called Beaulieu in Hamshire (where was a monastery of Monkes, of the ordie of Cisteiciens) and registered herself and hers, as persones there priueleged. When it was knowne that she was landed, Edmond Duke of Somersset, with lord Ihon his brother Thomas Courtney eile of Deuonshire, the which before euer toke the contrary part, whose sodain chaungyng, shortly turned to his awne confusion, Iasper Erle of Penbroke, Ihon Lorde Wenlocke (a man made onely by kyng Edward) and Ihon Longstrother, Prior of saint Ihones in England, came in great hast to Beaulieu, and presented themselves to the Quene. Although that she wer almost drowned in sorowe, and plunged in pain, yet when she sawe and beheld, these noble and princely personages, to resort vnto her presence, she was somewhat comforted, and greatly reuiued again.

And first, lest it should be laied to her charge, that she had dooen any thyng misauisedly: she declared and shewed the cause, why she could not come to them in time, as she gladly would haue dooen, and for what purpose and intent, she had then taken the immunitye of Sanctuary: Besechyng them all to studie, and prouide with all diligence, for the wealth and conseruacion, of her onely iuell the Prince her sonne, and where for this tyme, she dispaired to doo any thyng by force of armes, that might bee to her profite, she thought it moste conuenient for her (if the tyme of yere and her enemies, did not let or stop her) to saile again into Fraunce and there to tary till God would sende her better lucke, and more pleasaunt fortune, and to bryng her long purposed busines, to a good conclusion and ende.

After that the Duke and other with comfortable wordes, somewhat had eased the dolorus harte of this vnfortunate quene. Thesaid Duke began with a long processe, to enter communication of warre to be renewed, and with all haste possible, and extreme diligence, least their compaignie by taryng might bee diminished, and kyng Edwardes power encreased and augmented, considering that all this tyme, he had no armie gathered together, for so much that at the laste battaill, the very strength of his chief souldiours, was weked and appalled. And that notwithstanding, that fortune shone on hym, in obtaynyng the victory against therle of Warwicke, yet now she might turne her saile on the otherside, causyng him to tast eger vineger as she before had guen hym to drynke delicate Ypocrace, when all men se daily, that of warlike affaires at the poynt, there happeneth not seldome tyme, sodain commutations and vnloked variaunce. affirmyng farther, that the more number of the nobilitie, bare towarde kyng Henry her husband, their good myndes and fixed hartes, and would help hym bothe withe men and money. And of his awne free will, if she would take vpon her, the name of captain against her enemies, as she before that often tymes had enterprised. he offered a greates power of able men, at his awne expence and charge, promisyng that the two erles, should assure her of a farre greater nombre, of valiant and expert warriers, then she would esteeme. And when he had shewed that, the victory was now (if thei liste) in their handes, he merily required them all, to bee of hardy harte and good chere, and because the matter, required great expedicion, he thought it not necessary, farther to reason the cause of battaill, but determine out of hand how the battaill should be geuen and ordered.

The Quene whose mynde gaue her, that this mocion, should come to no good conclusion, answered. that she could well allowe this sentence, if she thought that there might happen, no greater

greater losse to some other, then the losse of her awne life. But she suspected that while they would helpe thynges, that they moste phantesied and affected, the life of prince Edward her soonne, in whom, all the whole hope of that familie stode and remained, should be in perrell and reoperdie: and therefore, she either thought it necessarie, to defer the battaill till another time, or els to conueigh her sonne into Fraunce again, there to lye sure and secrete, till the chaunce of the first battayle were tryed and assayed. And no maiueyll, although the naturall mother, much mynded and studied for the sauegarde and tucion of the lyfe of her sonne, pondering that next her husband, whom she reputed for clene vndone and vtterly cast awaye, she had nothyng more to be beloued, nothyng more derer, nor nothyng to be made more of.

Thus this prudent and politique Quene requyred the cheuetaynes expert in marciall feates, that they should before hande premeditate with them selves, maturely and deliberately these thynges by her moued and after that done, if they thoughte it conuenient to geue battayle, she woulde to their agrement with all her hart be conformable. But there was no longer disputation of the matter, for the duke sayde that there was no nede to waste anye more woordes for all they were determyned (while their lyues lasted) styll to kepe warre agaynste their enemyes, & therfore that thyng whiche with greate counsayll and deliberacion is cōcluded, ought to be auanced and set forward with a whole consent and agrement.

Thus euery man together clerely bent and encouraged to fy battayle gathered hys power by hym selfe. The duke thorough all hys dominions, raysed a chosen companye of men of warre lykewise did the erle of Deuōshyre. The erle of Pēbroke wēt into Wales to his erledō to prepare hys people with all diligence. The quene, at the last was brought into this hope of good fortune that she sayd, well be it, & so as the duke had aduised her, she with her company departed to Bathe, entyndyng there to make her abode, tyll more of her affinitie were together assembled. But whether so euer she went, few or none had thereof knowledge, mistrustyng lest her counsayll should by some tituille, bee published & opened to her aduersaries, before she came to the place prefixed.

When kyng Edward knew that Quene Margarete was landed in Englande, and that the duke of Somerset with her complices had prepared a new armye, out of land he dispatched certayn curreis on light horses, in to euery part to see what number hys enemyes were, & what way they intended to take. The exploratois, according to their instruccions, serched and sought the partes by West, and made relacion diligently at their retorne, what they had knowen and sene. The kyng beyng in a great agony, because he knewe not what waye his enemyes toke, determined, surely to encounter thē at some, one place before they came to London. And vpon this conclusion, with such an armye as he had gotten about London, he set forward into Oxford shyre, and there sekyng a place apt and mete to pytche hys tentes, was conducted to Abyngdon, where he encamped hym selfe, cōmaunding all men appoynted for the warre, with all celeritie to folow hym to that place. All the kynges host there beyng assembled and reduct in to one company, newes were brought to hym, that hys enemyes were come to Bathe, and there did soierne and tarye purposely to augmēt and encrease their nūber of such, as dayly to them dyd resort, wherefore the kyng without delay remoued strayght to Marleborough, being distāt from Bathe. xv. miles, making haste and great diligence, if by any possibilitie he might to geue them battayle before they diuered into Wales, whether he thought (as they intended in deed) that they would take their iorney to ioyne them selfe with the erle of Penbroke, which had gathered a great host in those parties.

When the Quene knew that kyng Edward was come so nere to her, she taried not long at Bathe, but remoued in greate haste to Brystow: and sent out certayn horsemen to espye, whethe she might sauely passe ouer the Ryuer Seuerne by Gloucester into Wales, whethe she determined first to go to augment her armye, and then without any delay with spere and shelde, coragiously to set on her enemyes, where soeuer they would abyde. They that



were sent, returned to her again, declaring that the towne of Gloucester was vnder the obeisaunce of Rychard, duke of Gloucester the kynges brother, and that although they had solicited the lord Beauchampe of Powike, which lay there in the Castell, and had the rule of the Towne, and the townesmen fyrst by rewardes after by menacing, either to take their part, or peasably to suffer her to passe ouer their bidge, they were there with all, neither once moued, nor once would speake cōfortably to the messengers. Whē she hard these newes, she shortly departed from Bristow with her army, to a proper towne on seuerne syde, called Tewkesburye, leuing Gloucester vnassaulted, lest peraduenture she might their spēd her tyme w much losse & litle gayne, but in her passage towarde Tewkesbury, the lord Beauchampe toke from her rereward, more ordinance then she might haue wel spared, which did to her no small p̄iudice. Whē the Quene was come to Tewkesbury, and knewe that kyng Edward folowed her with hys horsemen at the very backe, she was sore abashed, and wonderfully amased and determined in her selfe, to flye into Wales to Iasper erle of Pēbroke: But the duke of Somerset, wyllyng in no wyse to flye backward for doughtes that he casted might chaūce by the way, determined there to tarye, to take such fortune as God should sende, beyng in his awne mynde, and so fixed in a fayre parke, adioynge to the towne, he pyched his felde agaynst the will and consent of many other Capitaynes which would that he should haue drawn a syde, for a whyle tyl therle of Penbroke with hys armye were with hym associate, but his will serued for his reason, and so the chaunce folowed. The duke of Somerset entending to abide the battayle lyke a politique warrior, trenched his campe rounde about of suche an altitude, and so strongly, that his enemyes by no meanes facilye, could make any entrie, and farther perceyuyng that his parte coulede neuer escape without battayle, determined there to se y final ende of his good or yl chaūce, wherfore he marshalled his host in this manner he and the lord Ibon of Somerset his brother led thē forward: The middelward was gouerned by the Prince vnder the cōduyte of the lord of saint Ihons, & lord Wenlocke (whome kyng Edward had highly before preferred & promoted to the degre of a baron) The rereward was put in the rule of the erle of Deuonshyre.

The battayl  
of Tewkes-  
burye

When all these battayles were thus ordered and placyd, the Quene and her sonne prince Edward rode about the felde, encouragynge their souldiers, promising to them (if they did shew thē selfs valyāt against their enemyes) greate rewardes and hyghe promociōns, innumerable gayn of the spoyle and bootye of their aduersaries, and aboue all other fame and renoune thorough the whole realme. Kyng Edward lykewise which the day before was come within a mile of Tewkesbury, put hys brother the duke of Gloucester in the forward, and him selfe in the nuddelward, the lord Marques and the lord Hastings led the reregarde. The duke of Gloucester, which lacked no policye, valyantly with hys battayle assaulted the trēche of the Quenes campe, whom the duke of Somerset with no lesse courage defended, the duke of Gloucester for a very politique purpose, with all hys men reculed backe. The duke of Somerset perceiuyng that lyke a knight, more courageous then circūspect came out of his trenchie, with his whole battayle, and folowed the chace, not doubtyng but the prince and the lorde Wenlocke, with the middelward had folowed iust at hys backe. But whether the lord Wēlocke dissimuled the matter for kyng Edwardes sake, or whether hys harte serued hym not, still he stode loking on. The duke of Gloucester takinge the auantage that he auentured for, turned agayn face to face to the duke of Somersetts battayl, which (nothyng lesse thinkyng on, then of the returne) were within a smal season, shamefully discomfited. The duke of Somerset, seying hys vnfortunate chaunce returned to y middelward, where he seying the lord Wenloke standynge still, after he had reuyled hym, and called him traytor, with his axe he strake y braynes out of his hedde. The duke of Gloucester entered the trenchie, & after hym the kyng, where after no lōg conflict, the Quenes part went almost all to wrecke, for the most parte were slayne. Some fledde for succor in the thicky of the parke, some in to y monastery, some into other places. The Quene was foude in her Chariot almost dead for sorowe, y prince was apprehended and kepte close by syr Rychard Crostes: the duke of Somerset and the lord Prior of saint

A terrible  
stroke

Ihons, were by force taken prisoners, and many other also In the felde & chace were slaine lord Ihon of Somerset, the erle of Deuonshyre, syr Ihon Delues, syr Edwarde Hampden, syr Robert Wytyngham, and syr Ihon Lewkenoi, and. iii. thousand other.

After the felde ended, kyng Edward made a Proclamatō, that who so euer could bring prince Edward to him alive or dead, shoulde have an annuite of an. C. l. duryng his lyfe, and the Princes life to be saued. Syr Richard Croftes, a wyse and a valyaut knyght, nothing mistrusting the kynges forme promyse, brought furth his prisoner prince Edward, beyng a goodly femenine & a well feautered yonge gentelman, whome when kyng Edward had well aduised, he demaunded of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter in to his Realme with banner displayed. The prince, beyng bold of stomacke & of a good courage, answered sayinge, to recouer my fathers kyngdome & enheritage, from his father & grandfather to him, and from him, after him, to me lyneally diuoluted. At which wordes kyng Edward said nothyng, but with his hād thrust hym from hym (or as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet) whom incontinent, they that stode about, whiche were George duke of Clarence, Rychard duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorset, and Willā lord Hastynges, sodaynly murdered; & pitously manquelled: The bitterness of which murder, some of the actors, after in their latter dayes tasted and assayed by the very rod of Iustice and punishment of God Hys body was homely enterred with ȝ other synple coises, in ȝ church of the monastery of blacke Monkes in Tewkesburye. This was the last ciuile battayl that was fought in kyng Edwardes dayes, whiche was gotten the. iii. daye of Maye, in the. x. yere of hys reigne, and in the yere of our lord M cccc. lxxi then beyng Saturday. And on the Monday next ensuyng was Edmond duke of Somerset, Ihon Longstrother, Prior of saint Ihons, syr Garuays Clyfton, syr Thomas Tresham, and. xii. other knyghtes and gentelmen bebedded in the market place at Tewkesbury.

Quene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to Londō, where she remayned tyll kyng Reiner her father raūsomd her with money, which summe (as the French writers affeine) he borrowed of kyng Lewes ȝ xi. and because he was not of power nor abilitie to repaye so greate a dutie, he solde to the Frenche kyng & his heyres, the kyngdomes of Naples, and bothe the Siciles, with the countye of Prouince, which is ȝ very tite that kyng Charles the vii. made when he conquered ȝ realme of Napels After the raunsom payed, she was conueyed into Fraunce with small honor, which with so great triumphe and honorable enterteynmēt was ȝ pōpe aboue al pryde, receyued into this Realme xxviii. yeres before And where in the beginning of her tyme, she lyued like a Quene, in the middel she ruled like an empresse, toward thendes she was vexed with trouble, neuer quyet nor in peace, & in her very extreme age she passed her dayes in Fraunce, more lyke a death than a lyfe, languishyng and mornyng in continuall sorowe, not so much for her selfe and hei husbände, whose ages were almost consumed and worne, but for the losse of prince Edward her sonne (whome she and hei husband thought to leue, both ouerlyuer of their progeny, and also of their kyngdome) to whome in this lyfe nothyng coulde be either more displeasent or greuous

Quene Margaret brought prisoner to London

After this battayl, kyng Edward rendered to God his most hūble thākes, & caused publique processions to be with all deuout reuerence solemly kept three dayes together in euery Towne and Parishe. And when he had visited the townes and places, where his enemyes assembled first together (to the payne and punishmente of no small number) he with good diligence returned toward London, for he was enformed how one Thomas Neuēl, bastard sonne to Thomas lord Faucōbridg the valyant capitayne, a man of no lesse corage then audacitie (who for his euell condiciōs was suche an apte person, ȝ a more meter could not be chosen to set all the woulde in a broyle, & to put the estate of ȝ realme on an yll basard) had of new begonne a great cōmocion This bastard was before this tyme appoynted by the erle of Warwycke, to be Vice-admyrall of the sea, and had in charge so to kepe the passage betwene Douer and Caley, that none which either fauored kyng Edward or his frendes should escape, vtaken or vndrowned. And when by the death of the erle of Warwycke,



wycke, he was broughte into pouertie, he robbed both on the sea & the lande, aswel his enemyes as also his frendes: By reason wherof he gat together a great nauy of shippes, and spoiled on euery ship, and at last toke lande in Kent, and gathered together a great company of Kentishmen, such as were most mete for his purpose, and so marched toward London, where the Essex men hauynge wyld whaye wormes in their heddes, ioined them with him, sayng that their commyng and quarell was to deliuer out of captiuitie Kyng Henry ȝ vi. and to bring him to his wyfe, but what so euer their outward wordes were, their inward cogitacions were onely hope of spoyle, and desyre to robbe and pyll. For the bastarde hym selfe assaulted the drawe bridge of London, and a capitain of his called Spysyng scaled Algate with the Essex inē, harnesed in their wyfes Chesecloutes, which assaultes were deadly geuen and manfully resisted, in so much that on bothe partes many were slayne and hurt, but at the last the citezens then put backe the rebelles, and slew and wounded a great number of them, and draue the bastard from al his pray to his shyppes, lyeng at Radcleffe, which hauyng a good & prosperous wynde, made sayle with all haste, & Roued on the sea, as before he was accustomed.

This styryng, although it were but littell to thynke on at the fyist yet if it had begonne not long afore, it had brought all kynge Edwardes busines in to a doubtfull difference: for kynge Edward in these hys last battayles was twise more then fortunate for that, that he at sondry and seuerall tymes (and not all at one tyme) was persecuted & inuaded of his enemyes. for surely, at the tyme when the erle of Warwycke with his pytched armye was commyng toward London, if quene Margarete with her companye had takē land (which enterpryse she thryse in great jeopardy coragiously attempted) Then if she had set on behynd, whyle the erle of Warwycke gaue the onset before both at one moment, or if Edmond duke of Somerset had not geuen battayle at Tewkesburye, before Iasper erle of Penbroke was come with his trayne, or if bastard Fawconbridge had vexed the Londoners euen at ȝ tyme. One or the other of these. ii. thynges should consequently haue folowed, that kynge Edward must of necessitie once agayne flye out of the Realme, or els with shame and rebuke yelde hym selfe, either to slaughter or captiuitie. But as in all meane chaunces and small gaynes, good lucke is desyred and praysed, so much more in battayle, is good fortune and fortunate chaunce to be most made of, and chiefly to be aunanced.

Now to returne to bastard Fauconbridge, waueryng hither & thither in the doubtfull surges of the sea, as sure of hys lyfe on the water as on the lande, which either thinking that no man would se him, or that all men were blind, and coude not espie hym (and especially in so secret a place) came into the open hauen of Southampton, and there toke lāde where he was not long vntaken, but shortly behedded.

When Iasper erle of Pēbroke was credibly assertheyned that quene Margarete had lost the battayle at Tewkesburye, and that there was no more trust of any comfort or releue to be had for the parte of poore kyng Henry, he with such men of warre as he was, bringyng to his cōfederates, returned back out of ȝ way to the towne of Chepstow, wher he taryeng, deploryng and lamentyng, that hast to much hasted, & that vnpurueed & blynd will had at the finall conclusiō, not only destroyed and brought to nought al kyng Hēryes estate, riches and preheminēce, but further had left all his fiendes redy to tosse the waues of fortune, & to seke their lyuyng where they might sauely get them, began to thinke and prouide what way was best to take.

Kyng Edward at this season, not beyng out of feare of the erle of Penbroke, sente pruely in too Wales, Roger Vaughan, a man there bothe stronge of people and of frendes, to the entent by some gyle or eugyne sodaynly to trap and surprise the erle but he hauyng intelligence of certayne fiendes, how that watche was priuile leyd for him, sodainly in the same towne, toke Roger Vaughan, and without delay stroke of hys bed, so Roger Vaughan, by Gods prouidēce, receyued the death hym selfe, which he by deceit prepared for the other.

The erle in good hast departed thence to Penbroke, whome incontinent Morgan Thomas, by

by kyng Edwardes cōmaundemēt so strōgly beseged hym and so enuyroned his Castell with a dicke and a trenche, that he coude not lightly flye or escape thence: but he was after eyghte dayes deliuered, and the seage raysed by hys faythfull and trusty frendes Dauid Thomas, brother to the foresayd Morgan, and from thēce conueyed to Tynbye, a hauen towne in Wales, where he getting conuenient shyppes, for to transport hym and hys ouer the sea into Fraunce with hys nephew lord Henry eile of Rychemoude, and a few of hys familiers toke ship, and by fortunes leadyng, landed in Brytayne.

After hys arryual, he fyrst went to duke Fraūces of Brytane, and hym reuerently saluted, expoundyng to him the cause, the cace, and the necessitie of their thether commyng, committing the lyfes, the goodes and all the chaunces both of hym and hys nephew, whole to the dukes discrecion and ordinaunce. The duke receyued bothe the erles, with all benignite, and shewed to thē no lesse honor, fauor and humanitie, with suche entertainment, then if they had been his naturall biethien, and geuyng to them his faith, seriously made promise that beyng with hym, they should sustein no maner of wrong, nor no iniurie should be to them by any creature offred assuring them, that they might within his dominions, at all tymes, and in all places, go in safe and good suretie.

When Kyng Edwarde had appeased, by the meanes afore rehersed, his kyngdome and people, to the intent that there should insurge hereafter, no newe commocion within the realme again. he made a iorney into Kente, and there sat in iudgement on suche, as in the last tumultuous busines, toke parte with hasterde Fauconbrige, where many wer (not vnworthy) streightly punished & ransomed, which busines once perfourmed, to thintent that all men might se apparantly, that indubitate peace was come into the realme, and that all feare of exterior hostilitie, was banished and exiled for euer Poore kyng Henry the sixte, a litle before depriued of his realme, and Imperiall Croune, was now in the Tower of London, spoyled of his life, and all worldly felicitie, by Richard duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ranne) which, to thintent that king Edward his brother, should be clere out of all secret suspicion of sodain inuasion, murdered thesaid kyng with a dagger. But whosoeuer was the manqueller of this holy man, it shall appere, that bothe the murtherer and the consenter, had condigne and not vnderuened punishement, for their bloody stroke, and butcherly act and because they had now no enemies risen, on whom they might reuenge themself, as you shall hereafter perceiue, they exercised their cruelte, against their awne selves. and with their proper blood, embrued and polluted their awne handes and membres

Kyng Henry the sixte slain in the tower.

The ded corps of kyng Henry, with billes and gleues pompeously (if you call that a funcrall pompe) was conueighed from the tower, to the Church of sainte Paule, and there laied on a berec, where it lay the space of one whole daie and the nexte day, without Prieste or Clarke, Torche or Taper, syngyng or sayyng, it was conueighed to the Monasterie of Chertese, beyng distant from London xv mile, and there was buried, but after he was remoued to Winsore, and there in a new vawte newly intumilate. This kyng Henry reigned full xxxviii. yeres, and xvii. daies, and after that he had repossessed his kyngdom vi. monethes he liued. lii. yeres, hauyng by his wife one onely sonne, called Edward Prince of Wales.

Kyng Henry was of stature goodly, of body slēder, to which proporcion, al other members wer correspondent. his face beautifull, in the which continually was resident, the bountie of mynde, with whiche, he was inwardly endued. He did abhorre of his awne nature, all the vices, as well of the body as of the soule, and from his verie infancie, he was of honest conversacion and pure integritie, no knower of euill, and a keper of all goodnes: a dispiser of all thynges, whiche bee wonte to cause, the myndes of mortall menne to slide, fall, or appaie. Beside this, pácience was so radicate in his harte, that of all the iniuries to him committed, (whiche were no small nombre) he neuer asked vengeance nor punishement, but for that, rendered to almightie God, his creator, hartie thanks, thinking that by this trouble, and aduersitie, his synnes were to him forgotten and forgiuen. What shall

The description of Kyng Henry the. vi.



Canonizing  
of saintes  
is costly

shall I saie, that this good, this gētle, this meke, this sober and wisman, did declare and affirme, that those mischefes and miseries, partly, came to hym for his awne offence, and partly, for the hepyng of synne vpon synne, wretchedly by his aunceiteis and forfathers. wherefore, he litle or nothing esteemed, or in anywise did turment or macerate hymself, what so euei dignitie, what honoi, what state of life, what child, what frend he had lost, or missed, but if it did but sound an offence toward God, he loked on that, and not without repentaunce, both mourned and soiwed for it: these and other like offices of holynes, caused God to worke miracles for him in his life tyme, (as old menne saied) By reason whereof, kyng Henry the seuenth, not without cause, sued to Iuly Bushop of Rome, to haue him canonized, as other saintes be but the fees of canonizing of a King, wer of so great a quātite at Rome (more then the canonisynge of a Bushoppe or a prelate, although he satte in sainte Peters Cheire) that thesaid kyng thought it more necessary, to kepe his money at home, for the profite of his realme and countrey, rather then to empouernish his kingdom, for the gaining of a newe holy day of saint Henry remitting to God, the iudgement of his will and intent. This kyng Henry, was of a liberall mynde, and especially, to such as loued good learning, and them whom he sawe profite, in any verteous science, he hartely fauored and embraced, wherefore he firste holpe his awne young scholers, to attain to discipline, and for them he founded a solempne schoole at Eton, a toune next vnto Wyndsores, in the whiche he hath stablished, an honest Colege of sad Priestes, with a greate nombre of children whiche bee there, of his coste frankeley and frely taught, the eruditamētes and rules of Grammer. Beside this, he edefied a Princely Colege, in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, called the kynges Colege, for the further erudicion, of such as wer brought vp in Eton, whiche, at this daie so florisheth, in all kyndes, as well of literature, as of toungeys, that aboue all other, it is worthy to bee called, the Prince of Coleges.

### ¶ THE XI. YERE.

The xi  
yere.

NOW to returne to Kyng Edward, whiche was releued of the most part, of his prickynge feare, and inward suspiciō, to thintent that no print or shadowe, should remain of the aduise faccion, in his realme. He diligently requied and serched out, all the fragmentes and leuynges, of his enemies parte, intending to repress, and vtterly to extinguishe them. And first to begyn with all, he sent George Neuell, brother to the erle of Warwicke, and Aichbushoppe of Yorke, vnder strong conduite, to the Castle of Guysnes, there to be kept in extreme captiuitie, where he long continued, and at the laste, by frendship deliuered: whiche of very pensiuenes and grudge of mynd, shortely after deceased, whom, Laurence Bathe, and after him Thomas Rotherham, in the sea of Yorke, did ordinarily succede. Beside this, Ihon Erle of Oxenford, whiche after Barnet feld, bōthe manfully gat, and valiantly kept, sancte Mighels Moūt in Cornewal. either for lacke of aide, or perswaded by his frendes, gaue vp the mount, and yelded himself to kyng Edward, (his life only saued) whiche to hym was graunted but he out of all doubtfull imaginacions, kyng Edward sent hym ouer the sea, to the Castle of Hammes, where by the space of. xii. yeres, he was in strong prison, miserably kept, and diligently looked to. Many other beside these, in diuerse partes of the realme, beyng very little or nothing suspected wer either committed to prison, or grieuously fined and taxed. Beside this, least his neighbors countrey, might be an harborough, or receptacle of his foes and aduersaries, he concluded a newe league, with Iames the iii. king of Scottes, for the terme of xx. yeres. And yet, whatsoeuer he thought in his Imagination, for all his besy deuises, and polittique forecastynges his mynd and phantasie, wer not clere exonerate and dispatched, of all feare and inward trouble: For tidings wer brought to hym, that the erles of Penbroke and Richemond, were arriued in Britayne. and there of the Duke, highly cherished, well fostered and entertained.

¶ THE. XII. YERE.

THIS thyng nipped kyng Edward hardly at the verie stomacke, as though his mynd, casting some euill to come after. did signifie before, that the Erle of Richemond, should once attem to the Crowne and diademe of the realme which mischief, when he had wel digested, he secretly sent wise and close messengers, to the Duke of Brytayne, the which should not sticke, to promise the duke, great & sumptuous rewardes, (knowing that mede, many thynges corrupteth) so that he would deliuer, bothe therles into their handes and possession. The duke gladly hard them that were sent, but when he knewe, the twoo Erles to bee a prae, of suche a greate value, he determined not to deliuer them, but rather to entertain them with hym more diligently, then they were accustomed. The duke answered the orators, that it stode not with his honor, nor he would not deliuer the twoo Erles, to whom, he was bound and obliged, by his faith and promise but this he promised to dooe for the kynges pleasure, that they should be kept, and with suche vigilant persones, continually watched, that the kyng should haue no maner of cause, once to thynke, that they could or should attempt any thing, that might sound, either to his displeasure or prejudice. When the messengers sawe, that they could not obtain, that which they desired, like wise-men held themselves contented with that, whiche by the duke was offered, & so returned into England. The kyng wrote to the Duke of Britayne, louyngly requyryng him, to accomplishe with all spede, that, whiche he of his awne mocion offered, promysyng him not onely, menne and greate rewardes, but yerely to rewarde hym, with a full hand, and a well stuffed purse. The duke perceuyng the swete gain, which rose to him, by the abode of the two English Erles, in his Countrey least they for any cause, should abandon his dominions, and seke succors in some other foreign Region, caused the one, to be segregated from the other: and removed from them suche Englishmen, as wer daily on them attendant and came with them into Britayn, and in their places appoynted Britons, to be their seruitors to minister, and continually to attend and waite on them.

When kyng Edward had thus polittiquely, as he thought, compassed the Duke of Britayne. he thinking nothing lesse, then to take a damage at the duke of Burgoynes hand, yea, and such a damage, as by all similitude, was bothe like, continually to greue and vex the realme of Englande. and farther to be an occasion, of a common stop, and putting backe of the commodities, grown within this realme, to be transported into outward partes North Estward, was yett sones, brought into a newe doubt and perplexite. For the declaracion whereof, you muste vnderstande, that Lewes the Frenche kyng, had a brother called Charles, which was not the wisest, nor yet a man of the greatest experience: and of a certain curtesie, loued better to haue other men to rule him, then he to take vpō him to rule other. And although that the kyng at this tyme, had no soonne, nor other geuyng hym of his good will, for his part and porciō, of his fathers landes, but that, to the which he was cōpelled by his counsell, and that he gaue hym this moneth, in the next moneth, he would by flattery or by thretnyng, by war or corrupcion of his brothers seruantes, obtain & bring to his handes and possession again. For first he gaue him the Duchie of Berry, & after that whole Normandy, wherof in no long tyme, he bereit him the possession, regiment & title, without any cause geuē, on y<sup>e</sup> partie of yong Charles. And when thesaid Charles, had afterward departed, with the countreys of Brye & Champagne, by a flaudulent feate. king Lewes caused hym to relinquishe thesame, & to take for his parētage, the duchie of Guyen, & so was called & named the duke of Guyen. This euil entreating of the duke of Guyen by the Frēch kyng his brother, caused diuerse other Princes, of no small puyssaunce, to fauor, aide, and succor thesaid Duke (of the whiche the chief wer, Charles Duke of Burgoyne, Fraunces duke of Britayn, & Lewes erle of sent Poll, Constable of Fraunce.) This

R r

Duke

The. xii.  
yere



Duke of Guyen, by the solliciting of his adherentes, sore labored to haue in marriage, the sole daughter and onely heire, of Charles duke of Burgoyne, by whom he hoped to be lorde and soueraigne, of all duke Charles inheritaunce. To the furtheraunce of this marriage, holpe with all his power, the Duke of Britayn, as who saied, that it should be onely his acte. The Constable of Fraunce on the othei parte, thought that he a lone, was able to compasse this marriage, and to haue soly the thankes, of the Duke of Guyen. The French king did all that he could, to let and stoppe this marriage: for if his brother had obtained, the young Lady withall her possessions, then he sawe well enough, that the Duke of Guyen, beyng ioyned with the Duke of Britayne, should be strong enough, or at the least of puiissance enough, to encomber the Frenche kyng and his childien. But kyng Edward of Englande, sore smoked, when he had tell first of this marriage, and not without a cause. For he considered, that the Friëche kyng had no heire maile, but one weake boy and that the Duke of Guyen, was likely to were the Crowne of Fraunce, after his brother or nephewe. And if this marriage should procede, all Burgoyne, Brabant, Holland, Zeland, Flaunders, and all the lowe countreys, where the Englishmen, for the most parte, made their martres, and vntred there their merchaundise, should be vnted and annexed, to the Crowne of Fraunce, and in the handes of the old, and auncient enemies of the realme: For so had poore England, and litle Calais, been cōtinually in the daunger of their enemies, almoste with them enuironed rounde aboute. These thinges considered, kyng Edward and his counsail, tooke the matter in greate earnest, and seriously wrote to Duke Charles, that if he would conclude, any marriage in Fraunce, to the hurt and preiudice, of the realme of Englande, that he should knowe that he had, not onely broken his league and amitie, but also finde, that he had been better to haue dissimuled, with the best friende that he had, then priuily, without reason, to haue iugged with the realme of England. The Duke of Burgoyne made reasonable answeres, and honest excuses, but the Counsaill of Englande, in no wise would geue credite thereto. euer surmising that the marriage should take effect. And certainly at this season, the Englishemen had rather haue taken part, with the French king then with the Duke of Burgoyne. If it had not been onely, to empeche and stoppe this marriage, so muche the Englishemen disdained, to haue the house of Burgoyne, conioyned and vnted, to the Crowne of Fraunce. But the Duke of Burgoyne dailed, and dissimuled with all parties, in this matter, geuyng them faue wordes, and making large promises, by the whiche he first deceiued other, & incōclusion himself. He promised his daughter to Nicholas Duke of Calaber, with whō he had rather haue had her buried, then bedded. Duke Philbert of Sauoy, had an outward answere assuredly, when nothyng was so minded inwardly. Maximilian Duke of Austrice, and after kyng of Romaines, soonne to the Emperour Frēdericke, could neuer obtain, during the life of duke Charles, but onely glosyng and painted promises. but all wordes, writynges and promises, what so euei they wer, clerely set a side, he was surely fixed and determinéd (as Aigēton his counsailler doth write) that no marriage as long as he liued, should sort to any effecte, at the least by his consent.

Now lette vs leue the Duke of Burgoyne, aboute his affaires for a while, and retorne to kyng Edward. which, in the xiii yere of his reigne called his high Courte of Parliament, at his Palace of Westminster, in the whiche, all lawes and ordinaunces, made by hym before that daie were corrobated and confirmed. and suche Lawes made by hym, as kyng Henry the sixte, had caused to be abrogated and annichulated, he again reuiued and reuocated. He made farther lawes, both for the confiscation of the goodes of the rebelles, to his persone, as also for restoryng of suche, as fled out of the realme, for his querrell and occasiō which, by his aduersaries, as traitors to their Kyng and Countrey, a litle before, wer of high treason attainted, and to death cōdempned. Toward his charges of late sustained, a competent some of money was demaunded, and frankly graunted and incōclusion, all inward grudges and open discordes, the which had of long continued, in the hartes of the nobilitie, whiche, now wer very fewe (the more part beyng consumed in the warres)

warres) he clerely extirped, and brought to vntie and cōcorde Kyng Edward holpe to this agrement, as much as in hym laie. And to the intent that other men, should forget iniuries to them done, and put away all rancor and malice following his good and Godly example, he clerely pardoned almoste all offences, and all men then beyng within the Realme, he frankely discharged, although they had taken parte with his aduersaries against hym, of all high treasons and crimes.

¶ THE XIII YERE.

WHile kyng Edward was thus setting an ordre, and pacifying all thynges whiche were out of square Charles duke of Burgoyne, whose spirite was neuer in quiet, whose ambitious mynde, was neuer satisfied, whose haute and high stomacke, could neuer be tamed, (till death it swaged and abated) desiringe aswell to amplify, and enlarge his territories and dominions, lying on the side of the riuier of Ryne, toward high Burgoyne as also to recouer again Amia's and other townes, whiche the Frenche kyng, more by fraude then by feates of warre, had from hym wrongfully vsuiped. and further aboue all thynges, couctyng to haue the Freche kyng, to haue some great shame, losse, or hinderaunce, could not inuent no one waie, so apt and mete for his imagined purpose, as to entice and perswade the kyng of Englande, by his ambassadors, to make waie vpon thesaid kyng and his countrey. for the recoueryng of his old right and auncient title in thesame by the French kyng & his father, against all right and equitie, with holden and deteigned King Edward began a litle to haften on that side, not so much for to help the Duke of Burgoyne (to whom he was muche bounde, for his aide in the tyme of his exile, as you before haue harde) as for to be reuenged of kyng Lewes, whom, he reputed for his mortall enemie. Firste for aydyng the Erle of Warwicke and his complices, against him secondarely, for the long mainteinyng, and fosteryng of Quene Margarete, and her soonne Prince Edward (whome for a farther affinitye he had made Godfather to hys sonne Charles the Doulphyn) within his countreys & dominions. Whereupon, when he had consulted with the nobilitie and the chiefe and sage persons of the Realme (which in manner haue a certayn naturall inclination to make waie in Fraunce, either for hope of great spoyle and gayne, or of a certain priue canker engendered in the hartes of their forefathers in tyme long past, and after by lyneall succession descended in to the stomackes of their nephewes) he answered the Dukes messenger that in the begynnyng of the yere, he would lande at Caley's with such a pyssant army, that the Frenche kyng should well perceyue that he lacked neither men, nor that hys men lacked stomackes, bothe for to reuenge their souerayngnes quarell, and also to recouer his right. And for a trength at this season there was mortal warre betwene kyng Lewes and the duke of Burgoyne. And more likely to fall betwene him and other, for kyng Lewes, of nature was hard of speche, and churlish in aunswere, froward and vngentell aswell to hys frendes as to his foes. By reason whereof many great men within the realme of Fraunce, not content with his grosse rudenesse, and rude dissimulacion began to haue intelligens and to cleue to the duke of Burgoyne, emongest whom was Lewes of Luxenborough, eile of saint Pol, and Constable of Fraunce which beyng confedered with the duke and other noble men, determined so to vex and scoige kyng Lewes with some plague, by the whiche other he should be transformed in to a man, clerely altered from his old qualities, or els should be in jeopardy, both of losse of lyue & realme, for it was determined that Fraunce should be set on & assaulted, both with outward enemyes, and inward dissimulers. All these thynges the duke of Burgoyne with kyng Edward, did communicate to the entent the sooner to allue and prouoke him, to enterprise the warre, according to hys desyre. These thynges, as tokens of victorie, before animated kyng Edward, and enforced hym in maner to make waie on Fraunce and so with all expedition prepared all thynges necessarie, both for water and lande. And because no small summe of money was sufficient for so great a charge, and that the money the yere before to him auanced by the realme was consumed in hys household, and other necessarye affayres,



he conceyued a new deuice in hys imaginacion, by the which engine he might couertly perswade and entice hys ryche frendes, to geue and graunt him some conuenient summe of money, toward his inestable charges, and incredible costes, which thing if they did not willingly assent to, he then would impute to the greater ingratitude, and more unkyndnes, wherupon he caused hys officers to bryng to him the most ryche persons one after another. And to them he explained the cause, & the purpose, and the necessitie of the warre begon, and the fayntnesse & leuenesse of his treasure, and the g'reat & importune lacke of money hartely requyryng them for their loue & affeccion, that always they had boin to hym, beyng their natural Prince, of their awne gratuite and frewill to geue to hym some ayde or money, for mayntenaunce of his warre and army: what should I say more: This inuencion came to this effect, that some calling to their remembraunce, the benefites of hye receyued, some with shame, some with feare moued and encouraged, gaue to hym liberally bothe of their substaunce and treasure, which without grudge he could not haue otherwise obtenyed. But here I wil not let passe a prety conceyt, that happened in this gatheing, in the which he shall not only note the humilitie of a kynge, but more the fantasie of a woman. Kyng Edward had called before him a wydow, muche aboundynge in substance, and no lesse growen in yeres, of whome he merely demanded what she gladly would geue him towarde his greate charges? By my treuth quod she, for thy louely countenance thou shalt haue euen. xx. l. the kyng lokyng scace for the halfe of that summe, thanked her, and louingly kyst her, whether the flauor of his brethe did so cōfort her stommacke, or she esteemed the kyss of a kynge, so precious a iewel, she swore incontynently, that he should haue. xx. l. more, which she with the same will payed that she offered it. The kyng willing to shew that this benefite was to hym much acceptable, and not worthy to be put in obliuion called this graunt of money a beneuolence, not withstāding that many with grudge and maleuolēce gaue great summes toward that new fōude beneuolence. But the vsing of such gēuall fashions toward them, wyth frendly prayer of their assistance in his necessitie, so tempted them that they could none otherwise do, but frankly and frely yelde & geue hym a reasonable reward

## THE XIII. YERE.

The. xiii.  
Yere.

When all thynges conuenient for suche an enterpryse were in a redynesse. Kyng Edward with his army remoued to Douer, where he found v. C. shippes and Hoyes redy to transport hym & hys army ouer the sea. And so he hym self & his nobilitie warlikely accōpaigned, passed ouer betwene Douer & Caley, the iij. daye of Iuly, and landed at Caley, wyth great triumphe, his army horses and munycions of warre, scace passed ouer in xx. dayes (whome the Frenchmen bragged, should haue ben taken if they had wel considered the chaūce before as they knew it after) When kyng Edward with all his army royall, was without any trouble landed, and in suertie he caused euery man, accordyng to his degre to be ordered & lodged. This armye, by the wrytinge of Argenton, was the fayrest and the strongest armye that passed out of Englande in to Fraunce many yeres before, for the men were so well armed, and so surely in all thynges appoynted & prouided, that the Frenche naciō were not onely amased to behold them but much more praysed them & there oder. In this armye were xv. C. men of armes well horsed, of the which the most parte were barded & ryche trapped, after the moste galiard fashion, hauyng many horses decked in one suyte. There were farther. xv. M. archers, beryng bowes & arrowes, of the whiche a greate parte were on-horsebacke. There were also a greate number of fighting men & other, aswell to set vp Tentes and Pavilions (where of the Englishmē had great plenty) as to serue their Artillarie, and to enclose their campe, or otherwise to labor. And in all this army there was not one page.

The kyng of England was at his arryual highly displeased wyth the duke of Borgoyne, which in the worde of a Prince, promised hym to mete hym at his landing with. ij. M. men of armes & light horsemē, besyde a greate number of Lanceknightes & Halberders, & that he would haue be-

gonne the warre. ij monethes before the kynges transportyng, the more to vex and greaue the Frēch kyng, & to cause him seke his wittes. The duke of Burgoyne at this season, lay at seage before the strōge towne of Nuyce, with a puissant army, agaynst whome ware assembled the Emperour Frederike, and almost the whole Empire for to rescow of the towne, to whome the kyng of England sent the lord Scales in post, requyng him to leaue his voyd seage before the impregnable towne of Nuyce, and to retoine in all hast with his people and army to make warre in Fraunce, according to his promise and othe, declaring farther that the tyme passed, & the Somer woulde be lost, with this charge the lord Scales departed in all hast toward the duke, whome we wil leue, rydinge toward Nuyce for a while

O Fraunce Fraunce, how much art thou bounde to laude & prayse the Sauior for the deliuerance, in the tyme of thy afflictio. For if God had not permitted the cancard hart of the duke to be indurate, nor his weke biayne to be vexed, nor yet his ambitious affeccion to bee enflamed, so that he with all his power had ioyned with the army of England on y one syde, hauyng on their syde the duke of Brytayne with his power. These thre princes had bene lyke to haue made Fraunce, either to bow or to breke, either to yelde or to suffer the chaunces of fortune, which she lyke a waueryng Goddes, had prouided for her punishment. Before kyng Edward departed from Douer, he sent to the Frenche kyng an officer of armes (whome Argenton vntrewly calleth Garter borne in Normandy, for the some of Garter was neuer geuen to no estraunger) which Herault deliuered to the French kyng with all dew reuerence a letter of diffiance, bothe for the stile & the pennyng excellently endited, which the Frenchmen would scant beleue to be flamed by an Englishman. The letter requyred the Frēch king to render to the king of Englande, the realme of Fraunce to him of right, & by lyneall enheritaunce aperteyning & belonging to thentēt that he might put agayn y church, the nobilitie, and the commons into their auncient estates, & liberties, & to disburdē & exonerate them of the great charges, traauayles & labors, that they now were in. And in case y he did refuse so to do, then he dyd protest the harme that should ensue, in the forme & maner, that in suche a case is requysite and accustomed to be done. Kyng Lewes red the letter secretly to him selfe, & after all alone in a great study withdrew him self into-hys wardrobe, & sending for the English Herault, said to hym, sir I know, and wel wot, y the kyng of Englād your master is neither descended in these partes of his awne siē mocion, nor yet of vs requyred, but onely entised & prouoked by the duke of Burgoyne, and somewhat enforced by the cōmons of his Realme. But now you may see that y season of the yere passeth, & the duke of Burgoyne is in poore estate, returning from Nuyce all most discōforted. The Cōstable also, with whome the kyng your souereygne lord, I am sure hath some intelligence for fauor that your master hath married his nece, is not so sure a frende as he is taken for, & if all the world knew how I haue promoted him, & what I haue done for him they would littel thynk, that he woulde so vntrewly handle me as he dothe, for I assure you he is a depe dissimulor, & in continual dissimulacion, entendeth to lede his lyfe, entertayning all mē for his awn profit. And although y kyng your master, be vsuie of all hys other promises, yet of one thing he shall be sure, that is, he shall be euer dissimuled with all, & therefore I say to you, and not to your master, y he were better haue a peace with an old enemye, then the promises and familiaritie of a new dissimuling frēde, which peace most pleaseth God, and is the thing that I most do desyre. When he had sayd, he gaue to the Herault. ij. C. crownes, promysinge hym a. M. crownes, if any good apoyntement came to passe. The Herault beyng more coueteous of the crownes, then secret, accoding to the duetie of his office, promised to do all thinges that in him lay, not doubting, but that the kyng his master would be conformable to any reasonable offer, aduysinge the Frenche kyng (after kyng Edward were once landed) to send to him an Herault, to fetch a sauconduyte & passport, for such as should labor & trauayle in that treatie. And that the sayd Herault should first resort to the lord Stanley, or to the lord Haward, for the cōducting of him to the kynges presence, when the Herault should depart, the kyng gaue him a pece of Crymosen Veluet of xxx. yardes long, commaunding & strayghtly chargyng, that no man should be so hardy  
once



once to cōmen with him, but to let hym passe in all gentel fashiō. When the Herault was goue, king Lewes calling to him vii or viii. of his familiers, caused the letter too be red, of the whiche he was but a littel afraide & lesse abashed, considering the English Herault had shewed him playnly, how to enter into þe port of the treatie, & in maner how to gayne & conquere the fortresse, of which enformacion he was not a littel ioyous, & wisely and secretly according to thesame, when he saw his tyme, he prosecuted his purpose. In this very season the lord Scales came to the duke of Burgoyne before Nuyce, accompting to him his message, as he was commaunded. The duke of Burgoyne, beyng so sore set to cōquere the town of Nuyce, answered the lord Scales that his honor was lost, and shame should be spoken of him thorough all Christendom, if he should rayse his feld and breke his seage, but he noped shortly to gayne the towne, and then with triumphāt victory, to come to ayde kyng Edward with his whole army withthis answer þe lord Scales departed, which onely answer was comen without any other augmentacion, to all such as kyng Edward sent, to haue the duke to kepe his promes. What a folye was this in duke Charles, to besege a towne impregnable, euen at thesame tyme when the Englishmen at his request had passed the sea, which thyng all the tyme of his regiment, he had bothe traueled in, and sore requyred, and neuer coude compasse tyll this season, and also all thynges beyng well disposed for hys purpose, both in Bytayne and in other places, except he more regarded to conquere a new towne, then to defende all his olde possessions and seignories. But shortly after by the Bishoppe of Romes authoritie, he left Nuyce vnconquered, but lesyng a great nūber of his people, and the remnant he sent into Lorayne and Bairois, there to lye and trouble duke Reyner of Lorayne, whiche a littel before had defied hym, lyng before Nuyce. And he him self with a small company, came to kyng Edward before Caleys, with whom kyng Edward at the fyrst comyng, began somewhat to be grieved layng to his charge that at hys mocion, request and desyre, he with all hys army had passed the seas onely to the entent with mortal warre, to plague and scourge the proude realme of Fraunce. And that he leuyng all thynges (whiche should molest or trouble the Fienche kyng) a parte, applied hym selfe to matters of Lorayne, and externe nacions, more then to reuenge the open iniuries to him done by hys neyghbor the Fienche kyng. The duke excused hym selfe with ioparding the losse of hys honor, if he had retourned from Nuyce, and also that of necessitie, he was compelled to leue hys armye in Lorayne, to be reuenged ouer duke Reyner, whiche had hym before Nuyce with spytefull wordes and saylyng termes defied and detested affirmyng farther, that now in the beginnyng with a small companye, a great enterpryse myght be gayned. In profe wherof he deliuered to the kyng letters of credence, sent from the Constable of Fraunce, which willed the kyng to geue credite and perfait faith to the duke. In makyng relacion of suche secretes as were to hym geuen in charge to declare to the kynges awne person, fyrste he shewed that all though the Constable had promised to the kyng and the duke, to rēder vp to them the towne of saint Quintynes, yet it had not come to so good effect, if it had bene yelded, the duke beyng in Germany, as it now shall, the kyng and the duke beyng bothe personally presente, at the deliuerance. Wherefore he exhorted the kyng to set forwarde, and to display hys banner, and set foith hys standard. And so by hys mocion, the kyng accompanied with the duke hys armye departed out of Caleys, and passed by Boleyn to Perone, where the Englishmen thought them selves of the duke, more lyke enemyes then frendes to be entayned, for at the gates entered but a few that were apointed, the remnant lodged in the felde, better purueyed of their awne, then of the dukes prouision.

The kyng of England, thinkyng surely, and fyrmely beleuyng that the Constable ment all treuthe, and the soner enduced to that credence because the Constable was great Vncle to the Quene his wyfe, where in very dede, he nothing lesse minded then trouthe, remoued his campe from Peron, the duke of Burgoyne beyng in his army, and marched toward saynet Quintynes certayne Englishmen ran before the towne, agaynst whose comyng they thought that the belles should haue ben rong, and the gates set open. But whē they approched the

toune the attillarie begarne to shote, and they of the toune came out both on fote and horsbacke, and skyrnished with the Englishmen, of whiche two or thre were slayne. This welcome seemed very straunge to kyng Edward ponderinge together yestadayes promise, and two dayes doyng. The duke would not that the kyng should desist from his purpose, because the toune was not yelded at the sight of a handfull of people, whyche thynge he sayd, although the Constable would gladly haue done, at the first, but yet he would haue a couler to do it, as though it should appere that he did it by verye compulsion and force and therefore, if the kyng would make but semblance to besege the toune, he would warrant, that incontinent it should be yendered. The kyng of Englande, perceyvinge that he was deluded in his first enterpryse, thought it more suier to heare the fayre wordes of the constable, and the duke, then to geue credit to their vtrew and disceatfull doynges. The Englishmen returned to theyr campe, very yll content, as I can not blame them murmeryng agaynst the Constable, callinge hym Traytor, perured & vtrew gentelman. Besyde this angie, ther came the next daye another corsey, that smaited a littell sorer, for duke Charles of Boigoyne, by whose meanes kyng Edward had taken vpon hym this warre, either perceyued that all the Constables promises were but fayre sunne shynnyng swetely spoken, and sowely performed, or els he saw that he him selfe lacked men or money, to procede farther with king Edward in his iorney. Toke his leue so daynly of the kyng of Englande, saynge that he must nedes visite, and se his aunye in Bertrouys, promysinge shortly with all puissance to returne agayne to the great auantage and comoditie of them bothe, and so in hast departed.

This departyng was bothe displeasaunt and straunge to the king of Englande, considering that in hope to haue the duke his continuall fellow in armes, and too haue his counsayll in the order of his people (whiche of late had not frequented the warre of Fraunce, nor yet perfittly knewe the force, the agilitie and the maner of the Frenche nacion) had passed the seas, raysed his standard, and by dukes procurement entered into the lande of his enemyes, and nowe to be lett alone withoute guyde or leder, without ayde or succor in the middell of his foes, he could no lesse thynke, but that the duke neither vsed hym lyke a prince nor yet kept his promys lyke a trewe man. Whyche vnstable and dissimulyng workynge, caused, ye, and rather enforced kyng Edward, both to thynke that he neuer thought, and to do that he neuer entended to do. The Englishe men sore murmured against the Constable, and no lesse against the duke, sayng that determined, neuer to geue confidēce to the Constables wordes, and greatly doubted, whether they might geue any credite to the dukes promise. Thus late the englyshmen in the felde whē the cold nightes began to waxe long, without any gain of conquest, which caused the common people, which be not alwaies content with hardnes rather to desire to returne homewarde, then to procede any daies iorney forward. The French kyng whiche was bothe wily & wittie (and especially for his awne purpose) knewe by his espialls, & vntrue refusall made by the Constable, the vnfrendly departyng of the Duke of Boigoyne, and the daily murmyng of the englyshmen, against them bothe, wherefore he thought nowe, that it was verie expedient, to folowe the counsaill of the Englishe Herault, in sendyng for a sauecondute, for metyng of Ambassadors, to conuocacion of a treatie, if it might be well compassed. But yet to auoide all doubtēs, he raised an armie, and the more he perceyued, the power of his enemies to encrease, the more he studied, how by power to resist them, and ouer that armie he made capitain, Monsire Robert de Estouteville a valiaunt man, whom, he sent into Artoys, to defende the Frountiers there, against the kyng of Englandes entree and inuacions and he himselfe taried still at Senlis. The Frenche kyng beyng thus pryncipally desirous of peace, although he outwardly shewed the countenaunce of Mars. meanyng quietnes, and setting furthe warre, caused a varlet to be suborned, in a cote armure of Fraunce (whiche for hast, was made of a tūpet banner) because king Lewes was not muche desirous, nor greatly passed on honor, and seldome had in his Courte, either officer of Armes or Trompet which varlet was well animated, and no less instructed, how to do his message (whiche was deliuered to hym in writyng) bothe with a bolde countenaunce, and a sober demeanure. This cōterfeight Herault, although he was but a verlet in dede, was bothe;



bothe wittie and well spoken, and so rode in sad maner, nere to the Englishe army, and there put on his cote of Armes. The Englishe outskourers perceiuyng by his cote, that he was an officer of armes, gently saluted hym, and enquired of hym, whether his iorney laie: he sadly answered, that his message was from the French king, to the kyng of Englande. Then was he conueighed to the tent, where the Lorde Haward, and the Lorde Stanley, with other were at dinner, where he was highly entertained, and no lesse welcomed. And after dinner, he was brought before the kyng, in whose presence, with a bold audacitie, and no fearful speche, he declared first his credence, because he was an officer of armes (to whom, credite by the lawe of all nacions, ought to be geuen) and secondarely, he published the thynges, to hym geuen in charge and commaundement, sayng Right high & mightie prince right puyssaunt and noble kyng, if your excellent wisedō did perfectly knowe, or your high knowledge did apparantly perceiue: what inward affeccion, and feruent desire, the kyng my Master hath alwaies had, to haue a perfecte peace, a sure vnite, and a fraternall concord, betwene your noble persone, and your Realme, and his honorable personage, and his Dominions, you would (and for truthe sake) should confesse and saie, that neuer Christian Prince, more thrustred for an amitie, nor yet no louer hath more sought, to attain to the fauor of his paramor, then he hath sought to haue with you a perpetuall frendship, amitie, and alliance. to the intent that the subiectes of bothe the realmes, quietly liuyng vnder two princes confederate and combined together, in an indissoluble confederacie and league, maie mutually embrace eche other in their hartes, maie personally haue resort, and frequent eche others princes territories and dominions, with their Merchandises and wares. And finally, the one to liue with the other, as frende with frende, brother with brother, compaignion with compaignion, in continuall loue, reste, and tranquillite. And for his parte he dooth affirme and saie, that sithe he receiued firste the Croune of his kingdom, and was annoynted with the holy Ampulle, he neuer attempted, nor yet once imagined, any warre or thyng preiudicial toward your royall persone, your realme, or your people. If you peradventure will saie, that he supported, and maintained the Erle of Warwicke, against your maiestie, he surely that dooth and will denie. For he aided hym against the Duke of Burgoyne, whom, he knewe not onely to be his extreme enemy, but also to laie in waite, bothe by sea and land either to take hym, or vntterly to destroye hym. Whiche Duke of Burgoyne, onely for his awne cause, hath excited and solicited your highnes, to come ouer the troubelous and tempestuous seas, to the intent to cause (yea, in maner to compell) the kyng my Master, to condescende to suche treatie and appoyntment, as should be to his onely profite, and neither to your honor, nor yet to your gain. For if he and such other, as daily flattered hym for their peculier profites (as he had many in deede, that daily sucked at his elbowe) had once obtained the thyng, that thei breathed for, all your affaires wer put in obliuion, and lefte at large for them, or their assistance, euen as thei be at this daie. Hath not the Duke of Burgoyne caused you, first to come into Fraunce after to set forward your armie, and incōclusion, for lake of his promise, to lese the faire season of the yere, and to lye in the feldes in Winter? Whiche warre, if it cōtinue, shall neither be profitable to you, nor yet your nobilitie, nor yet pleasaunte, but painfull to your commonaltie. And finally to bothe the realmes, and especially to merchaunt menne, shall bryng bothe misery, pōuertie, and calamitie. Came the Duke of Burgoyne from Nuce to Caleis, onely to visite you? Rode he all that poste haste, onely to blynde you? Returned he backe into Lorayne again for any cause, but onely to leue you desolate, and to abandon you? Did he or the Constable kepe any one promise with you? Why do you then beleue & yet still trust them in whom, you neuer found faithe nor fidelitie? But if God will it so ordain, that you and my master, maie ioie in a league and amitie, I dare bothe saie and swere, that the fine stele neuer cleued faster to the Adamant stone, then he will sticke and claspe with you, bothe in wealthe and woo, in prosperitie and aduersitie: And if it shall please you, to harken to any reasonable treatie, I beyng a poore man, shall on reoperdie of my life (whiche is my chief treasure) vnder take, that this communicacion shall sorte and come to suche an effecte, that bothe you

and

and your nobilitie shalbe glad and reioyse, and your commons, shalbe contented and pleased, and they that haue deceiued you, shalbe bothe abashed and ashamed. Moste humbly besechyng your highnes, if your pleasure shal encline this waie, that I maie haue a sure saue conduite, for one hundred hoises, for suche personages as the kyng my Master, shall send to you with farther intimacion of his mynd and purpose. And if your pleasure shalbe, to haue the communicatiō in any place, indifferent betwene bothe tharmies, then I shall wariant you a like saueconduite for your men, as you do sende for oures. When he had accomplished his message and instruccions, the kyng of Englande and his counsaill, highly commended his audacitie, his toungue, and his sobernes, geuyng to him in reward, a faire gylte cuppe, with a hundied angelles deliueying hym a saueconduite, accordyng to his request and demaunde, with the whiche, he with spede departed, hauyng with him an English herault, to bryng a like sauecōduite, from the Frenche kyng. After both the Princes had maturely consulted on this matter, and that the saueconduites, were deliuered on bothe partes: The ambassadors mette, at a village beside Amias, where were sent by the kyng of England, the Lorde Haward, sir Thomas Senthiger, Doctor Morton, alter Chaunceler of England. For the Frenche kyng wei sent, the Bastarde of Burbon, Admirall of Fraunce, the Lorde of saint Pierre, the Bushop of Eureux called Heberge. It maie of some be not a litle marueled at, why the French king thus labored, and sought for peace, and did make so humble, and large offers as he did. But if thei considered in what case, the realme of Fraunce stode in, at that tyme hauyng the kyng of Englande, the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Britayne, their enemies, and all furnished to set vpon them at one instant. They maie saie, that the Frenche kyng was bothe wise and circumspecte, to humble himself for auantage, or els if God had not holpen, the realme of Fraunce had been troubled, and tossed in greate reoperdie, and daungerous extremitie. The Ambassadors met at the place appoynted, the Englishe menne demaunded, the whole realme of Fraunce, or at the least Normandy, and whole Aquitaine, the allegacions were well proued by the Englishmen, and pollitiquely defended by the Frenche men, so that with argumentes, without conclusiō the daie passed, and the Commissioners departed, and made relacion to their Masters. The Frenche kyng and his counsaill, would in no wise consent, that the kyng of England, should haue any parte, or parcell of lande, within the realme of Fraunce but rather fully determined, to put himself and his whole realme, in hazard and aduenture. so lothe, ye more aferde, then lothe, he was to haue the Englishmen, to be his next neighbors. The commissioners at the next metyng, concluded and agreed certain articles, which were by bothe the Princes, accepted and allowed. It was first couenaūted and agreed, that the French kyng should paie to the kyng of England without delaie lxxv. M. Crounes of the sunne, and yerely l. M. crounes, to be paid at London, duryng kyng Edwardes life. And farther it was agreed, y Charles the Dolphyn should mary the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to kyng Edward, & thei twoo to haue for the maintenaunce of their estates, the whole Duchie of Guyen or els. l. M. crounes, yerely to be persolued & paid within the toure of London, by the space of. ix. yeies: and at the end of thesaid terme. The dolphin & his dolphines, peaceably to enioy the whole duchie of Guyen and of that charge the French kyng, against the kyng of England, then to be clerely exonerate. And further it was agreed & appointed, that the ii. princes, bothe for thencieace of loue, & for the continuance of amitie should enteruew eche other, in some place moste expedient, & mete for so greate a purpose & after their metyng, eche of the to take a corporal othe in presence of thother. This peace to endure. ix. yeres betwene bothe the realmes, inuoliate to obserue & kepe al thynges concluded, agreed & appoynted, & on the kyng of Englandes part, wer cōposed as allies in the league, the dukes of Buigoyn & Britain, if thei would assent. And y after y whole some aforeaid, was to kyng Edward paid: he should league in hostage the lorde Haward, & sir Iho Cheyney Master of his horses, til he with all his army, was passed ouer the sea. This peace much reioysed the French kyng, to whō, nothing could be either more pleasaunt, or more exceptable, then to haue the englishmē in short space (how shortly he cared not) clerely auoyded,



annoyded, & transported out of his realme. immagiuyng euer that by their taryng, thei would  
 so like the holosome & swete aire of his fruitfull country, that a greate number would be cō-  
 tinuallly sicke & vexed till thei returned, & sought for their health in thesame delicious cli-  
 mate again, wherfore to rid thē with all hastie speede, he borrowed f̄ said some of lxxv. M.  
 crounes, of every man that might lend a porcion. King Edward likewise, although he was  
 of puissance strong inough, to achue a great enterprise on his enemies, & farther incoraged,  
 because he was renowned for f̄ famous actes, by him befoie tyme perpetiated, & brought to  
 passe, in so many battailes. Desnyng also, rather to haue war, with the Frēch nacion beyng  
 the old & auncient eneme, to thenglishe name & bloud, yet when he called to his remem-  
 braunce, that the ciuill warre, had so exhausted and consumed his substaunce and treasure,  
 that if vrgent necessitie should expostulate, he wer of scant abilitie, to conscribe and set  
 furthe a newe armie. knowyng his tresorie at home, to be so voyde and faint, that it was  
 not able, long to wage his souldiors, thought it both reasonable and profitable, to obeye to  
 necessitie, and to abstain from battail seying bothe honorable ofers, to him obleted and agre-  
 mentes of auantage to hym mocioned. Consideryng chiefly beside all this, that neither the  
 Duke of Burgoyne, nor the Constable of Fraunce, did, nor would obserue or performe the  
 promises by them made and sworne. Wherupō he and the moste of his counsaill, (and spe-  
 cially suche as loued better peace then waire, & their wifes soft beddes, better then hard har-  
 nesse, or a stony lodgyng) agreed to this conclusion and concord. But the duke of Glou-  
 cester and other to whom the French nacion, was more odious then a tode, whose swordes  
 thrusted for French bloud, detested, abhorred, and cried out on this peace, sayng that all  
 their trauaill, pain, and expences, wer to their shame loste and employed. and nothyng gained  
 but a continuall mocke, and daily derision of the Frenche kyng, & all his minions: this im-  
 imaginacion tooke effecte without delaie. For a gentle manne of the Fienche kynges cham-  
 ber, after the peace was concluded, did demaunde of an Englishman how many battailles  
 kyng Edward had vanquished, and he answered, nyue: wherein he hymself, personally had  
 been. A greate honor, saied the Frenche man, but I prate you q<sup>b</sup> he, smylng. How many  
 hath he lost, the Englishman perceiuyng what he ment, saied. one whiche you by pollicie,  
 and by no strength haue caused hym to lese. Well saied the Frenche manne, you may  
 ponder in a paire of balāce, the gain of the nyne gotten battailes, and the rebuke of this one  
 in this maner loste: for I tell you, that wee haue this sayng, the force of Englaūd hath and  
 doth, surmount the force of Fraunce. but the engenious witte of the Frenche men, excell  
 the dull braynes of Englishmen. For in all battailes you haue been the gayners, but in  
 leagues and treaties, our wittes haue made you losers. so that you may content your selves,  
 with the losse in treaties, for the spōyle that you gatte, in waies and battailes. This cōmu-  
 nicacion was reported to the French kyng, whiche priuily sent for the Englishman to sup-  
 per, and not onely made him goode chere, but also gaue hym a thousande Crounes, to praise  
 the peace and to helpe to maintain thesame. yet neuerthesse, he beyng not a litle moved  
 with these bragges, declared all the communicacion to the duke of Gloucester, which sware  
 that he would neuer haue sette foote out of Englande, if he had not thought, to haue made  
 the Frenchmen, once to assayed the strength and puyssaunce, of the Englishmen: but  
 whatsoever he thought, all thynges wer transmuted, into another kynde, then he could im-  
 magin. The Duke of Burgoyne beyng enformed, that there was a peace entreatyng, betwene  
 the two kynges. came in no small hast from Luxenborough, onely accompanied by sixtene  
 horses, into the kyng of Englādes lodgyng, wherof, the kyng beyng not a litle abashed  
 seying bothe his sodain comyng, and his fiersse countenance; like one that would rather  
 bite then whyne, demaunded of him the cause of his so sodain comyng. The Duke sharply  
 answered, to knowe whether he had, either entered into any comunicaciō, or onely had  
 absolutely concluded a peace, betwene the Fienche kyng and him. Kyng Edward declared,  
 how that for sondery, and diuerse greate and vrgent causes, touchyng aswell the vniuersall  
 publique wealth, of the whole Christianitie as their awne priuate commoditie, and the quiet-  
 nes of their realmes, he and the French kyng, had concluded a peace and amitie, for terme  
 of.

of. ix. yeres, in the whiche were comprised, as felowes and frendes, bothe he and the Duke of Britayne, requyryng him to condiscende, and agree to thesame. Oh Lorde, Oh saint George, q<sup>t</sup> the Duke of Burgoyne, haue you thus dooen in deede. Haue you passed the seas, entered into Fraunce and without killyng of a pore fle, or burnyng of a sely shepe cote, and haue taken a shamefull truce. Did your noble auncester, kyng Edward the thiide euer make armie into Fraunce (as he made many) in the which, he did not either gain victory in battail, or profite in conqueriing, ciites, tounes, and countreys. That victorious prince, as neie kinne to me, as you to kyng Henry the fifth, I meane whose bloud, you haue, either rightfully or wrongfully, God knoweth, extipate and destroyed, with a small puyssaunce entered into Fraunce, conquered whole Normady, and not alonely cōquered it, but peaceably kept it, and neuer would either comen, or agree to any league, till he had the whole Realme of Fraunce offered hym, and was thereof made, Regent and heire apparāt and you without any thyng dooyng, or any honor or profite gainyng, haue condiscended to a peace, bothe as honorable, and as profitabē to you, as a Pesecode, and not so wholesome as a Pomegranate. thynke you that I either moued you, or once entised you, to take this iorney for my peculier aduantage, or cōmoditie (whiche of my power am able, to reuenge mine awne causes, without help of other) but onely to haue you recouer, your old rightes & possessions, whiche wei fīd you, both torciously & wrongfully with holden. And to thintent that you shall knowe, that I haue no nedē of your aide, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the Frenche kyng, till you bee passed the sea, and haue been there three monethes. When Duke Charles had said, he furiously threwe doune his chayer, and would haue departed. But the kyng hym staid and saied. Brother Charles, sith you haue spoken at leaset, what you would, you muste and shall, heare again, what you would not: And first as concernyng our entery into Fraunce, no manne liuyng knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause halfe so well, to remembre it, as you: For if you haue not fully, put your greatest thynges, to be had in memorie, in your boxe of obliuion, you be not yet out of mynde, how the Frenche kyng, for all your power, tooke from you the faire toun of Amias, and the strong Pile of S. Quintynes, with diuerse other tounes, which you neither durst, nor yet were able, either to rescowe or defende. Sith whiche tyme, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your frendes, yea, of your priue chamber, and secrete counsaill (by whom all youre secretes, bee to hym reueled and made open) you knowe or haue better cause to remembre, and not to forget them. And when you determined, to besiege the toun of Nuce, you thought your self, in a greate doubte, whether you should lease more at home, by your absence, (the Frenche kyng dremyng, and waityng like a Foxe for his piate) or els gain more in Germany, by your power and presence, and to kepe the wolfe from the folde, that is the Frenche kyng, from your Castels and dominions, was the chiefe and principall cause, why you so sayre prayed me, so sore laboured and entyced me to passe ouer the sea, promisyng mountaynes of golde, whiche turned into snowe, and wasted to water, boastynge and crakyng to sende horsemen and fotemen, and yet shewing neither lackey nor page. If we hadde made our enterpryce for oure selfe soly, and in our awne quaiell thynke you that we woulde haue expected your commyng. If the aduenture hadde bene for to haue recouered our ryghte, imagyn you } we woulde haue passed the sea so slenderly, as we did lokyng for your ayde. Nay, nay, you should haue well known, if we had intended a conquest, that we woulde haue so strongly inuaded, & set on the Realme of Fraunce, y what with sauor of burnyng of townes, and infeccion of the aýre, corrupted by the multitude of dead carcases of our slayne-enemyes, your countreys of Flaunders and Brabant should haue had causes inough to wonder at, trusting that, that which we had gotten, we would haue kept aswell as any of our auncestours haue done: but because the very occasion of the warre was yours, and that you wilfully (I will not saye cowardly) did not prosecute thesame, the Frenche kyng, whiche neuer offended me nor my subiectes (except in maynteyninge the erle of Warwycke, for the displeasure that you bare hym agaynste me) offered me, beyng destitute of all your succour and ayde, bothe honorable and honest ouer-



tures of peace, which offers I was in maner enforced, by very reason to encline to and to accept & so haue concluded a truce, whiche God wyllyng I will bothe kepe & obserue. God sende you ioy quod the duke, & sodaynly toke his horse & rode agayn to Luxenborough. After this day the kyng and the duke, neuer loued, nor neuer saw eche other, such is the end of vniustynes & promysbrekyng. If the duke of Burgoyne were angry when he hard how this peace was in communicaciō much more angry was the Constable of Fraunce, fearynge lest, that by that conclusion he might be reputed of the French kyng vntrew, as he had well deserued it. Wherefore he sent hys confessor to kyng Edward, with letters of credence, requiring him hartely littell to regard f̃ Frēch kynges woordes, and lesse to trust to his promise, affirmynge that the French kyng woulde no longer kepe promise, then kyng Edward were on that syde of the sea and iather then he shoulde agree with the French kyng, for a small summe of money, he offered to lende hym. 1 thousand ciounes, with many other fayre profers. The kyng of Englande made answer that the truce was concluded, and that he would nothing chaunge, concernyng the matter, & that if he had kept promise with hym, he would not haue made that apoyntement nor agreement. Then was the Constable in maner on all sydes in dispayre, but yet he wrote to the French kyng by his messengers, besechyng him to geue no credite or belefe, to any tale tolde or fayned agaynste him, without hearyng his answer, affirming that the kyng had always knowen hys treuth and fidelitie, towarde the cioune of Fraunce, and so shoulde he still fynde hym till his dyeng day, promysing & warranting him, if that it should stand with his pleasure, that he woulde so cōpasse the duke of Burgoyne, that they two should vtterly destroy the kyng of Englande and his army or they returned.

The counsaylers of the French kyng made answer, that their Master and the kyng of England were ioyned and confedered in a sure amitie, wherefore they would in no wise know nor condiscend to any thing that might be either preiudiciall, or once sounde to the detriment of the Englishmen. But they sayd, that the kyng their master muche trusted f̃ Constable, and that for his sake he would talke with them in his priuy chaumber. The French kyng, before their enty into his chamber, caused the lord of Countay seruauant to the Duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the lord of Argenton, one of his priue counsayll, to stande secretly behynd a selyng or a hangyng in his clamber, and he him selfe sat in a chayre directly before that place, so that whatsoeuer were purposed to hym, they standing behynd the clothe, might easely se, & facile heare the same. Lewes de creuell and his felow entered into the kynges chamber of nothings thinkinge lesse then of the spytes enclosed. they declared what payne their master had taken for the French kynges sake, to send niouc and entyce the duke of Burgoyne to leaue, and clerely to forsake f̃ kyng of England, which duke they founde in suche a rage and fury aganst the Englishmen that at their request, he was not onely vtterly determined, to forsake and refuse their amitie, but also would sende out aduenturers and Lanceknightes, to robbe & spoyle them in their retornyng. And in spekyng these wordes (thinking surely much to please the kyng) the sayd Lewes counterfeitte the fashion and gesture of the duke of Burgoyne, & began to stāpe with his fote on the ground, and bete with his fyste on the table, sweryng by saint George that the kyng of England was not extracted of no noble house, but was a yomans sonne, & that when he was not worth one halpenny, he was restored to his kyngdome, and made kyng onely by his ayde, reprouyng and reuilyng hym with suche yll wordes, and so shamful termes, that all the hearers abhorred it. The French kyng fayning that he was thicke of hearyng, caused him to reiterate his sayng agayn, which so cōterfeyted the very gesture of the dukes angry countenance & ioryng voyce, that no man hathe sene a better cōteyfaytor or player in any Comedie or Tragedie. The lord of Cōtay was sore displeased to se his master made a iestingstocke but he kepte all these thinges secret, tyll his retourne to his master. When the pagiaunt was played, the kyng had the messengers of f̃ Cōstable, to haue him cōmended to his brother their master, and to declare to him that as newes rose and grew, he would therof aduertise him; & so gaue them licence to depart to their master, who

who thought him selfe now to be in great suertye of hys estate, when in dede he was neuer so nere his falle and perdicion. Estemyng the duke of Burgoyne to be his assured frende, whiche hated hym more then a Panyne, or a Turke, accomptyng also the French kyng to hate no yll suspicion in hym, whiche neither trusted nor yet beleued any worde, wrytyng or message that was either written or sent from him. Such ende hath all dissimulacion, such tute springeth of double dealing & crafty coueyeng. for if either y<sup>e</sup> Cōstable had bene faithfull to the kyng his master, as of bounden duetye & alleageaunce he ought to be, or els had kept his promes, made to y<sup>e</sup> king of England & duke of Burgoyne, and not daliaed & dissimuled with thē, he had surely in his extremitie bene ayded, succored & cōforted of one of these thre at the lest, where now he was of al thre forsakē, & yet not forsaken, but sought for, looked for, & watched for, not for his profit or promociō, but for hys vndoing and destrucciō: Now let vs leaue of the Cōstable, and returne to the cōclusion of the peace. When all thinges were appointed, wryten & established, the peace was proclaymed in bothe the campes, and the kyng of England, the soner to consumate the amtie by othe as it was agreed, came within halfe a leage of Amyas, where the French kyng was, which to thentent to obteyne the more fauor of Thēghlishmen, sent into their army a. C. Cartes, loden with wyne, y<sup>e</sup> best that might be gotten. And farther, because the Englishmen resorted to the town of Amyas, both for their pastime & business, he ordeined at y<sup>e</sup> very entre of the gate of the town two great & long tables, to be set on euery syde of the strete, where the Englishmen should passe, & euery table was abundantly furnished with all soites of delicate viand, & especially of such as would prouoke an appetite to drynke, there lacked no wyne of no sorte, seruitours were redy to serue and minister al thinges necessary. And farther to accompany & familiarly to entertayne the English naciō at euery table were apoynted. v. or vij. gentlemen, of the beste companions of the whole cōūtray, not only to se them serued without lackyn but also to drynke and make good chere, and kepe company with them, and euer as they entered into the towne, they were taken by the brydels and in maneie enforced to drynke, wheresoeuer they came they payed no money, but were set scot free, which chere lasted in or. iiii. dayes, to the French kynges cost, and in conclusion to his no small vquietinge. For one day there entered into the towne of Amyas ix M. Englishmen, wel armed, so that no Frēchmen durst once forbid them to entre, their occasion of enteriug into the towne was onely to refreshe them, and to bye thinges necessary for their businesses and affayres. When the Fienche kyng was therof enformed, he was somewhat vexed & more amased, fearing either the losse of his towne, or hurt of his people: He sent to Thēghlish capitaynes, requiryng them to withdraw their souldiers to theyr Campe, the capitaynes performed the kynges desyre, as much as in thē lay, but if they sent out. xx. ten came backe agayne, and brought more cōpany with them. The French kyng sent Monsier de Guye, Marshall of Fraūce, & other into the towne to se the Englishmē behaueour, they founde some drynkyng, some singing, & some slepyng, so that they might perceyue, that they meant neither disceat nor vnticouth. yet the Fienche kyng, which of his nature was very suspicious, & especially toward the Englishmen, came to the gate of Amyas, strongly accōpaignied, & caused. iij. C. men of armes to be kept secretly in their capitaynes houses, & other cōpaigny he set on the portall, where y<sup>e</sup> Englishmē entered, a smal number God wot, to haue resisted the great company of Englishmen if they had either entēded any thing toward y<sup>e</sup> French kyng or his towne. The kyng of Englād was priuillie enformed of y<sup>e</sup> Frēch kinges, doubtfull unaginacion & vntrew suspiciō, wherefore he sent worde to him that he should make a Proclamacion, that no Englishmā should entre into the towne vpon a peyne. The Frēch kyng made answere, that it neither stode with his honor, nor yet with any priuocely humanitie, y<sup>e</sup> he should forbid his frendes (as he called them) to take their pleasure in his towne but if it might please the kyng of Englād, to apoint certain of the yomē of his Croune, to stand at the gate, & to apoynt, not onely who shoulde enter, but also the number of them, he thought that this moderacion should be both suerty & pleasure to both the parties. Which request the kyng of England



England with quicke spede, caused to be performed to y<sup>e</sup> great quietnes of the French kyng & his counsaill, casting farther periles then reason then required. You, haue still in your reinēbrāce, how an article of the treaty was, that the two Princes shoulde enteruiew, & mete in a place by both parties to be appoynted. The kyng of England appoynted the lord Haward, & syr Thomas Sentliger, & a Herault: for y<sup>e</sup> Frēch kyng were assigned the lord Bonchace, & the lord of Argentō. Whē they had vewed the Ryuer, they agreed the most conuenient & surest place to be at Pycqueguye, on the water of Some iii leagues frō Amyas. The toun standeth lowe, and the Ryuer passeth thorough. On that side y<sup>e</sup> the French kyng should come, the cōtrey fayre & open, and so likewise the other parte was very pleasaunt: but towarde the Ryuer, ther was a Cawsey of.ii. a low shot in lēgth, which was enuyroned with marshes surely it was a daungerous passage to conueye a Prince in a straunge Realme, by such a straitē, if the Frenche men had ment any fraude, but verely the kyng of England had so great trust & confidēce in the hono<sup>r</sup> & promise of the French kyng & his nobilitie, that he would vpon their assurance aduentured farther then this, if his will might haue ben performed. Then it was cōcluded by these iii. commissioners, that a large bridge should be made over the Ryuer of Some, in the middel of which bridge was made a great strōg grate of tymber, like to the grate where the Lyons bekept, the holes of which grate did extende into no longer quantitie, then that a man myght easily pūt thorough his arme, which bridge was made & couered with bordes, onely to kepe of the wether, so that vnder the couerture, there might stand xii. persons on euery syde of the grate which extended from the one syde of the bridge, -euen directly to the other, so y<sup>e</sup> there was no way for one Prince to come to the other (as was in the grate, where Ihon duke of Burgoye was slayn) & over the Ryuer was only one fery bote. When the bridge & all other thynges necessary were ended & performed for so great a purpose, and well & diligently vewed on bothe the sydes, there were appointed xii. noble personages, to be attendant on euery Prince to the baries, & iii. Englishmen were assigned to stand with the Frēch men on the bridge, to se their doying and behauoure, & likewise. iii. Frenchmē were limited to y<sup>e</sup> Englishmen for that same cause and pollicie. At the day appoynted, which was the. xxxi. day of August, in the yere of Christes blessed incarnation M cccc.lxxv. eche kyng approached the Ryuer syde with his army, so y<sup>e</sup> eche army might se other. The Frenchmen say & write, that the army of the Englishmen, was greater and muche fayrer then their battayll, but they excuse it (in this cace as they do in all other) sayng that the fourth parte of their army was lacking, you may allow their excuse if it please you. When the token of meting by the shot of the Artillerie was knowen, the French kyng with xii. noble men entered the bridge, & came to the closure, with whom was Ihon duke of Burbon, and the Cardinal hys brother, a prelate. more mete for a ladyes capet, then for an Ecclesiasticall pulpet & x. other amongst whome the loide of Argenton was in like disguised apparell, as the Frēch kyng waie, for so was his pleasure that day to haue hym adourned. The kyng of Englande came all alonge the causey that I haue spoken of well accōpaigned, that he semed well to be a kyng, & with him was his brother the duke of Clarēce the erle of Northumberland, the bishop of Elye hys Chanceler, the lord Hastynges his Chamberlayn, & viii. other lordes. Kyng Edward, & iii. other were appareled in clothe of golde frised, haunge on his honet of blacke weluet a floure delyce of golde, set with very ryche and oucut stones, he was a goodly fayre & a beautefull Prince, beginninge a littel to growe in flesh, and when he approached nere the grate, he toke of hys cappe, and made a low and solemne obeysance the French kyng made to hym an humble reuerence, but after his fashion somewhat homely. Kyng Lewes embrased kyng Edward thorough the barriers saynge. Cosyn you be right hartely welcome into these parties, assuring you y<sup>e</sup> there is no man in the world y<sup>e</sup> I haue more desired to se & speke with, thē with you, & now lauded be Almyghtie God, we be here mette together for a good & Godly purpose, wherof I doubt not, but y<sup>e</sup> we shall haue cause to reioyce. The kyng of Englande hym thanked and answered

swered to hys wordes so soberly, so grauely, and so princely, that the Frenchmē their at not a littell mused.

The Chanceler of England made there a solempne oracion, in laude & prayse of peace, concluding on a prophēcie, ŷ sayd that at Pycquegny should be concluded a peace, bothe honorable & profitable to the Realmes of Englād & Fraūce. Then the Chāceler opened the letters of both their agreēmētes to the treatie, demādyng of thē if they therewith were contented, they answered ye, theneche Prince layed his right hand on ŷ Missal, & his left hand on the holy Crosse, & toke there a solēpne othe, to obserue and kepe the treatie of the truce for ix. yeres cōcluded betwene them, with all their confederates and alies cōprised, mencioned and specefied in thesame, and farther to accōplishe the mariage of their chylderne, with all thynges theron depending, accordyng as it was agreed & concluded betwene their Ambassadors, whē the othe was takē & sworne, the French kyng sayd meynly to kyng Edward, brother, if you will take peyn to come to Parys you shall be feasted and entertyned with ladies, & I shall apoynt you the Cardinall of Bourbon for your confessor, which shall gladly assoyle you of suche synnes; if any be committed. The kyng of England toke these wordes pleasauntly and thankefully, for he was enformed that the Cardinall was a good companion, & a Chaplayne mete for such a dalyeng pastyme. When thys communicacion was meynly ended, the French kyng, entendyng to shēw hym selfe lyke a Master emongest hys seruautes, made all hys compaigny to drawe backe from hym, meanyng to comon wyth the kyng of England secretly, the Englishmen withdrew them without any commaundemēt, then the two kynges commoned alone secretly, I thynke not to the profite of the Constable of Fraunce. The French kyng demaunded of kyng Edward, whether the duke of Burgoyne would accept the truce, Kyng Edward answered that he woulde once agayne make an offer, and then vpon the refusall, he woulde referre and report the treuth to them bothe. Then kyng Lewes began to speake of the duke of Britayn, whome he woulde fayne haue excepted out of the leage. To whom the kyng of England answered: Brother I requyre you to moue no warre to the duke of Britayne, for on my fidelitie, in the tyme of my uede and aduersitie, I neuer found a more frendlye sure and stedfast louer then he.

Then kyng Lewes called his cōpaignye again, & with most lowly & amiable commendacions, toke his leue of the kyng of Englād, speaking certayn fiendly wordes to euery Englishmā. Kyng Edward doyng lykewise to the Frēchmē, then both at one tyme departed frō the barriers & mounted on horsebacke, and departed the French kyng to Amyas, & kyng Edward to his army, to whome was sent out of the French kynges house all thynges necessarie for a Prince, in so muche ŷ neither Torches nor Torchettes lacked vsent. When the French kyng was departed from Picquegny, he called to him the lord of Argentō sayeng, by ŷ peace of God, the kyng of England is an amorous & a fayre prince, he at the first becke woulde gladly se Parys, where he might fortune to fynde such pleasaunt or talkatyue Dames, which with fayre wordes, and pleasaunt pastymes myght so allure hym to then fantasies, that it might brede an occasion in him to come ouer the sea agayne, whiche I woulde not gladly se, for his progenitors haue ben to long and too often bothe in Parys and Normandy (on this syde the sea) therefore I loue neither his sight nor his cōpany, but when he is at home, I loue hym as my brother, and take hym as my frende.

The French kyng after this departyng, sore desirous to make warre on the Duke of Britayne, whiche he could not do, except he were left out of the treatie, wherefore he sent the lord of Bouchage, and the lord of S. Pierre, to the kyng of Englande, entreatyng hym by all waies and mocions possible, to leaue the duke of Britayn for his alie, and not to haue hym comprehended in the leage. The kyng of England hearing thē so seriously and so feruently, speake against the Duke of Britayn, with an earnest countenaunce answered, sayng: My Lordes I assure you, if I wer peaceably at home in my realme, yet for the defence of the Duke of Britayn and his cōuntry, I woulde passe the seas again, against all thē that either woulde dō him iniurie, or make warre vpon hym. The French Lordes nothyng farther sayng, muche maruiled why the kyng of Englande, so surely claue



to the Duke of Britaynes partie. But they knew not (or els at the least remembred not) that Henry Eile of Richemonde, was within the power and dominion, of the Duke of Britayne, whom kyng Edwardes phantaseie euer gaue hym, would make once a title to the Croune of England, as next heire to the house of Lancastrie. For he knewe well, that if the Duke of Britayne, would transporte hym into England, where he had bothe kynsfolke and frendes, with neuer so small an aide (yea, although it wer but a shadow of an army) then were he enforced, newly to begin again a conquest, as though he had neuer wonne the Croune, nor obtayned the possession of the Realme, which was the verie cause, why he stakke so sore, on the Duke of Britaynes part. Thesame night the lordes returned to Amias, and reported to their Master kyng Edwardes answere, which therewith, was not the best pleased, but pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedy, but to dissimule the matter. This same night also, there came the lorde Haward, and twoo other of the kyng of Englandes counsaill, which had been coadiutors toward the peace, to the Frenche kyng to supper. The lorde Haward said to the Frenche kyng, secretly in his eare, that if it stode with his pleasure, he could perswade the kyng of Englande, to come to Amias, yea, peraventure as farie as Paris, familiarly and frendly, to solace hymself with hym, as his trusue frende and faithfull brother. The Frenche kyng, to whom this mocion was nothing pleasaunt, calling for water, washed and rose without any answere making: but he said to one of his counsaill, that he imagined in his awne conceipt, that this request would bee made. The Englishe menue began again, to common of that matter, the Frenche men politiquely brake their communicacion, sayng that the kyng with all celeritie, must marche forward, against the duke of Burgoyne. Although this mocion semed, onely for to increase loue, and continuall amitie betwene the Princes, yet the Fienchmen hauyng, in their perfecte remembraunce, the innumerable damages and hurtes, whiche they of late daies, had susteined by the Englishe nation whereby, continual hatred encreased, against them in Fraunce, thought by policy and wisdom, with faire wordes, and frendly countinaunce, to put by this request, and to mocion them rather, to departe homeward, then to pricke them forward, to Paris, where peradventure, they might so be entertained at this tyme, that they would at another come thether, bothe undesired and unwelcomed. This peace was said to be made, onely by the holy ghoste, because that on the daie of metyng, a white Doue satte on the very toppe, of the kyng of Englandes tent whether she sat there to drie her, or came thether as a token, geuen by God, I referre it to your iudgemente. At this treatie and metyng, was not the Duke of Gloucester, nor other lordes, which were not content with this truce, but the Duke came afterwarde to Amias, with diuerse other Lordes of Englande, to the Frenche kyng, whiche, bothe highly feasted them, and also presented them with plate and horses, well garnished. Kyng Lewes consideryng, what gain the Englyshemen had gotten, by making warre in Fraunce, and what miserie, what calamitie, and what pouertie, the Frenche nacio had suffered, and many yeres susteined, by reason of the said warres, determined clerely, rather to pacifie and entertain the Englishe nacion, by faire wordes, and great rewardes (although it wer to his great charge) then by to muche hardines, to put hymself, his nobilitie and realme in a hasard, by geuyng them battaill, as his predecessours, had vnwisely doen at Potiers, and at Agincourt, wherefore, to bye peace, he grauted to kyng Edwarde, for a yerely tribute 1. M. Crounes, to be paid at London, whiche, accomptyng a croune at 133 s. amounteth to. x. M. L. And to haue the fauor and good will, of his chief counsaillers, he gaue greate pencions, amountyng to the some of xvi. M. Crounes a yere, that is to saie to his Chauncellor, to the Lorde Hastings, his chief Chamberleyn, a man of no lesse witte then vertue, and of greate auctoritie with his Master, and that not without a cause for he had aswell in tyme of aduersitie, as in the faine flatteryng worlde, well and truly serued hym, and to the Lorde Hawarde, to sir Thomas Mountgomerie, to sir Thomas Sathger, to sir Ihon Cheiney, Master of the kynges horses, to the Marques Dorset, sonne to the Quene, and diuerse other, he gaue great

great & liberal rewarde, to thintent to kepe hymself, in amitie with England while he  
avaunc and obtained his purpose and desire in other places.

These persones had geuen to them great gites, beside yerely pencions - For Argenton  
his counsailer affirmeth of his awne knowledge, that the lorde Haward, had in leese then  
the terme of two yeres, for rewarde in money and plate xxiii. M. Crounes, and at the  
tyme of this metyng, he gaue to the Lorde Hastynges, the kynges chief Chamberlain, as  
Frenchmen write, a hundred markes of siluer, made in plate, whereof euery marke is  
viii. ounces sterlyng, but thenglish writers affirme, that he gaue thesaid, Lorde Hastynges  
xxiii. doosen boules, that is to saie, xii. dosen gilte, and xii. dosen vngilte, euery cuppe  
wayng xvii. nobles, whiche gifte, either betokened in hym, a greate liberall nature, or els  
a greate and especial confidence, that he had in thesaid Lorde Chamberlain. Beside this,  
he gaue hym yerely, two thousand Crounes pencio, the whiche some he sent to hym, by  
Piers Cleret one of the Masters of his house, geuyng hym in charge, to receiue of hym  
an acquitaunce, for the receipt of the same pencion, to thintent that it should appere, in tyme  
to come, that the Chauncellor, Chamberlain, Admirall, Masters of the horses, to the kyng  
of Englande, and many other of his Counsaill, had been in fee and pencionaries, of the  
French kyng, whose yerely acquitaunces (the lorde Hastynges onely except) remain of  
recorde to be shewed, in the Chamber of accomptes, in the palace of Paris. Whē Piers  
Cleret had paid the pencion, to the lorde Hastynges, he gently demaunded of hym an ac-  
quitaunce, for his discharge, whiche request when he denied, he then onely required of  
hym, a letter of three lines, to bee directed to the kyng, testifying the receipte of the pen-  
cion, to the intent that the kyng your Master, should not thinke, the pēcio to be imbesiled.  
The lorde Hastynges although he knewe, that Piers demaunded nothyng but reason, an-  
swered him. sir this gift cōmeth onely, of the liberall pleasure of the kyng your Master,  
and not of my request. if it be his determinate will, that I shall haue it, then putte you  
it into my sleue, and if not, I prae you render to him his gifte again. For neither he nor  
you, shall haue either letter, acquitaunce, or scrowe, signed with my hande, of the re-  
ceipte of any pencion to thintent to bragge another day, that the kynges Chamberlain of  
Englande, hath been pencionary, with the Frenche kyng, and shewe his acquitaunce, in  
the Chamber of accomptes, to his dishonor. Piers left his money behynd, and made re-  
lacion of all thinges to his Master, which, although that he had not his will, yet he much  
more praised the wisdom, and pollicie of the Lorde Hastynges, then of the other pen-  
cionaries, commaundyng hym yerely to bee paid, without any discharge demaundyng.

When the kyng of Englande, had receiued his tribute, and his nobilitie then rewarde,  
of the Frenche kyng. he trussed vp his tentes, and laded all his bagage, and departed to-  
ward Caleis, but or he came there, he remembering the craftie dissimulacion, and the vn-  
true dealyng, of Lewes Erle of S. Pole, high Constable of Fraunce, entending to declare  
hym, to the French kyng, in his verie true likenes and portrature. sent vnto hym two  
letters of credence, written by thesaid Constable, with the true report, of all suche  
woordes and messages, as had been to hym sent, and declared by thesaid Constable and  
his Ambassadors, whiche letters, the Frenche kyng gladly receiued, and thankfully ac-  
cepted, as the chief instrument, to bryng the Constable to his death: which he escaped no  
long season after, suche is the ende of dissimulers.

When kyng Edward was come to Caleis, and had set all thynges in an ordre, he toke  
shippe, and sailed with a prosperous wynde, into Englande, and was receiued by the  
Maior of London, and the Magistrates clad in scarlet, and v. C. cōmoners, appareled in  
Murrey, the. xxviii. daie of Septembre, in the. xiii. yere of his reigne, vpon Blacke  
Heathe, and so conueighed with greate triumph, through the cite of Westminster, where  
after his long labor, he reposed hymself a while euery daie almoste, talkyng with the  
Queene his wife, of the mariage of his daughter, whom, he caused to be called Dolphenesse.  
~thynkyng nothyng suier, then that marriage to take effecte, accordyng to the treatie. The  
T t hope



hope of whiche mariage, caused hym to dissimule, and do thynges, whiche afterward chaunced, greatly to the Frenche kynges profite, & smally to his

When kyng Edward was arrived in Englande, the Frenche Kyng, thynkyng by no meane possible, to haue his will on the Constable, but onely by the Duke of Burgoyne, determined to conclude a truce, for. ix. yeres, vpon couenaunt, euery man to haue his awne, but the Ambassadors, would not haue the truce proclaimed, thynkyng thereby, to saue the Duke from periurie, whiche had swoine, neuer to conclude a peace, till the kyng of Englande had been three monethes in his realme, after his returne from Caleis. The kyng of Englande, was of all these dooynges, asserteined by his frendes wherefore, in all hast he sent, sir Thomas Mountgomerie, a wise and a sage knight, to the Frenche kyng beyng then at Vernyns, concluding with the duke of Burgoyne Ambassadors, requirynge him, to take none other truce, with Duke Charles, then that, whiche was by them concluded, desuynge hym farther, in no wise to departe with saint Quintines to the duke. Offeryng that if he would any longer continue the warre, against thesaid Duke, that he would for his pleasure, and the dukes displeasure, passe the seas again, the nexte Sommer: so that the Frenche kyng, should paie to hym fiftie thousand crounes, for the losse whiche he should sustein, in his Custome by reason that the wolles at Caleis, because of the warre, could haue no vent, nor be vttered, and also paie halfe the chaiges, and halfe the wages of his souldiers, and men of warre.

The Frenche kyng, most hartely thanked, the kyng of England, of his kynde offre, and faithfull frendshippe, excusynge hym, that the peace was al ready assented to how be it, it was the verie same peace, that was betwene them concluded, sayng onely, that the duke would bee a contractor in the league, and not comprehēded in thesame, as another princes alie. This matter was thus answered, and faintly excused, and with thesame, sir Thomas Mountgomerie dispatched, which was with plate conueniently rewarded and with hym returned, the lorde Haward, and sir Ihon Cheiney, which were hostages with the Frenche kyng, til kyng Edward were returned into Englande. The Frenche kyng marueiled not a litle, at kyng Edwardes offres, and thought it perilous to cause the Englishemenne to passe the sea again, and to ioyne with the Frenchmen, whom they neuer loued, coniecturyng farther, that the Englishemenne and the Burgoyons, would sone agre, by reason of their old acquaintaunce and familiaritie, and by chaunce, bothe become enemies to the Frenche men. wherefore, in auoydyng of all ambiguities, he determined to conclude the truce.

## THE XV. YERE.

*The xv.  
yere*

When Kyng Edward had after this maner established, as well his affaires of outwarde warres, as his priuate and perticuler busines at home, notwithstanding, that he beyng the moste valiaunt, and fortunate victor, of such, and so many terrible and bloody battailes, might thynke to leade his life, in perfect quietnes, and sure sauete: Yet considering, that Henry the young erle of Richemond, one of the ofsprynge, of the bloud of kyng Henry the sixte, was yet luyng and in good health, he iudged himself, to be farre from his purpose, and that that onely thyng did so yexe and trouble his ioye and felicitie, that he thought himself, neuer to bee in a sure estate, voyde of trouble or feare. Wherefore, he determined yet once again, to sollicite and moue, Fraūces Duke of Britayne, either for giftes, promises or prayers, to deliuer the Erle into his handes, whō he supposed (after the faction and bande, of kyng Henries parte, by hym extincted, and clerely defeated) to bryng to his lure, and to rule at his awne mynde and pleasure. Wherefore, he sent Doctor Stillyngton, and twoo other, his Ambassadors, well laden with no small some of golde, with all hast to the Duke of Britayn: And to the intent that their desire should appeare more honest, in the open face of the world, he willed them to declare to the Duke, that their request,

request, to haue the Erle deliuered to them, was onely for this purpose, to ioine with him  
 aliance by mariage and so to extirpate and plucke vp, all the degrees and leuynges of the  
 aduerser part, and contrary faccion. Whiche enterprise (whatsoever thei saied) was not  
 onely by affinitie, but by the onely death, of the innocent erle Henry, to be acheued and  
 brought to passe. The Duke gently heard the Oratois, and firste he began to deny, & after  
 to excuse, why he might nor ought not agree to their request, but inconclusion, what with  
 prayers requirynge, and monnyes sollicitynge, the Duke beyng wearied and overcome, deliue-  
 red the erle to the Ambassadors, whom, in his letters he highly commended, to kyng Ed-  
 waide, not thynkyng that he deliuered, the shepe to the wolfe, but the sonne to the father,  
 beleuyng surely, without scruple or doubt, that kyng Edward would geue in mariage to  
 him lady Elizabeth his eldest daughter, whom in deede he married, after hir fathers death,  
 of you hereafter shall heare. Whē thambassadors had the piae, that thei so much desired, they  
 departed to the toun of S Malo, standyng on the sea side, where, they reked to haue  
 taken shipping, and so to haue sailed into Englande. The erle of Richemond knowing,  
 that he was going toward his death, for very pensiuenes, and inwarde thought, fell into  
 a feruent & a sore agewe. In this very season, one Ihō Cleulet, so esteemed among the  
 Princes of Britayne, as fewe were in all the countrey, and in muche credite, and wel ac-  
 cepted with the duke, was when these thynges were thus concluded, for his solace in the  
 countrey, but beyng thereof certified, beyng chafed with the abhominacion of the fact: re-  
 sorted to the Courte and familerly came to the Dukes presence, and there stode so sadly,  
 and so paly, without any worde speakyng, that the Duke was muche abashed, and sodainly  
 marueiled, at his sad and frownyng cōtēnaunce, & demaunded of him what should  
 signifie, that dumpishenes of mynde, and inward sighyng, the whiche by his countēnaunce,  
 manifestly appered and was euident he modestly answered, moste noble and redoubted  
 lorde, this palenes of visage, and dedly loke doth prognosticate y<sup>e</sup> time of my death, to ap-  
 proche & be at hand, which if it had chaunced to me, before this day, I assure you, it  
 had much lesse hurted me. For thē had I not been preserued, to fele the dolorous pāges  
 and sorowfull sighynges whiche a fact by you doen (that I thought impossible to be obtained)  
 hath imprinted in my stomacke, and in my hart depely grauen. so that I well perceiue, that ei-  
 ther I shall lese my life, or els lue in perpetuall distresse and continuall misery. For you my  
 synguler good lord, by your vertuous actes, and noble feates haue gotten to you, in maner an  
 immortall fame: whiche in euery mans mouth, is extolled and eleuated, aboue the high  
 Cloudes, but alas me semeth (I pray you pardon me my rudenes) that now that you haue ob-  
 tained, so high a laude and glory, you nothyng lesse regarde then to kepe and preserue  
 the same inuolate, consideryng, that you forgettyng your faith and faithfull promise, made to  
 Henry Erle of Richemōd, hath deliuered the moste innocent young gentelman, to the cruell  
 tormenters, to bee afflicted, sente in peces, and slain. wherefore, all suche as loue you,  
 of the whiche number I am one cannot chose but lament and be sory, whē they se openly,  
 the fame and glory of your moste renowned name by suche a disloialtie, and vntruthe against  
 promise, to be both blotted and stained with a perpetuall note, of slaunde and infamie. Peace  
 myne awne good Ihon, q<sup>d</sup> the Duke, I prae thee, beleue me there is no suche thyng like to  
 happen to therle of Richemond: for kyng Edward hath sent for hym, to make of hym, beyng  
 his suspect enemie, his good & faire sōne in lawe Well, well, q<sup>d</sup> Ihon, my redoubted lorde,  
 geue credence to me therle Hēry is at the very brynke to perishe, whom, if you permitte  
 once to set but one foote, out of your power and dominion, there is no mortall creature  
 able hereafter, to deliuer hym from death. The duke beyng moued, with the perswasions  
 of Ihon Cheynet, whiche either htle beleued, or smally suspected kyng Edward, to desire  
 the erle, for any fraude or decepte, or els seduced by blynde auarice and loue of money,  
 moie then honestie, fidelitie, or wisdom would require, did not consider, what he vnad-  
 uisedly did, or what he aduisedly, should haue done. Wherefore, with all diligence, he  
 sent furthe Peter Landoyse, his chief Theasorer, commaundyng hym to intercept and staie,



the Erle of Richemond, in all hast possible Peter not slugging, nor dreamyng his busines: came to the Englishe Ambassadors to S Malos, there abiding the wynde. And firste he inuented a cause of his comyng, and kepte with them a long communicacion to pertracte the tyme, till his men in the meane season, had conueighed therle (almoste halfe ded) into a suie Sanctuary, within the toune, whiche in nowise might bee violated. where he beyng deliuered from the continual feare of diedful death, recovered hys health, and in good plight was brought to the duke.

Here a man may evidently perceyue the olde Grieke prouerbe to bee very trew, which is that a man, to a man shall sometyne be as a God, for the yong erle Henry without desert deliuered to his death, sodaynly by the labor of Ihon Cheulet, and the fauor of the good Prince, was preserued, saued and deliuered. God graunt that such examples may be a doctrine and myrror to such as be rulers about other, lackyng counsayles to monish and warne them of their duetie and office. That thei remembryng thys good acte, may learne to take into the counsayl and familie, such as wil well and truly admonishe and warne them, and they likewise with good mynde and glad entent to be folowers of the saue.

The English oratours complayned and murmured that they were both spoyled of their money & marchandise requyryng Peter Landoyse that they in no wise should returne, so deluded without pray or penney. The treasurer effectuously promised them that the Erle either should be suely kept in the Sentuary, into the which he escaped (by their negligence as he layed to their charge) or els should be agayn in the dukes house put in prison, so that they shoulde not nede no more to feare hym then hys shadow. And so the kyng of England for hys money, purchased the keeping of his enemye by the space of iii. dayes, and no more.

Kyng Edward in the meane season, sore longyng to know what effect hys Ambassade toke with the duke of Britayne, and therefore was euery houre trobled and vnquieted with narkenying & lokynge, was at the last certefied from thence, howe the erle of Rychemond was deliuered, and at a poynt to be brought home to hym as a prisoner in captiuitie but that he escaped. First, he lamented his purpose, not to haue more prosperously succeded, but after beyng somewhat molified and apeased, when he hard that he should be sauely kept in prison, determined clerely hereafter to banishe that care out of hys mynd and fantasyc, and to employe all hys whole study and diligence for the keepynge of hys house, after a more bountifull fashion and liberall propoicion, then before was accustomed. And when he had sufficiently stored his cheste with treasure, remembryng hys honor, lest, he peraduenture should be noted with the spot of Nygardshyp, he shewed hymselfe lyke a liberall and beneficiall Prince to hys commons, and lyke a good and profitable kyng to the cōmon wealth, & the poore people of hys Realme and dominion.

### THE XVI. YERE.

Even as kyng Edward sought, inuented and studied dayly and howeryly to bryng hym selfe to quietnesse & rest, and hys Realme to a continual amitie, and a perpetual peace, lykewyse at thesame tyme Charles duke of Burgoyne, whose wit neuer loued peace, nor yet was wery or abhorred troble, whose intolletable paynes in warres were to hym pleasure, and especially where he thought any new seignorie to obtene, or els to be reuenged of auncient enemyes, for olde greues and displeasures to him done. So yf desyre of rule mixt with hatred, and mallice cōbined with auarice kyndeled, prouoked and excited so hys courage thys yere (whose bragging audacitie had more nede of a brydell to be refrayned, then of a spur to be pricked forward) that he partly to be reuenged of yf duke of Lorayne and yf Swytechers, and partly for yf couetous desyre that he had to certayn lādes, lyeng betwene his lowe countreys of Brabant & Flaunders and hys duchie of haut Burgoyne, assembled a great army & a mighty puyssance, and beseged a towne called Granson in Lorayne, which when he had receyued

ceyned, without mercy, lyke a tyrant he caused all the Inhabytantes cruelly to be put to death, wherof heryng the Switchers mafully encoūtered with hym, and discomfited hys whole armye, where the duke lost bothe honor, prayse, and suth abundaunce of ryches, that few Princes in hys tyme were able to shew such luel, and so many, & of suche high price and value. And after not cōtent with these chaūces, but euer in hope of reuēging he fought with the Switchers agayne at Morat, wherof xviij M. good mē of warre, he lost x M. besyde them that were wounded and hurt: yet this fierce & couragious Capitayne, more coragious then circūspect, gathered agayn a new army, and contrary to the myndes of his whole counsaill, in the depth of Wynter, beseged the toune of Nancy, belongyng to the duke of Lorayn, where he was encoūtered with the sayd duke and the Switchers, and there by the agayne encoūter, discomfited, and slayne.

Thus in one yere he lost ij. great battayles, the fyrste at Grantson, where he lost honor, and all hys ryches: The second at Morat, where he lost honor, & almost all hys men. The thyd at Nancy, where he loste lyfe, honor, ryches, men, and all worldely felicitie, on the Vigile of the Epiphany, in the yere of our lord, after some writers. M. cccc. lxxvi. and after other M. cccc. lxxvij.

Thys ende had the valiant hart, and stout courage of duke Charles of Burgoyne, who in hys tyme could neuer agre with peace & cōcord, tyll death more puyssant then lyfe may resist, broughte hys bodye to quietnes and perpetual tranquillite, which body is entered in y. church of saint George in Nancy, leuyng behynd him one sole daughter, lawfully begotten to be his heyre which afterward was maryed to Maximiliaen Archeduke of Austice.

At this battayl were taken Anthony and Bauldwyn, bastarde bretherne to duke Charles, whome the French kyng bought of the duke of Lorayne, to the entent that they shoulde notwithstandinge hys pretensed purpose in Flaunders. Yf any man were sory of the duke of Burgoyne's death, you may be sure that he was not so inwardly sory, as the French kyng was in hartioyous and glad. for now hauyng peace with Englande, he knew no creature that was able to matche with him in earnest or in game, & because he would lese no tyme, he vndercoule that womē herot able to enioy any thyng, that is or hath ben, aperteynynge to the Croune of Fraunce, toke of the yong Damosel of Burgoyne the tounes of Moundedier, Perrone, Abbenyle, Monstreul, Roy and all the tounes on the ryuer of Some. Beside thys, he with no great payne obteyned Hesdyng, Arras, and the toune of Bulleyn with the countye of Bullonoys, whiche kyng Charles hys father had before engaged, and empledged to duke Philip of Burgoyne, as before is mencioned. But this wyly and wytty kyng Lewes, comyng to the toune of Bulleyn, perceyued that if it were fortified with a garrison, it shoulde not onely be an yl neyghbor to the tounes of Caleys and Guynes, but also a port necessaie and conuenient for all hys subiectes, when they should be, either by enemyes assayed, or by stormy tempestious wether driue on the narrow seas, wherfore to cast a sure Ancker, knowynge the lord Bartrame de la Toure, eile of Auluerie, to be the very trew and vndubitate heyre of y. sayd toune and countie. He fyrst obteyned of him his righte and title in thesame, rewarding him with a greater summe, & a more yerely value of reuenewes, in the countye of Forest and other places. And after to the entent to haue a port euer open vpo Englad, he annexed thesame toune of Bulleyn, and the countie of Bullonoys, with the partes adiacent, to the croune and regalie of Fraunce. And because, the fornamed towne and countie were holden of the erledom of Aitoys, he chaunged the tenure, and solemly auowed to holde thesame toune & countie of our Lady of Bulleyn, and therof did homage to the Image in y. great Church called our Lady church in Bulleyn, offring there a hart of gold, weyng. ii. M. Crounes, ordenyng farther that all his heyres and successors; at their entrie into the estate and dignitie royal, by them self, or their deputie shoulde offer a hart of lyke weight and value, as a releue & homage done, or made for thesame toune and countie. You may be sure that the kyng of England would not haue suffered the French kyng to haue edefied such a couert nest, so nere his toune of Caleis, and the territories of the same, except his leage had



had bound hym, or that he had to much affyance in the French kyng, whose hart was doble, & whose wit euer incōstāt, but surely the hope of the prefermēt of his daughter, both brought hym to blyndnes and dotage. Let these doynges ouer passe & se how politkely the French kyng wrought for his aduantage. Duryng these gaynes in the lowe partes, he caused the duke of Lorayn to enter into hygh Burgoyne with a great army, which by pollicie & promises brought the whole Duchie vnder obedience of the French kyng, which then claymed to haue the order and marriage of the yonge lady, as a pupille, ward and orphan, aperteyning to the crowne of Fraunce, for the which title after rose no smal mischiet, and trouble in Flaunders, and the cōtreys thereabout. Let vs leaue a whyle to speake of outward busines, and retourne to our awne.

### ¶ THE. XVII. YERE.

The xvij.  
yere.

IN  $\text{y}^{\text{e}}$  xvij. yere of kyng Edward, there fel a sparcle of priuy malice, betwene the king & his brother the duke of Clarēce whether it rose of olde grudges before time passed, or were it newly kyndeled and set a fyre by the Quene, or her bloud which were euer mistrusting and priuely bairkyng at the kynges lignage, or were he desirous to reigne after his brother to men that haue thereof made large inquisicion, of suche as were of no small authoritie in those dayes, the certayntie therof was hyd, and coulde not truely be disclosed, but by coniectures, which as often deceyue the imaginacions of fantastical folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusion. The fame was that the king or the Quene, or bothe sore troubled with a folysh Prophesey, and by reason therof begā to stomacke & greuously to grudge agaynst the duke. The effect of which was, after king Edward should reigne, one whose first letter of hys name shoulde be a G. and because the deuyl is wōt with such wytychcraftes, to wrappe and illaqueat the myndes of men, which delyte in such deuelyshe fantasies they sayd afterward that that Prophesey lost not hys effect, when after kyng Edward, Gloucester vsurped his kyngdome.

Other allege this to be the cause of his death: That of late,  $\text{y}^{\text{e}}$  olde rācor betwene them beyng newly reuiued (The which betwene no creatures can be more vehement then betwene bretherne, especially when it is fermely radicate) the duke beyng destitute of a wyfe, by the meanes of lady Margaret duches of Burgoyne, hys syster, procured to haue the lady Marye, daughter and heyre to duke Charles her husband, to beeguen to hym in matrimony. which marriage kyng Edward (enuyenge the felcitie of his brother) bothe agayne sayed and disturbed. Thys priuy displeasure was openly appeased, but not inwardly forgottē, nor outwardly forgeuen, for that, not withstanding a scruaunt of the Dukes was sodainly accused (I can not say of treuth, or vntruely suspected by the Dukes enemies) of poysonyng, sorcery, or inchauntment, & therof condempned, and put to taste the paynes of death. The duke, whiche myght not suffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in his conscience adiudged) nor yet forbere, nor patiently suffer the vniust hādelyng of his trusty seiuaunt, dayly dyd oppugne, and wyth yll woordes murmur at the doyng thereof. The king much greued and troubled with hys brothers dayly querimonye, and contynuall exclamacion, caused hym to be apprehended, and cast into the Towre, where he beyng taken and adiudged for a Traytor, was priuely drowned in a But of Maluesey.

George duke  
of Clarence,  
drowned in a  
But of Mal-  
uesey in the  
Towre.

But sure it is that although kyng Edward were consentyng to his death and destruccion, yet he much dyd bothe laimente his infortunate chaunce, and repent hys sodayne execucion. Inasmuche, that when any person sued to hym for Pardon or remission, of any malefactor condempned to the punishment of death, he woulde accustomably saye, & openly speke, O infortunate brother, for whose lyfe not one creature would make intercession, openly spekyng, and apparantly meanyng, that by the meanes of some of the nobilitie, he was circumuented, and brought to hys confusion.

Thys duke left behynd hym two yonge infantes, engendered of the body of the daughter to

to Richard, late erle of Warwycke, whiche chylderne by destinye, or by their awne merites, folowynge the steppes of theyr auncetours, succeded them in lyke misfortune, and semblable yll chaūce. For Edward hys heyre, whome kyng Edward had created erle of Warwycke was thre and twenty yeres after in the tyme of kyng Henry the. vij. attaynted of treason, and on Towre hyl behedded Maigarette his sole daughter was maryed to sir Rycharde Pole knyghte, beyng much bounde to kyng Henry the. vij. for her auauncement in mariage, besyde manifold benefites, by her of hym receyued. But most of all obliged to that excellent prince kyng Henry the eight, for restoring her aswell to the name and title of countesse of Salisbury, as to the possessions of the same she forgetting ſ̄ miserable chaunce of her father, and lesse remembryng the kyndnes and kyndied of her sayd souereygne lord, committed agaynst hys Maiestye, and hys Realme, abhominable and detestable treason, for the whiche she was in open Parliament adjudged and attaynted, and two and sixty yeres after her father was put to death in the Towre, she on the grene within the same place, with an Axe suffered execucion. In whose person died the very surname of Plantagenet, which from Geofrey Plātagenet so longe in the bloud Royall of this realme, had florished and contynued. After the death of this duke, by reason of great hete and vntemperate ayer, happened so fierce and so quicke a Pestilence that xv. yeres warre paste, consumed not the thyrde parte of the people, that onely foure monethes miserably and pitifully dispatched, and brought to their sepulture.

THE. XVIII. YERE.

YOU haue harde not longe before how the Frenche kyng not onely claymed the rule, <sup>The xviii. yere.</sup> governaunce, and manage of the yonge Princes and Damosell of Burgoyne, but also how he, what wyth policie, and what with force had plucked from her the fayrest feathers of her taylor, that is too meane whole hant Burgoyne, and the stronge townes of Pycardye which in tyme to come myght (as they were very lyke) happen to proue yll neyghbors to the English nacion. All these thynges were politickely pondered, & maturely digested by the wise counsaylers of England, which first considered the olde amitie, betwene the house of Englande and Flaunders, and the quotidiane entercourse, trafficke and commutacion, which no smal season had ben practised, frequented & exercised mutually and frendly betwene the subiectes, and all nacions hauynge resort to either of the sayd countreys, saw it open before their eyes, that if the Frenche kynge, either by force or by coniunction of marriage to Charles erle of Angulesme (to whome he promised hys good wyll, for the obteynynge of the yonge Princes) should get the vpper hande of the Damosel or of her seignories and dominions, that then damage might ensue to the whole Realme of Englande, bothe for vityrnyng of their commodities in those partes, and also for the impedynent or stoppe of their course and recourse, besyde new impositions and gabels, to be set within the sayde countreys, vpon the Marchauntes, their goodes and wares. Wherefore the whole nobilitie and sage fathers made humble request, to kyng Edward to helpe, and ayde the yonge ladye and Prynces of Burgoyne, allegynge that as farre as they coulde perceyue, the mariage of hys daughter with the Dolphyne, was but dissimuled and sayned for in ſ̄ treaty concluded at Picquegnye, betwene him and kyng Lewes, it was apoynted, agreed, and openly sworne, that the Frenche kyng, within a yere folowynge, shoulde sende for the Ladye Elizabeth, entiteled Dolphynesse of Vyen, to be conueyed into Fraunce whiche yere with foure more were passed and gone without any worde speking of her sendynge for, or goynge into Fraunce.

The Quene of Englande also had wryten in this season too the lady Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyne, for the preferment of her brother Anthony erle Ryuers, to the manage of the yonge Damosell, but the counsayll of Flaunders, consyderinge that he was but a erle of a meane estate, and she the greatest inheritrice of all Christendom at that tyme, gaue but deafe hearynge to soo vnmete a request the whiche desyre, if the Fleminges had but geuen good eare to, or wythgentell wordes delayed the suyte, she had bothe bene succored and defended



fended with a good number, and not susteyned soo greate losse as she dyd. Whether kyng Edward were not content wth this refusall, or that he trusted more the Frenche kynges promyse, then all hys counsayll coule se cause, or that he was lothe to lese hys yerely tribute of fifty thousande Crownes, he woulde in no wyse consent to sende any army into Flaunders, agaynst the Frenche kyng. But he sent Ambassadors to kyng Lewes with louynge and gentle letters, requyrynge hym to conclude some reasonable peace, or els at the least to take a certayne ture wyth her at hys request.

The Ambassadors of England, wer highly receiued, bountefully fested, and liberally rewarded. But answeie to their desue, had they none but y shortly the Frenche kyng woulde sende Ambassadors, hostages, & pledges, to the kyng of England, their master, for the concluding and performauce of all thynges, dependyng betwene thein twoo. So that then souereigne lorde and thei, should haue good cause, to be contented and pleased. All these faire wordes wer ouely delaies to protracte time, and in the meane season, to wyne tounes and coultreys, from the damosell, or any aide or succor, could be to her administred

And beside this, to staie kyng Edward, from takynge part with her. He wrote to hym, that if he would ioine with him in aide, or personally make warre in any parte of the Ladies territories, or dominions. that then kyng Edward, should haue and enioye, to hym and his heires, the whole County and Countrey of Flaunders, discharged of all homage, superroutie, and resorte to be claimed by the French kyng, and his heires and successors. and farther, he should haue the whole duchie of Brabant, whereof the Frenche kyng offered at his awne charge and coste, to conquere foure, the chief and strongest tounes, within the said Duchie, and thein in quiet possession, to deliuer to the Kyng of Englande, grauntyng farther to paie to hym, tenne thousande Angels, towafd his charges: besides municions of warre and artilerie, which he promised to lende hym, with men and cariage, for the conueighaunce of thesame

A greates offer made by the French kyng to Kyng Edward the iiii.

The kyng of Englande answered, that the tounes of Flanders, were of no small strengthe, nor of no litle quantie, very vnease to bee kepte, when thei wer conquered. and of no lesse force was the duchie of Brabant, with whom, his subiectes were bothe lothe, and not verie willyng to haue warre there, considering, that thether was one of then common trafficques and ventes, of all their Merchaundice. But if the Frenche kyng would make hym partener, of his conquest in Picardy, rendering to hym parte of the tounes, all ready gotten and gained, as Boleigne Mounstrel, and Abbeuile, then he would surely take his parte, and aide hym with men, at his awne costes and charges. While this matter was in answeyng, and replyng again, the Frenche kyng spoyled the yong Princes, of tounes and Regions, and of the best Capitaines that her father lefte, as the Lorde Cordes and other: wherefore for pure necessitie of aide and strengthe, she married with Maximilian, sonne to Frederike the Empeior, whiche to his power, sore resisted the Frenche Kyng, for makynge any inuasions into Flaunders, or other his wifes landes and seignories. This princes conceiued of her husbände in the firste yere of her mariage, a faire lady called Margaret, whom kyng Lewes so phantesied, either to haue a publique peace, with Maximilian her father, by the whiche, he might staie all warre, and hostilitie betwene the and so by that meane, peaceably to enioy the countreys and tounes by hym stollen and faintly conquered, or els imagenyng by that ouely damosell, in conclusion to comoyne, the whole countrey of Flanders, and the other dominions, theunto apperteinyng, to the crowne of Fraunce, (as he had no fewe tymes before attempted and assaied). That he clerely forgettyng, his promes made, written, and sworne to the kyng of Englande, for the mariage of his daughter, solicited priuily the Lordes of Flanders, to haue thesaid lady Margarete, to be comoynd in matrimonie, with the Dolphin his sonne, wrytyng and sendyng to the Kyng of Englande, faire promises and flatteryng letters, when his purpose was clerely vanished out of Englande, and fixed in Flaunders, as you shall hereafter well vnderstande.

¶ THE. XIX. YERE.

KYng Edward in the. xix yere of his reigne, forgettyng aswell all exterior inuasions, as ciuill warre, and intestine trouble whiche before that time he had abundantly tasted, and more then he was willyng, had both felte, and had in continuall experience, beganne firste more then he was before accustomed, to serche out the penall offences, aswell of the chief of his nobilitie, as of other gentlemen, beyng proprietaries of great possessions, or abundantly furnished in goodes, beside merchautes, and other inferior persones. By the reason wherof, it was of all men adiudged, more then doubted, considering his newe fame of riches, and his greedy appetite of money and treasure, that he would proue hereafter, a sore and an extreme Prince, emongest his subiectes, and this imaginacion in especiall, wandred through the heddes of all men, that after his brother the Duke of Clarence, was put to death, he should saie, that all men should stande, and liue in feare of hym, and he to be vnbrideled, and in doubte of no man. But his newe inuented practise, and auaricious inuencion, what for other forein and outwarde affaires, and what for the abbreviatyng of his daies, in this transitorie world (whiche wer within twoo yeres after consumed) toke some but no greate effecte How be it experience teacheth, that prosperitie ofte tymes is as greate a trouble, as a greate mischiefe, and as vnquiet a profite, to the possessioners of riches, and suche as haue the fruiicion of thesame: as pouertie and aduersitie, are profitable and laudable, in other persones whiche can, with pacient stomacke, and mcke harte, beare and suffre the stormes and surges, of euill fortune, and peruerse mischaunce.

The xix.  
yere.

¶ THE. XX. YERE.

After this, kyng Edward hauyng all thynges brought to that effect, whiche he had long desired, except the marriage of his daughter, with Charles the dolphyn, muche studied and no lesse desired to haue this affinitie, accordyng to the appoyntmēt made and concluded, to be accomplished and solemprized, and therfore, not onely wrote, but sent diuerse messengers to the Frenche kyng, for the performauce of thesame. The Frenche kyng whiche neuer intended, - to haue that marriage take effecte, considering that the Dolphin, was muche younger, then the lady Elizabeth, and for other causes, sent Ambassadors to the kyng of England with faire woordes and friuolous delaies, makyng his excuse, that he had not sent for the kynges daughter to be married to his sonne the dolphin, accordyng to the league and treatie concluded, by the occasion of his great troubles, and busy warres, enterprised in high Burgoin, and the lowe countieys, so that he was disgarnished, aswell of his nobilitie, as of other menne of honor, to receiue her into his realme, accordyng to her estate and degree. promising faithfully, shortly to sende for her, and to conueigh her with suche a ponipe and royall traine, that it should be to bothe their honors and laudes, and to the high contentacion of the Kyng of Englande and his Quene, whiche, no lesse then her husbände desired, & sore longed to se the conclusion, of thesaid marriage take effect.

The xx.  
yere

These Ambassadors were well feasted, and likewise rewarded, and so toke their leaue. And within a conuenient season after, he sent other Orators, whiche, were neuer in Englande before, to the intent that if their predecessors beyng Ambassadors, had saied or concluded any thyng, (al though thei wer authorised so to do) yet if it might turne, to the Frenche kynges preiudice or damage, thei might without blame, excuse themselves by ignorance, of that matter affirmyng that thei had no commissiō to common, or els once to enterprise, to medle with that matter. Or if he perceiued that any thyng was like to be concluded whiche sounded not to his pleasure or profite, he would sende for his Ambas-



sador, in greate haste, and after sende another with newe instruccions, nothyng dependyng on the olde.

This fashion kyng Lewes, vsed with all Princes, to whom he sente any ambassadors, by the whiche he cōpassed many thynges, to his purpose, and to their losse: but moste of all he thus dalt with the kyng of Englande, concernyng this mariage, onely to the intent, to kepe hym still in amitie, aboue all other Princes. And for a truthe the Kyng of Englande, beyng of no suspicious nature, so muche trusted, and gaue to hym so much confidence, that he thought the Sunne, would soner haue fallen from his circle, then that kyng Lewes, either would haue dissimuled, or broken his promise with hym.

But who soner breaketh promes, then he that is mooste trusted, or who soner deceiueh, then he to whom moste credence is attributed. And on the other part, who is so sone begiled, as he that least mistrusteth, and who soner falleth, then he that casteth no perill, but as in nothyng, mistrustyng, is no smal lightnes, so into muche trustyng, is to muche folly: wherefore, if kyng Edward had either not so muche trusted, or mistrusted the Frenche Kynges faire promises (as I would he had dooen in deede) the crowne of Fraunce, had not so increased in possessions and domnions, to the great glory, and strength of the realme: nor the Princes of Burgoyne, had not so been plucked, hared, and spoyled of her faire townes and Castles as she was, whiche chaunce, she beyng destitute of frendes, and without comforte of defenders, by patience perforce, was compelled to suffre and sustein.

This is the profite that all nacions get, by the faire promises, of the Frēchmen. Thus is the league made with Lewes the Frēch kyng, fraudulently glosed and dissimuled. Thus is the oth made, and sworne vpo the holy Eūangelistes violated, and contrary to the woorde, and honor of a Priūce, broken and falsified: by which vntrue dealyng, and couert dissimulyng, with his especiall and trustie frend, all men may facillie se, and more apparauntly then in a myrror perceiue, that the verie natural condicion of the Frenche nacion, is pleasantly to flatter, plentifully to reward, and gloriously to glose, til thei haue once obtained, their pretensed purpose, and haue their ambitious desire accomplished and satisfied and that gain once gotten on their side, neither othe holdeth, nor friendship continueth, nor yet humanitie and kyndnes before shewed, is once regarded, or of them remembred. wherefore, myne aduise is, let all men trust them as thei fynde them.

## THE. XXI. YERE.

The XXI.  
yere.

IN this verie season, James the. ii. of that name, kyng of Scottes, sent into England a solempne ambassage, for to haue the Lady Cecile, kyng Edwardes. ii. daughter, to be married to his eldest sonne, James Prince of Scotlande, Duke of Rothesay, & erle of Caricke. Kyng Edward & his counsaill, thinkyng that this affinitie, should be aswell honorable as profitable to the realme, did not only graunt, to his desire and demaūd but also before hande disbursed, certain sommes of money, to the onely intent, that the mariage should hereafter, neither be interrupted nor broken, vpon this condicion, that thesaid Matritny, by any accedentall meane, should in tyme to come, take no successe nor perfeccion: or that kyng Edward would notifie, to the kyng of Scottes, or his counsaill, that his pleasure was determined, to haue thesaid mariage, to be infringed and dissolved. Then the Prouost and merchauntes of the toun of Edenborough, should be bound for the repayment, of thesaid some again. All which thynges wer, with great deliberacion concludēd & sealed, in hope of cōtinual peace and infringing amitie. But this kyng James beyng a man of a sharpe wit, more wedded to his awne opiniō then reason, would scace bele, would neither here nor geue credite to theim, that spake contrary to his awne phantasie, or this imagined opinion: And to thintēt that no man should find fault, with his doynge, or reprehēd his actes, he promoted and made counsailers, menne of base lignage, and lowe bloud, and in especiall, Cochrane and his compaignie, by whose euill aduise, and mischeuous instigacion, he so punished and greued

grewed his nobilitie, bothe with emprisonment, exaccions, and death, that some of their voluntarie will, went into Exile, and other fainyng cause to departe, fled into other landes and straunge-countrys. For the Duke of Albanie, called Alexander, brother to kyng Iames, was exiled into Fraunce, but passyng through England, he tarried with kyng Edward as you shall heare. Therle of Mar, a wise politike counsaier, was in Edenborough beebdedd: And beside this, he forgettyng his othe, promise, and affinitie concluded with kyng Edward, caused armies to be made into England, spoyling, burnyng and killyng, the kynges faithfull subiectes. at the whiche vnprincely dooyng, the kyng of Englande beyng, not a litle moued and chafed, determined to be reuenged on him by battaill, and dent of sworde. Yet notwithstanding, because kyng Iames craftely excusyng himself, alleging the mischief late committed, to be attempted, doen, & perpetrated, without his consent, knowledge or counsaill, this matter had been lightly pacified, and blown ouer, if the Duke of Albanie, beyng with kyng Edward, had not incēsed, entused, and prouoked hym, to make warre on the Scottishe kyng, his brother, bothe to reuerge the iniuries of late, to thesaid king doen, contrary to all lawes of aimes, and Princely demeanure, and also to help to restore thesaid duke, to his possessiōs, and dominions again. out of the whiche, he was by the kyng his brother, dispossessed, and reiected, promisyng to kyng Edwarde, greate aide and assistance, when his armie was once entered, into the confines of Scotlande

Kyng Edward beyng thus perswaded by the Duke, and trustyng on his aide, was somewhat agreable to this, but the inward remembraunce how that kyng Iames, had supported against hym, with men and money, his olde enemye kyng Henry the sixt and also trustyng, that if Alexander duke of Albanie, by his aide should vanquishe his brother, and obtain the creune of Scotland, he would be alwaies to hym, sure, faithfull, & trustie: whiche did so enflame his corage, & set his harte so on fire, that he determined with al diligence, with an armie royall, to invade the countrey of Scotlande, and make the kyng to knowe, that he had neither honorably, nor truly kept his league and promise: Wherefore, al the winter season, he mustred his souldiers, prepared his ordinance, rigged his shippes, and left nothyng apperteignyng to the warre, vnperueyed or vnlooked for. so that in the begynnyng of the yere, al thynges wer prepared, and nothyng was missed.

THE. XXII. YERE.

When all thynges apperteignyng, to the furniture of suche an enterprise, were put in a readines, and ready to bee sette forward. kyng Edward appoynted, to be cheuetain of his hooste, and Lieutenannt generall, his brother Richarde Duke of Gloucester, and to him associated, Henry, the. iij. Erle of Northumberlande, Thomas Lord Stanley, Lorde Steward of his houshold, the lorde Louell, and the lorde Greystocke, and diuerse other noble men and knightes. These valiaūt capitaines, set forward in Maie, and made suche diligence, with polletique cōueighraunce of their souldiers: beside the trobelous canage, of their ordinance, that they came to the toune of Alnewike, in Northumberlande, about the begynnyng of Iuly, where they firste encamped themselves, and Marshallled then hoste. The forward was led; by tharle of Northumberland, vnder whose standerd were, the lorde Scrope of Bolton, sir Ihon Middelton, sir Ihon Diefeld, and diuerse other Knightes, Esquiers and souldiers to the nombre of sixe thousande, and seven C men. In the middel waide was the Duke of Gloucester, and with hym the Duke of Albany, the lorde Louell, the lorde Greystocke, sir Edwarde Wedmole and other, to the nombre of fine thousande, and eight. C. menne. The Lorde Neuell was appoynted to folow, accompanied with. iij. M. men. The lorde Stanley, led the wyng on the right hande, of the Dukes battaill, with. iij. M. men of Lancashire and Chesshire: The lette wyng was gayded by the lorde Fitz Hewe, sir William a Parre, sir Iames Harrynton, with the nombre of ii. M. men, and beside all these, there was a thousād men appoynted, to gene attendance on the ordinance. This royall

The. xxii. yere.



armie, not intending to slepe, but to geue the Scottes knowlege, of their arriuall in those parties, came sodainly by the water side, to the toun of Berwicke, and there, what with force, and what with feare of so great an armie, toke and entered the toun: but therle Bothwell, beyng Capitain of the Castle, would in no wise deliuer it, neither for flattering wordes, nor for manacyng bragges, wherefore, the capitaines deliberately consulyng together, planted a strong siege, and enuironed it rounde aboute. When this siege was thus laied, the twoo Dukes, and all the other souldiers, except the lord Stanley, sir Ihon Elryngton, threasorer of the kynges house, sir Willyam a Parre, and nij. M. men, that were lefte behinde, to kepe the siege before the Castle, departed frō Berwicke, toward Edenborough. And in marchyng thetherward, he brent and destroyed, these tounes folowyng.

Edryngton.

Paxton. Fishewike.

Brandike.

Hooton.

Heton Hall.

Mordyngton and the Bastile.

Plome Horne and the toun.

Broweshed and the Steple.

Brome hill and the Bastile.

Edram.

Estrusbet.

Blakater and the Branke won.

Kallow, and Kamorgan.

Whitsonelawes.

Brynlenyn and Ryselaw.

Elbanke.

Hockas.

Betroside.

Erneslaw and the Bastill won.

Hilton and Whitsome.

Mykyll Swynton and the Bastile.

Litle Swynton and the bastill.

Semprone and Harden.

Croffirge and Whitside.

Edyngham. Whitmere.

Newtowne.

Duryng whiche tyme, the erle of North-  
überland, brent these tounes.

Yatham and Yatham

Brymsed and the Bastell.

Low houses and the bastell.

Cheritees and Hoyepe

Clifton, Coto, and Hawmon.

Hawmon Crawnge and Hawdon.

Marbotel and the bastile.

Lynton with the Bastile.

Part of Cawarden brent

Chedworthe and Craylam and the Bastill.

Neskot, Neskett, and olde Rokesborough.

Ednam, and the bastill wonne.

Ednam isle, Benlaw.

Ousnam, Long Puolo deliuered

Croke, Ashewes, Mydpropes, and the  
Bastell.

Cossenaynes and the bastell won.

Weddon and the bastell.

While these thynges were in doynge, kyng Iames of Scotlande, hauyng small cōfidence in his commonaltie, and lesse trust in his nobilitie, did voluntarily incarcerate & enclose hym selfe in the strong Castell of Maydens in Edenborough, perfittly trustyng there to be out of all doubt & daunger, except famyn or treason, caused hym violently to opē the portes or gates, wherof the duke of Gloucester entered into the toun and at the especial request & desire of the duke of Albany, saued y<sup>e</sup> toun and then habitantes of thesame, from fier, blood & spoyle, takynge onely such presentes as the merchātes gentelly offered him & his capitaynes: Causing Garter, principal kyng at armes, to make a publique Proclamation at the high Crosse in the market place of Edenboroughe, in the which he warned & admonished, Iames kyng of Scottes, to kepe, obserue & performe all suche promises, cōpactes, couenantes & agrementes as he had concluded & sealed to, with the high and mighty prince Edward, by the grace of God, kyng of England &c. And also to make cōdigne and sufficient recompence to his subiectes, for the great tyrannye, spoyle and crueltye, that he and his people had, perpetrate & committed cōtray to his league, within the marches and territories of his realme of Englande, before the firste daye of August nexte ensuyng. And farther without delay to restore the high and mightie Prince Alexander, duke of Albanie, his naturall brother to his estate, & all his offices, possessions and authorities, in as ample and liberall maner as he before occupied and enioyed thesame. or the high and valiaunte prince Rychard duke of Gloucester,

Glocester, leuetenaunt generall, and chiefetayne for ꝑ kyng of England, was redy at hand to destroy him, his people and couñtre with slaughter, flame & famyn.

Kyng Iames would make no aunswere, neither by worde nor by writing, knowing that his power now sayled, either to performe the request demaunded, or to defend his countrey with such a puissant armye invaded. The lordes of Scotland, lyeng at Hadyngton with a great puyssaunce, hearynge the kyng of Englandes reasonable desyre, determined firste to practise wyth the Duke of Glocester for a peace, and so to haue the Castell of Berwycke to their part, and after by some meanes to allure the duke of Albany, from the English amitie, & vpon this mocion, the. ij. day of August they wrote to the duke of Glocester, that the mariage betwene the prince of England shoulde be accomplished in all poyntes, according to the couenantes agreed, and the instrumentes therof engrosed, requiring farther that a peace from thensfurth might be louyngly concluded betwene bothe the Realmes. The duke of Glocester wisely and circumspectly certefied the agayn, that as touching the article of mariage, to take effect betwene their prince and the lady Cicilie of England, he knew not the determinat pleasure of ꝑ king his master and brother, either for the affirmaunce or deniãce of thesame but he desired full restitution of all such summes of money, as for the sayd mariage before time had ben disbursed, or prested out in lone. And where the sayd lordes desyred to haue a peace, concluded from thensfurth, betwene both the sayd realmes. He first required to haue the Castell of Barwycke to him deliuered, or at the lest, if he did agre to ꝑ sayd peace, that then his siege, lyeng about the sayd Castel, shoulde be hereafter in any wise, neither troubled, vexed, nor molested, nor ꝑ king of Scottes, nor none of his subiectes, nor any other by his procurement or prouoking, should ayde, comfort or assist with victayle, ordinaũce, or other wise the Capitayne, Constable, or souldiers of thesayd Castel, duryng the siege.

The Lordes, Prelates, Barons, and estates of the realme of Scotlande, perceuyng & wel pondering, bothe the answer & the demaundes of the duke of Glocester, sent to him sufficiently enstructed with these conclusions, the reuerend father Andrew, elect of Murray, and the lord Ihon Dernele, which thus answered, that where the sayd duke desyred repayment of ꝑ summes of money, deliuered in part of payment, for the contract of mariage, to be made betwene the prince of Scotland and ꝑ kynges daughter of England. the tyme of lawfull contract of mariage is not yet come, because of the minoritie of the said prince and princesse. And the faute hereof is, that no day was apoynted for the money, to be payed, before the contract began. And if the king your brother woulde demaunde farther assurance, either for the contract to be made, or for ꝑ payment of the money, they promised therunto, accordinge to reason to agre. Secundarely as touching the Castel of Berwyke, they sayd al we know wel ynough, that it is the olde enheritance of the cioune of Scotlande, of many hundred yeres past, and that our soueigne loide hath right thereunto. And if it be alleged, that it belonged to the realme of England by conquest, it is well knownen that it standeth in Scotland, & ouer the Scottish ground. The duke, not withstandinge their saynges, would cōdiscend to no peace, without the Castel of Barwycke were rendered to the kyng of England, and so ꝑ messengers departed, and on thesame day the Archebishop of saint Andrewes, the bishop of Dūkelle Colyn, erle of Argyle, lord Cambell and lorde Andrew, lorde Auandale, Chauncelor of Scotlande, wrote vnto the duke of Albany a solemne and autenticall instrumēt, signed and sealed with their seales, binding their bodies, landes and goodes to the sayd duke, that if he would hereafter be obedient to the kyng of Scottes, and kepe & obserue his faith and promise to be made to the sayd lordes, that he shoulde not onely be restored to all his landes, hereditamentes, offices & possessions, whiche he enioyed at the day of his departure out of Scotland, but also should haue and enioy to him, & his seruauantes & familiers a fre and a general Pardon, which restitution and pardon, thei likewise promised to be ratified & approued by the kyng and the iii. estates, assembled at the next Parliament. The duke beyng glad to be restored agayne to his olde estate & possessions, & especially in his awne natue countrey, receyued their offer, which.



was truly performed, & so toke his leue of the duke of Glocester thankynge hym (as he was no lesse bounde) for the greate labour, traueyll & peyne, that he had taken in hys awne person for his restitution. And promised bothe by word & by writyng of his awne hande to do & performe all such thinges, as he before that tyme had sworne & promised to kyng Edward, notwithstanding any agrement, now made or to be made with the lordes of Scotland: and for the performance of the effect of the sayde Scedule, he agayne take a corporall othe before y duke of Glocester, and sealed the writyng the thyrday of August in y English Cāpe at Leuyngton, besydes Hadyngton, anno. M.cccc.lxxxii. and departed to hys awne possessions. After he was thus restored & reconciled, the lordes of Scotland proclaymed hym great lieutenaūt of Scotland, & in the kynges name made Proclamacion, y all mē shoulde be redy, vpon peyn of death within. viii. daies at Craushaues, both to rayse the siege before the Castell, and for the recoueringe agayne of the towne of Barwyke. The duke of Albany wrote all thys preparaciō to the duke of Glocester, hūbly requirynge hym to haue no mistrust in hym promising to kepe his othe & promise, made to kyng Edward & to hym. The duke of Glocester wrote to hym agayne, that it shoulde neither be honorable nor commendable in hym, too helpe, to reise the siege, at the layeng wherof he was counsayler & partener, nor yet to reward y king of England, with such a displeasure for his kyndnes costes and expēses to hym in hys extreme necessitie, louingly shewed and liberally exhibited. But he assured hym in the woord of a Prince, that if he & all the power of Scotland attempted to come to rayse the siege, planted before y Castell of Barwyke, that he hym selfe with hys armye woulde defende the besiegers, or els dye in the quarell.

The counsayl of Scotlande sagely & poletiquely sawe before, that if they should come to reyse the siege, that the duke of Glocester woulde with them shortly encoūter, and then if they loste the felde, both y strēth of the Realme was brought to an imbecillitie, the nobles sore minished, and the castel lost and taken. And on the other side, if they obtayned victorie, nothyng was gotten but the pore towne of Barwyke, and they were likely sone to be inuaded with a greater power shortly agā, wherfore they sent Lyon kyng at Armes to the duke of Glocester, offering to hym as they thought, two offers very reasonable, the one was, that if he would promise on his honor to subuerste and cast doune the towne walles of Barwycke, they would likewise race, and clerely deface the walles Towres and portes of the Castell, or els the duke of Glocester to put in a capitayn and a garrison of men of warre into the towne, and the duke of Albany, likewise to do with the Castell, for the Tucion of thesame. And farther the forsayd Lyon desired an abstynēce of warre to be takē, tyll the two dukes might haue cōmunicacion of grauous matters, concernyng the welthes of bothe the Realmes. The duke of Glocester refused bothe the offers sayng, that he had long mainteined the siege before the Castell of Barwyke, to no small waste and exhaustyng of hys brothers treasure and riches, and to the great trauayle and payne of the Lordes, Gentilmen, and men of warre, that continuallye made their abode and dayly residents at the sayd siege wherfore he sayd, that he in this poynt was fermely resolved, not to departe till the Castel were yelded by apoyntement, or taken by force, or els hys siege were by the power of Scotland reysed, or he and hys armye vanquished: wherfore he would by no meane harken to the pencion of the Scottishe lordes, concernyng the abstynence of warre, tyll he were either vanquished or possessed of the Castell of Barwyke. With which answer the Herault departed, and thereof made, relacion to the lordes and counseyll of Scotland. Whē the dukes answer was of them well digested, they euidently perceyuing that the castel of Barwyke was the onely maker of y peace and that the not deliuey of thesame, should be the norice and continer of warre and hostilitie: consideringe farther, that the nobilitie nor commons of Scotland, dyd not draw together by one lyne, nor were sorted in one leuell, electyng and chosyng the better parte, and reiectinge and auoydyng the worse, agreed and determined to deliuer the Castell of Barwyke to the English partie, so that thei should be to uce or abstynence of warre taken and concluded for

a determinate season. And thervpō they sent to the duke of Glocester a league indēted, which was dated the. xxiij. day of August, in the yere of our lorde a. M. cccc. lxxxii. in the which it was contracted and agreed betwene the duke of Glocester, lieutenaut general for the kyng of Englande, and Allexander duke of Albanye, lieutenaut for Iames kyng of Scottes, that an especiall abstinence of warre should be kept and obserued betwixte the Realmes of England and Scotland, and the people of thesame, aswell by sea as by lāde, to begyn the viij. day of September next ensuyng, and to endure tyll the. iiii. day of Nouember next folowyng. And in the meane season, the towne and castel of Barwyke, to be occupied, and be in fyreall possession of suche as by the kyng of Englandes deputie, should be appointed and assigned with all and singuler such boundes, limites and territories as the English nacion, last vsed and possessed, when the castell & towne were in the subieccion of the Englishmen. And all other marches and boundes, beyng in difference betwene the sayd Realmes, to stande and to be holden in lyke case and condicion, as they were before the last trefce concluded. The duke of Glocester, which well perceyued that the Scottes more graunted to hys demaūdes, for relieue of their awne necessite, then to gratefie hym or the kyng hys brother in any poynt: like a wise counseyler, toke hys aduantage when it was offered, and especially because these thynges made for hys longe desyred purpose.

Fyrst the deliuey of the Castell of Barwyke, he voluntarily without counsayl (as a praye priuely gotten) both accepted and alowed, and for that onely cause he dyd not refuse the abstinence of warre, but too that gently agreed. As touching the possession, to be kept in the landes dependyng in variance betwene the Realmes (comonly called the batable grounde) he woulde not, nor durst not conclude with the duke of Albanye, without hauyng farther mtelligence of the kyng hys souereigne lordes pleasure and counsaill, meanyng theleby euer to kepe them as suetis to him, & he no farther to sēke on them, and in the meane season to let that matter be in suspence. Whē he had sealed to the fyrst two Articles, and that they were sent agayne to the lordes of Scotlande, they them gladly receyued, and with good will embrased, and likewise truly performed thesame. for the castell of Barwyke was incontinent deliuered to the lord Stanley, and othei thereto appoynted, whiche therein put bothe Englishmen and artulerie, sufficiente for the defence of all Scotland. for. vi. monethes. By this meanes as you haue harde, the Englishmen repossessed agayn the towne & castell of Barwyke, whiche. xxi. yeres before by kyng Hēry the. vi. was to the Scottes as you haue hard geuen vp and deliuered. And lest peraduenture the duke of Glocester might thynke that the duke of Albanye dyd not in all thynges set forward, prefer and auance hys fyrst requestes and demaundes, made and requyred of the lordes of Scotland, and in especial one which was for the assurance to be made for the repayment to the kyng of England, of all suche summes of money, as he had beforehand prested & disbursed to the kyng of Scottes for the mariage to be solempnised & consummate betwene their chyldern, as before is rehearsed: Therefore fy sayd duke of Albanye, caused the Prouost and Burgesses of Edenborough to make a sufficient instrument obligatiōe, to kyng Edward, for the trefw satisfaccion and contentaciō of thesame money, whiche he also sent by thesaid Prouost to the Duke of Glocester to Alnewyke. The very Copy hereafter foloweth.

“ Be it knowē to all men by these present letters, vs Walter Bartraham, Prouost of the towne of Edēborough in Scotland, and the whole felowship, marchaūtes, burgesses, and communaltey of the same towne, to be bounde and oblished by their presentes, vnto the most excellent & most mighty prynce Edward, by the grace of God, kyng of Englande. That wher it was commoned and agreed, betwene hys excellencie on the to parte, and the right high and mighty prince our souereigne lord, Iames king of Scottes on the othei parte, that mariage and matrimonie should haue ben solempnised, and had betwixt a righte and excellent prynce, Iames the first begotten sonne and heyre appaiant to our soueraigne lord foresayd, and the right noble princes Cicilie daughter, to the sayd Edward kyng of Englād, and for the sayd mariage to haue ben performed certayne and diuers great summes of money ben payed and contented by the most excellent prince, vnto  
ours



oure soueraigne lorde forsayd, as by certayne wrytynges betwixt the sayde princes, thereupon made more at large playnly appeares. That if it be the pleasure of the sayd Edward kyng of England, to haue the sayd mariage to be performed and completed, accordynge to the said communication in writing, that then it shall be, well and truely, without fraude, disceyte or collusion, obserued, keped, and accomplished on the partie of our souereigne lord foresayd, and the nobles spirituall and temporall of the Realme of Scotland. And if it be not the pleasure of the sayd excellent prince Edward kyng of England, to haue the sayd mariage performed and completed. That then we Walter Prouost, burgesses, marchantes, and comons of the abouenamed towne of Edenboroughe, or any of vs shall pay and content to the kyng of Englande foresayde, all the summes of money that was payed for the sayd mariage, at syke lyke termes and dayes, immediately ensuen, after the refusall of the sayd mariage, and in syke like maner and forme, as the sayde summes were afore deliuered, contented and payed, that than this obligacion and bond to be voyd, & of no strēgh. Provided alwayes, that the sayd Edward kyng of England, shall geue knowlege of his pleasure and election in the premisses in taking or refusing of  $\text{f}$  said mariage, or of repaymēt of the said summes of money, to our sayd souereygne lord, or lordes of his counsayll, or to vs the said Prouost, merchaūtes, or any of vs, within the realme of Scotland, beyng for the tyme, betwixt this and the feaste of Allhallowes next to come. To the whiche payment well and truly to be made, we bynde and oblishe vs, and euery of vs, our heyres, succession, executors and all our goodes, merchaundises, and thynges whatsoever they bee, where so euer, or in what place, by water or by lande, on this syde  $\text{f}$  sea, or beyond, we shall happen to be founden, any leage, truse or sauegard made or to be made, notwithstanding. In wytnes wherof to this oure present wrytyng, & letters of bonde. We, the sayde Prouost, Burgesses, Merchauntes and commontye, haue set our common seale of the sayde towne of Edenborough, the fourth daye of August, the yere of God. M.cccc. lxxxii. Geuen in the presence of the right mighty Prince Richarde duke of Gloucester, Alexander duke of Albanye, a reuerende father in God, Iames bishop of Dunkeld, and the ryght noble lord Henry erle of Northumberlande, Colyn erle of Argyle, Thomas lorde Stanley, Master Alexander English and other, &c."

When the duke of Glocester had thus obeyned hys purpose, and receyued wrytynges signed and sealed for the performace of thesame, he sent the instrumentes to kyng Edward hys brother, whiche muche comēded bothe his valiaunt manhode, and also his prudent pollicie, in conueyng hys busines, bothe to hys awne purpose, and also to the profit of the Realme. Kyng Edward, not a littel mused, and much more debated wyth hys counsayl, whether it were more profitable and honorable to hym and hys Realme, to suffer the sayde inencioned marriage, to take effect, and procede to a conclusion, or els to requyre a repaymēt, and redelyuely of the summes of money, apprompted and layde out for thesame purpose. After long consultacion had, and it was considered in what case the realme &  $\text{f}$  kyng of Scottes stode in, for it was well knownen that he and hys nobiltie were at great discord as you before haue hearde. It was considered farther, that if the nobiltie preuayled, and gat the souerayntie, the lyne and succession of Iames the thyrd, were likely to be totally extirpate, & disinheried for euer. It was also alledged that the prince of Scotlande, neuer condescended nor as he hymselfe sayd, woulde agre to thys inocationed mariage. These thynges thus debated, the kyng by great aduice, refused and reuoked all thynges to be done, for the more forwardnes of the sayde matrimony, and elected and chose the repayment of all suche summes of money, as for the occasion of the sayde betruſted mariage was payd, and before hand contented & deliuered. And accordynge to the woordes of obligacion, made by the towne of Edenborough, he sent Garter, hys principal kyng of Armes and Northumberland Herault, to declare and intimate to the Prouost and burgesses of Edenborough, the determinate retu all of the future matrimony, and the election and choise of the repayment of the money and duetye. And for the farther ouerture of the whole conclusion, Garter was instructed by wrytyng, what he should saye and declare, and so by conuenient

journeys came to the towne of Edenborough viii dayes before the feast of all sayntes, where he openly sayde as foloweth: I garter kinge of armes seruaunt, pfectour and messenger vnto the most hygh and mighty prince, my most dreadsoueraygne lord Edward by the grace of God, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, and lorde of Irelande, by vertue of certain letters of procuracie here redy to be shewed to me, by my sayd souereygne lord made and geuen, make notyce and geue knowledge vnto you Prouost, Burgesses marchauntes and communalte of the towne of Edenborough in Scotlande, that where as it was sometyme comyned and agreed, betwene my sayde soueraygne lorde on the one partie, and the righte hygh and mighty prince Iames kyng of Scottes, on the other partie, y<sup>e</sup> marriage & matrimony should haue been solemnised, and had betwene Iames the first begotten sonne of the said kyng of Scottes, and lady Cicilie, daughter to my sayd souereygne lord the kyng of England. And for the sayde inariage to haue been performed, certayne and dyuers greate summes of money, ben payed and contented by my sayde souereygne lord, whiche summes of money, in case of refusall of the sayde marriage, by my sayde souereygne lorde to be made and declared, ye the sayd Prouost, Burgesses, marchauntes and communalte, and euery one of you are bounde and obliged by your letters vnder youre comon seale of your towne of Ed<sup>e</sup>borough, to repaye vnto hys hyghnes vnder lyke forme, and at suche termes as they were fyrst payed. So that the kyng my souereygne lorde woulde make notice and knowledge of his pleasure, and eleccion in takyng or refusinge of the sayde marriage, of the repayment of the sayde summes of money, before the feast of Alhalowes nexte to come, lyke as in your sayde letters, bearynge date at Edenborough the fowthe day of August last past, it was conteyned all at large. The pleasure and eleccion of my sayd souereygne lord, for dyuers causes and consideracions hym mouynge is to refuse the accomplishment of the sayde marriage, and to haue the repayment of all suche summes of money, as by occasion of the sayde betrusted marriage, hys hyghnes had payed. The sayd repaymente to be had of you Prouoste, Burgesses, marchauntes and communalte, and euery of you, youre heyres and successors, accordyng to your bonde and obligation afore rehearsed. And therefore I geue you notice and knowledge by thys writynge, whiche I deliuer too you, within the terme in your sayde letters lymitted and expressed to all ententes and effectes, which therot maye ensue.

When Garter had thus declared all thynges, geuen to him in charge, the Prouost or other Burgesses made aunswere, that they now knowynge the kynges determinate pleasure, woulde accordyng to their bonde, prepare for the repayment of the sayde summes, and gentlyly enterteynyng Garter coueyghed him to Barwyke, from whēce he departed to new Castell, to the duke of Glocester, makyng relacion to hym of all his doynge, whiche duke with all spede returned too Shrythuton, and there atode. Shortly after Gartiers departyng, the duke of Albanye, thynkyng to obteyne agayne the hygh fauoure of the kynges hys brother, deliuered hym out of captiuite and pryson, wherein he had a certayne space continued (not withoute the dukes assente, whiche besieged hym in the Castell of Edenborough a littell before) & set him at large, of whome vtwardly he receyued great thankes, when inwardly nothyng but renyngyng and confusion was in the kynges stomacke incorporate, so that shortly after in the kynges presence, he was in leopardy of hys lyfe, and all inprouided for dread of death, coacted to take a small balynger, and to sayle into Fraunce, where shortly after rydyng by the men of armes, whiche encountered at the tylt, by Iewes then duke of Orliance, after Frenche kyng, he was with mischarging of a speare by fortunes peruerce countenaunce pytyfullye slayne and broughte to death, leauyng after hym one onely sonne, named Ihon, whiche beyng banished Scotland, inhabited and married in Fraunce, and there died. How dolorous, how sorrowful is it to wryte, and muche more pencifull to remember the chaunces, & infortunes that happened within twoo yere in Englande and Scotlande, betwene naturall bretherne. For kyng Edward set on by suche as enuid the estate of the duke of Claence, forgettyng nature, and fraternall amitie, consented to the deathe of hys



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sayde brother James kynge of Scottes, puttyng in obliuion that Alexander hys brother was the onely Organe and instrument, by whome he obteyned libertie and fredome, seduced and led by Vyle and malicious persons, whiche maligned at the glorie and indifferant iustice of the duke of Albanye, imaged and compassed hys deathe, and exiled him for euer? what a pernicious serpent, what a venomous tode, & what a pestiferous Scorpion is that deuclishe whelpe, called priue enuye? Against it no fortres can defend, no caue can hyde, no wood can shadow, no foule can escape, nor no beaste can auoide, her poyson is so stronge, that neuer man in authoritie coulde escape from the bytyng of her tethe, scorchyng of her pawes, blastyng of her breath, defoulyng of her tayle.

Wherefore, let every indifferent persone, serche Histories, rede Chronicles, looke on aucthores, aswell holy as prophane, and they shall apparauntly perceiue, that neither open warre, daily famine, or accustomed mortalitie, is not so muche an enemye, nor so greate a malle to destroye, and suppeditate high power and nobilitie, as is roted malice, inwarde grudge, and dissimuled hatred. Although that kyng Edward wele glad and ioyous, of all the prosperous successe, of all enterprises in the realme of Scotlande, yet euen now his Feuer tercian, of the whiche he had languished sore, sithe his voyage royall into Fraunce, was sodainly turned into a vncurable quartain: For where he was before tossed, betwene hope and despaire, sometyme hote, sometyme colde, that the Matrimonie of his daughter, and Charles the dolphin, should come to the solempnizacoin, according to the leage, betwene him and the Frêche kyng, concluded at Picquegnie. Now was he cast into an indissoluble Melancoly, and a continuall cold. For the lorde Hawarde, whiche was returned out of Fraunce, with many faire wordes, and painted promises but without tribute, or conclusiō of the marriage, certified the kyng of his awne knowledge how that he beyng present, sawe the lady Margarete of Austrice, daughter to Duke Maximilian, sonne to the Emperor Fredericke, receiued into Fraunce, with pompe more then Emperiall, by the Duke of Bourbon, the lorde Dalbret, and many other lordes and magistrates of the realme, and so with greate triumphe, conueighed to Amboyse, where the Dolphin laie, and there was to hym contracted and espoused. Kyng Edward now beyng certain, how the Frenche kyng had wrth pleasaunt language, and colourable answeres, foded hym furthe, and allured hym to geue credence, to hys dissimulyng woordes, neither meanyng as he said, nor shewyng what he meante: Determined with hymself, no longer to suffre so apparaunt wrong, nor so intollerable an iniurie. Wherefore, he called his nobilitie together, and declared to them the manifold wrong, whiche he had receiued of late, at the handes of the Frenche kyng, and how he vntruly, and vnprincely, had broken the league and amitie, bothe in denyng the paiement of the tribute, as also, in refusing the accomplishmēt of the marriage of his daughter, accordyng as in the treatie was concluded. Requiryng them therefore to study, how to reuenge and punishe, so greate a shame, and so opprobrious a taunt, offered to their natue Countrey. The nobilitie not a litle glad of this mocion, answered: that their whole desire was, to fight with the Frenche men, whom they so oftē times had vanquished, & profigated in battail, and that for the dignitie, and fame of their Countrey, they would let nothyng be vnattempted, offeryng hym in an instant, to be ready in harnes to fulfill his mynde and desire. When he knewe the toward myndes of his subiectes, of the Temporalitie, he moued the Spiritualitie (because by the Ecclesiasticall lawes, they be prohibited to weare armure) to aide hym with money, for maintenaunce of his warres, and suppressyng of his enemies.

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yere.

BEholde, while he was intentiue, and applyed his whole labor, diligence, and industrie, to furnishe and setforward this warre, whiche he newly had attempted and begonne: whether it was with the melencoly, and anger that he toke with the Frenche kyng, for his vntruthe

vntrithe and vnkyndnes, 'or were it by any superfluous surfet (to the whiche he was muche geuen) he sodainly fell sicke, and was with a greuous maledy taken, yea, so greuously taken, that his vitall spirites, began to faile and waxe feble, whiche debilitie when he perceiued, he called together all his nobles, whiche, that tyme were aboute London, vpon one daie (as he did diuerse tymes commen with them) and thus in effect, to them said My welbeloued, and no lesse betrusted frendes, counsailers, and alies, if wee mortall men would daily and hourelly, with our self reuolue, and intētiuely in our hartes engraue, or in our mindes grauouly pōder, the fraile and fadyng imbecilitie, of our human nature, and the caduke fragilitie of thesame: wee should apparauntly perceiue, that we beyng called reasonable creatures, and in that predicament, compared and ioyned with Angelles, bee more worthy to be numcupate, and demed persones vnreasonable, and rather to bee associate in that name with brute beastes, called vnreasonable (of whose life and death, no creature speaketh) rather then in that poynt, to bee resembled to the Angelicall societie, and reasonable compaignie. For while health in vs flourisheth, or prosperiue abundeth, or the glosyng worlde laugheth, whiche is he, so reasonable of vs all, that can saie (if he will not erre from the truthe) that he once in a weke remēbied his fatall ende, or the prescribed terme of his enduryng. or once prouided by labor, study, or otherwise, to set a stedfast and a sure ordre, for the securitie, and profite, continuance either of his possessions and dominions, or of his sequele and posteritie, whiche after hym shall naturally succede: suche is the blyndnes, of our fraile and fragile nature, euer geuen to carnal concupiscence, and mundain delectacion, daily obfuscate and seduced, with that lothargious, and deceivable serpent, called hope of long life, that all we put in obliuion, our dueue present, and lesse remembre the pollitique purueighaunce, for thynges to come. For blyndly we walke in this fraile life, till we fall grouelyng with our yces, sodainly vpon death. The vanities of this worlde, bee to vs so agreable, that when we begin to liue, wee esteeme our life, a whole worlde, whiche once ouerpassed, it sheweth no better but dust, driuen a way with a puffe of wynde: I speake this to you of my self, and for your selves to you, sore lamentyng, and inwardly bewailyng, that I did not performe and finally cōsumate, suche pollitique diuises, and good and Godly ordinaunces, in my long life and pacifique prosperitie, whiche, then I fully determined to haue begonne, set forward, and completly to haue finished. Whiche, now for the extreme paines, and tortures of my angrie maladie, and for the small terme of my naturall life, I can neither performe, neither yet liue to see, either to take effect, or to sort to take any conclusion. For God I call to record, my harte was fully sette, and my mynde deliberately determined: so to haue decorated this realme, with wholesome Lawes, statutes, and ordinaunces, so to haue educated and brought vp myne enfantes and children, in vertue, learnyng, actiuitie, and policie. That, what with their royall puyssaunce, and your frendly assistance, the proudest Prince of Europe, durste not once attempte, to moue any hostilitie, against them, you, or this realme: But oh Lorde, all thynges that I of long tyme, haue in my mynde reuolued, and immagined, that stelyng thief death, goeth about to subnerte, and in the momēt of an houre, clerely to suppedrate, wherefore (as men saie) I now beyng driuen to the verie hard wall hauyng perfect confidence, and sure hope in the approbate fidelitie, and constaunt integritie, whiche I haue euer experimented, and knowen to be radicate and planted, in the hartes of your louyng bodies, toward me and myne. So that I maie saie and aduowe, that neuer Prince bearyng scepter and Croune, ouer realmes and regions, hath found or proued, more faithfuller counsailers, nor triewer subiectes, then I haue doen of you, nor neuer Potentate nor gouernor, put more affiaunce and truste, in his vassals and seruantes, then I, sith the adepcion of the Croune, fermely haue fixed, in your circumspect wisdomes, and sober discesions. And now of verie force compelled, liyng in a dubiuous hope, betwene liuyng and dyng, betwene remembraunce and obliuion, do require you and instauntly moue you, that as I haue found you, faithfull, obediēt, and to all my requestes and desires, (while I was here in healthe, conuersant with you) diligent and intētiue. So after my death, my



hope is with a sure anchor grounded, and myne inwarde conceipte vndubitably resolved, that the especiall confidence, and inwarde fidelitie, whiche, so long hath continued betwene vs, beyng together liuyng, shall not totally by my death, bee extincte and vanished like smoke. For what auaileth frendshippe in life, when trust deceiueth after death? What profiteth amitie in apparaunt presence, when confidence is fraudulently beguiled in absence? What loue groweth, by coniunction of Matrimonie, if the ospryng after dooe not agree and concorde? Or what profiteth Princes, to auauance and promote their subiectes, if after their death, the bountifulnes by them shewed, be of the receiuers of thesame and their sequele, nether regarded nor yet remembered: The parētes make the maiiage for an indissoluble amitie, Princes promote sometyne for fauoure, sometyne for deserte, and sometyne for pleasure yet (if you will consider) the verie pricke, to the whiche all giftes of promotions, do finally tend, it is to haue loue, fauor, faithful cōsail, and diligent seruice, of suche as be by them, promoted and exalted, not onely in their awne lifes, beyng but brief and transitorie: But also, that thei and their progeny, calling to remembraunce, the fauor, estimacion, and auauancement, which, they of so liberall and munificent a prince had receiued and obtained should with spere and shelde, toungue and wit, hande and penne, continually studie to defende, counsaill and prefer not onely hym duryng his life, but also to serue, assist, and maintain his sequele, and lineall succession, as the verie Images, and carnall portraitures, of his stirpe, line and stemme, naturally discēded. In this case am I, whom you knowe, not without ineffable trouble, and moste dangerous warr, to haue obtained the scepter, and diademe of this realme and Empire, duryng whiche reigne, I haue had either litle peace, or small tranquillitie. And now when I thought my self, sure of a quiet life, and worldly rest, death hath blowen his terrible trompet, calling and somonyng me (as I truste) to perpetuall tranquillitie, and eternall quietnes. therefore now for the perfecte, and vnmoueable confidence, that I haue euer had in you, and for the vnfaigned loue, that you haue euer shewed vnto me, I commende and deliuer into your gouernaūce, bothe this noble realme, and my naturall children, and your kynsmen My children by your diligent ouersight, and polittique prouision to bee taught, enformed, and instructed, not onely in the sciēces liberall, verteous morall and good literature: but also to be practised in trickes of maicciall actiuite, and diligent exercise of prudent pollicie. For I haue hard clarkes saie, although I am vnlettered, that fortunate is that Realme, where Philosophers teigne, or where kynges bee Philosophers, and louers of wisdome. In this tendre age, you maie writhe and turne them, into every forme and fashiō. If you bryng them vp in vertue, you shall haue verteous Princes if you sēt them to learnyng, your gouernors shalbee men of knowledge, if you teache them actiuite, you shall haue valaunte capitaines, if thei practice pollicie, you shall haue bothe polittique, and prudent rulers. On the other side, if by your negligence, thei fall to vice (as youth is to all euill, prone and ready) not onely their honor, but also your honestie, shalbe spotted and appalled: If thei bee slogardes and geuen to slothe, the publique wealth of this realme, must shortly decaye. If thei be vnlearned, thei maie by flattery sone bee blinded, & by adulacion often deceiued. If thei lacke actiuite, every creature be he neuer so base of birthe, shall foyle and ouerthrowe them, like domine beastes and beastly dastardes. Therefore I desire you, and in Goddes name adure you, rather to studie to make them riche, in Godly knowledge, and verteous qualities, then to take pain to glorifie them, with abundance of worldly treasure, and mundaine superfluitie. And certainly, whē thei come to maturitie of age, and shall peraduenture, conside, that by your omission and negligent educaciō, thei haue not suche graces, nor are endued with suche notable qualities, as thei might haue been, if you had performed the truste to you, by me committed. Thei shall not onely deplore; and lament their vngarnished estate, and naked condicion, but al so it maie fortune, that thei shall conceiue inwardly against you, suche a neghgent. vntruthe, that the sequele thereof, maie rather turne to displeasure then thanke, and soner to an vngratitude, then to a rewarde.

My kyngdom also, I leue in your gouernaunce, duryng the minoritie of my children, charging you on your honors, othes, and fidelitie, made and sworne to me, so indifferently to ordre and gouerne, the subiectes of thesame, bothe with iustice and mercie, that the willes of malefactors, haue not to large a scope, nor the hartes of the good people, by to muche extremitie, bee neither sorowfully daunted, nor vnkynndly kept vnder: -Oh I am so slepie, that I muste make an ende, and now before you all I commende my soule to almightie God, my sauior and redemer: my body to the wormes of the yearth, my kyngdom to the Prince my sonne, and to you my louyng frendes my harte, my trust, and my whole confidence. And euen with that, he fell on slepe After diuerse suche charitable monicions and exhortacions (as the pangues and fittes of his sickenes would permit hym) sometyne to his nobilitie, sometyne to his famiher frendes, made and declared: His maladie sodainly encreased, and grewe to so painfull an extremitie, that short death was soner of him required, then longer life desired, wishyng rather departing out of this worlde, then to abide the painfull snarte, of his dolorous pangues. Wherefore Attrapos hauyng compassion, of his continuall languishyng, and daily agony, dirupted and brake the threde, of his naturall life, the. ix. daie of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde, M CCCC. lxxxiii. and in the fiftie yere of his bodily age, when he had reigned ouer this realme, more in trouble then perfecte quietnes. xxii. yeres, one monethe and eight daies whose corps was with funerall pompe, accordyng to the royall estate of a kyng, conueighed to the Colege of Winsore, to the which, he had been a greate benefactor, and there on the right hand, of the high autler, princely enterrerd and intumlate, whose death was asmuche lamented of his subiectes, as his life desired. He begat of the Quene Elizabeth his wife, tenne children, whereof he left huyng twoo soonnes, Edward Prince of Wales, and Richard duke of Yorke, and a bastard sonne called Arthur, whiche, after was Vicount Lisle, and came to good profe: beside these he left fise daughters, Elizabeth, Cicilie, Anne, Katherine, and Briget: all these wer married, except lady Briget, which was a Nonne professed.

This kyng Edward was a manne, of a goodly personage, of stature high, and excedyng all other in countenaunce, welfauored and comly, of iye quicke and pleasaunt, biode brested, and well set, all other members doune to his fete, kept iust proporcion with the bulke of his body: of wit he was quicke and pregnant, of stonacke stoute and bold, & of courage haute and high, of memorie moste perfecte, and especially of suche thynges, as he had traualled in, in greate affaires & weightie causes quicke and diligent, in perelles and adventures bolde and hardie, against his enemies, fierce and terrible, to his frendes and to straungers bountifull and liberal, hauyng in warres moste prosperous lucke, and happie successe: From the pleasure of the body, to the whiche he was prone, & much geuen, he did muche abstain and forbere, for whiche cause, and also for the greate humanitie and lowlines, that in hym was by nature moste abundantly engendered, he vsed himself among meane persones, more famiher, then his degree, dignitie, or maiestie requied, whiche was the cause, that some suspected hym, to haue died of poyson And it was said, he that all the daies of his life, had muche vsed liberalitie, was towarde his latter ende, geuen to auarice and loue of money. And although he founde his kyngdome, greatly impouerished, and almoste emptye, bothe of men of warre and money, yet after that he had pacified, and finished the ciuill discencion, he left his realme, of all thynges riche and abundant. The spirituall promociōns, he gaue euer to the moste famous and excellent Clerkes, and men of the best luyng Other of meane qualities, whom he muche fauored, he did not preferre to greate dignitie and high promociōns but with money rewarded them, whiche thyng many Princes (regarding not their honors) do not consider nor obserue: with all whiche notable vertues, he ioyned to hym so surely the hartes of his people, that after his death, his life again was daily wished, and effectuously among his Subiectes desired, but wishyng serued not, nor yet their desire tooke none effecte.

¶ The ende of the prosperous reigne of Kyng Edward the fourth.

THE



## THE PITIFULL LIFE OF KYNGE

## EDWARD THE. V.

This kynge  
tyrne wyth  
some parte  
of kyng Ri-  
chard y<sup>e</sup>  
iiij. as shall  
apere by  
a note made  
at that  
place, was  
writte by  
syr Thomas  
More

THE eternall God callinge to his merci the noble prince Kynge Edward f. iiij. of that name, Edward his eldest sonne (prince of Wales) beganne his reygne the ninthe daye of April, in the yere of oure lord a thousande foure hundred fourscore & thre, and in the. xxiiij. yere of Lewes the leuenthe then Frenche kynge Whiche younge prince reigned a small space & litle season ouer this realme, either in pleasure or libertie. For his vncke Richard duke of Gloucester, within thre monethes deprived hym not onely of his crowne and regalltee, but also vnnaturally bereft hym of his naturall life: and for the declaracion by what craftie engine he firste attempted his vngacious purpose & by what false colourable and vntrue allegacions he set furth openly his pretended enterprise, and finally, by what shamefull, cruell and detestable act he perfourmed the same: Ye muste first conside of whom he and his brother descended, their natures, condicions and inclinacions, and then you shall easely perceiue, that there coulde not bee a more crueller tiraunt appointed to acheue a more abominable entrepryse.

Richard  
Plantagenet  
duke of  
Yorke.

Then father was Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, whiche began not by warre, but by lawe to calenge the crowne of Englande, puttyng his claime in the parliament, holden the thirty yere of kyng Henry the sixt, where either for righte or for fauoure, his cause was so set furthe and aunounced, that the bloude of the sayed kynge Henry, althoughe he had a goodly sonne, was clerely abiected, and the crowne of f realme (by auctoritie of pailamente) entayled to the duke of Yorke and his heires after the decease of the sayed kynge Henry the syxte. But the duke not entendynge so long too tary, but myndynge vnder the pretexte of discension growen and arisen within the realme, and of couenantes made in the parliament, not kepte, but broken, to preuent the tyme and to take vpon hym the gouernaunce in kynge Henries life was by to muche hardnesse slaine at the battaill of Wakefelde, leuyng behinde hym thre sonnes, Edward, George, and Richarde. All these three as thei were greate estates of burthe, so were they greate and statly of stomacke, gredy of promociions and impacient partners of rule and autoritee.

The iiij  
sones of Ri-  
chard duke  
of Yorke,  
described.

This Edward reneged his fathers death and deposed kyng Henry the sixt, and attained the crowne and scepter of the realme.

Georgeduke  
of Clarence  
drowned in  
a but of  
Malmesey.

George duke of Clarence was a goodly and well featurcd prince, in all thynges fortunate, if either his owne ambicion had not set hym against his brother or thenuy of his eneinies had not set his brother againste hym. for were it by the quene or nobles of her blud, whiche highly maligned the kynges kynred (as women commely, not of malice but of nature, hate suche as their husbandes loue) or wer it a proud appetite of the duke hym selfe, entendynge to bee kynge, at the leaste wise, hemous treason was laied to his charge, and finally were he in faulte or wer he faultlesse, attainted was he by parliament and iudged to death, and there vpon hastily drowned in a butte of malmesey within the towre of London. Whose death kyng Edward (although he commaunded it) when he wiste it was doen piteously he bewayled and sorowfully repeated it.

The descrip-  
cion of Ri-  
chard the  
iiij

Richard duke of Gloucester the third sonne (of whiche I must moste entreate) was in witte and courage egall with the other, but in beautee and liniametes of nature far vnderneath bothe, for he was litle of stature, euill featured of limnes, croke backed, the left shulder muche

much higher than the righte, harde fauoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and emonge commen persones a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrothfull and enuious, and as it is reported, his mother the duches had muche a dooe in her trauaill, that she could not be deliuered of hym vncut, and that he came into the worlde the fete forwarde, as menne bee borne outwarde, and as the fame ranne, not vntoed: whether that menne of hatred reported aboue the truthe, or that nature chaunged his course in his beginnyng, whiche in his life many thynges vnnaturally committed, this I leue to God his iudgement. He was none euill capitain in warre, as to fywhyche, his disposicion was more enclined too, then to peace. Sondry victories he had and some ouerthrowes, but neuer for defeaute of his owne persone, either for lacke of hardinesse or politike order. Free he was of his dispences and somewhat aboue his power liberal, with large giftes he gatte hym vnstedfaste friendship: for whiche cause he was faine to borowe, pill and extort in other places, whiche gat hym stedfaste hatred. He was close and secrete, a depe dissimuler, lowlye of countenaunce, arrogante of herte, outwardely famlier where he inwardely hated, not lettynge to kisse whom he thought to kill, despitous and cruell, not alwaie for euill will, but ofte for ambition and too scrue his purpose, frende and foe were all indifferent, where his auantage grewe, he spared no mannes deathe whose life withstode his purpose. He slewe in the towre kynge Henry the sixte, saynge now is there no heire male of kynge Edward the thirde, but wee of the house of Yorke. whiche murder was doen without kyng Edward his assente, which woulde haue appoynted that bocherly office too some other, rather then to his owne brother. Some wise menne also wene, that his drifte lacked not in helpynge furth his owne brother of Clarence to his death, which thyng in all apparaunce he resisted, although he inwardly mynded it. And the cause therof was, as men notyng his doynges and procedynges did marke (because that he longe in kynge Edward his tyme thought to obtaine the crowne in case that the kynge his brother, whose life he loked that euill diet woulde sone shorten) shoulde happen to discease, as he did in dede, his chyldren beyng younge. And then if the duke of Clarence had liued, his pretenced purpose had been fauhyndered. For yf the duke of Clarence had kepte hymselfe trewe to his nephewe the younge king, or woulde haue taken vpon hym too bee kynge, euery one of these castes had been a troumpe in the duke of Gloucesters waye but when he was sure that his brother of Clarence was ded, then he knewe that he might worke without that ieoperdy. But of these poinctes there is no certentie, and whosoever diuyneth or coniectureth, may as wel shote to fer as to shoite, but this coniecture after waide toke place (as fewe dooe) as you shall perceiue hereafter.

But afore I declare too you howe this Richard duke of Gloucester began his mischeuous-imagined and pretenced enterprice as apparatly shalbee opened, I muste a litle put you in remembraunce of a louyng & charitable acte, no lesse profitable then amicable to the whole comminaltie, if it had been so inwardely thought as it was outwardely dissimuled, which kynge Edward did liyng on his deathe bedde not longe before he died. For in his life, although that the diuision emongest his frendes somewhat greued and irked hym, yet in his helthe he lesse regarded & tooke hede to it, by reason that he thought that he was hable in al thynges to rule bothe parties, wer thei neuer so-obstinate. But in his last sickenes (whiche continued longer then false and fantastick tales haue vtruely and falsely surmised, as I my selfe that wrote this pamphlet truly knewe) when he perceiued his naturall strength was gone, and hoped litle of recovery by the hartes of all his phicisians whiche he perceiued onely to prolong his life. Then he began to consider the youthe of his children, howe bee it, he nothyng lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet he wisely forseyng and consideryng that many aimes might ensue by the debate of his nobles while the youth of his children should lacke discrecion and good counsaill of their frendes, for he knewe well that euery parte woulde worke for their owne commodite, and rather by pleasaunte aduise to wyne themselves fauour, then by profitable aduertisement to dooe the chyldren good. wherefore liyng on his deathe bed at Westminster, he called to hym suche lordes as then were aboute hym, whome he knewe to bee at variance, in especiall the lorde Marques Dorset sonne to the

Kynge  
Henry y<sup>e</sup>  
w<sup>as</sup> slawn in  
the towre  
by Richard  
y<sup>e</sup> iii.



the queene and the lord Hastynges, againstwhome the quene especially grudged for the fauoure that the king bare hym, and also she thoughte hym fanulier with the kyng in wanton compaignie her kynne bare hym sore, aswel for that the kyng made hym capitain of Caleis, which office the lord Riueis brother to the quene claimed of the kyng his former promise, as of diuerse other giftes whiche he receiued that they loked for. And when these lordes with diuerse other of bothe parties were come vnto the kynges his presence, he caused hym self to bee raised vp with pillowes, & as I can gesse, saied thus or muche like in sentence to them

An exhortaciō of kyng Edward the. iij. in his death bedde

My lordes, my dere kynsmen and alies, in what plight I now lye you se, and I perfightly fele by the whiche I lōke the lesse while to liue with you, therfore the more depely I am moued to care in what case I leaue you, for such as I leaue you suche are my chyldren like to finde you, whiche yf they should find at variaunce (as God forbid) they them selves mighte hap to fall at warre or their discrecion woulde serue to set you at peace: you se then youthe, of whiche I reken the onely surety to tēste in your concoide. For it suffiseth not all you to loue them, yf eche of you hate other. If they were men your faithfulness might hap to suffice, but childhod muste bee maintained by mennes autortie, and slipper youthe vnderprompted with elder counsaill, whiche they can neuer haue excepte you geue it, nor you geue it, excepte you agree, for where eche laboureth too breake that the other maketh, and for hatered eche impugneth others counsaill there muste nedes bee a longe tracte or any good conclusion canne forewarde. And farther, while eache partie laboureth too bee chiefe flatterer, adulation shall then haue more place then plainc and faisthefull aduise, of wiche muste nedes ensue the euill byngynge vp of the prince whose mynde in tender youth infecte shall redely fall to mischiese and riote and drawe downe this noble realme to ruine. But yf grace turne hym to wisdom (whiche God send hym) then they whiche by euill meanes pleased hym beste, shall after fall fardest out of fauoure, so that at the lengthe euill driftes diue to naught, and good plain waies prospere and florishe. Greate variaunce hath been betwene you, not alwaies for great causes. Some tyme a thyng righte well entended and misconstrued hath been turned to the worse, or a small displeasure doen to you, either by youre owne affection, either by instigacion of euill tongues hath ben sore aggrauate. But this I wote well, you had neuer so greate cause of hatred as you haue of loue because we bee all menne and that we bee all Christen menne. This I will leaue to preachers to tell you and yet I wote not whether any prechers woordes ought more to moue you, then I that is goyng by and by to the place that they all preche of. But this shal I desire you to remembre, that the one parte of you beyng of my bloude, the other of my alies, and eche of you with other either of kynred or affinitee whiche is the vey spirituell affinitee and knred in Christe, as all partakers of the sacramentes of Christe his church. The weightie of whiche consanguinitie yf we did beare as woulde to God we did, then shoulde we more bee moued to spirituall charite then to fleshely consanguinitee. Our Lorde forbid that you loue the worse together for the selfe same cause that you ought to loue the better, and yet that often happeneth, for no where finde we so dedly debate as emongest them whiche by nature and lawe moste ought to agre together. Suche a serpente is ambicion and desire of vainglory and souereigntie, which emongest estates when he is once entred he crepith furth so far, till with deuision and variaunce he turneth all to mischiese. Firste longynge to be next to the beste, afterwarde egall with the beste, and at the laste chief and aboue the beste. Of whiche immoderate appetite of worship and the debate and discencion that grewe there by, what losse, what sorowe, what trouble hath within these fewe yeres growen within this realme, I pray God as well to forget as we well remembre, whiche thyng if I coulde as well haue forsene as I haue with my more pain then pleasure proued, by God his blessed lady (that was his common othe) I woulde neuer haue won the curtesies of mennes knees with the losse of so many heddes. But sith thynges passed cannot be called agayne, muche more ought wee to bee ware, by what occasion wee haue taken so greate hurte before, that wee eftsones fall not into that occa-

'sion again. Now bee these greues passed and al is quiet, thanked bee God, and likely well too prospere in welthfull peace, vnder your cosins my children, yf God sende them life, and you loue and concorde. Of whiche two thynges the lesse losse were thei by whom although God did his pleasure, yet shoulde this realme alwayes fynde kynges, and paraduenture as good kynges as thei. But yf you emongest your selves in a chyldes reigne fall at debate, many a good manne shall innocently perishe, and happely he and you also, 'or this land fynde peace and quiet agayne. wherefore in these laste woordes that euer I looke to speake to you, I exhorie and require you all, for the loue that you haue borne too me, and for the loue that I haue borne to you, and for the loue that oure Lorde beareth to vs all. From this tyme forward all greues forgotten, eche of you loue other, which I verely trust you will, yf you any thyng regarde God or your kynges affinitee or kynede, this realme, your owne countree, or your owne surete & wealth. And there with all, the kyng for faintnesse no longer enduring too sitte vp, layed hym downe on his righte side, his face toward them. And there was none presente that coulde forbear weepynge, but the Lordes confortynge hym with as good woordes as thei coulde, and answeyng for the tyme, as they thoughte shoulde stande with his pleasure. And there in his presence (as by their woordes apeare) eche forgave other, and ioyned their handes together, when as it after appeared by their dedes their hartes were far a sunder. And so within a fewe daies, this noble prince disceased at Westminster the nyynth daye of Aprill; in the yere of our lorde M cccc lxxxij after that he had reigned xxii. yeres one moneth and eight daies, and was with great funerall pompe conueighed to Windsore, leuyng behynde hym two sonnes, Edward the prince (of whom this story entreateth) a chyld of xij yeres of age, Richard duke of Yorke two yeres younger then the prince, & five daughters, Elizabeth, whiche by God his grace was married to kyng Henry the seuenthe and mother to kyng Henry the eighte, Cicile not so fortunate as faire, firste wedded to the viscounte Welles, after to one Kyne and liued not in greate wealthe. Bridget professed her selfe a close Nonne at Sion, Anne was married to lorde Thomas Hauwarde after erle of Surry and duke of Northfolke, katherine the youngest daughter was married to lorde William Courtney, sonne to therle of Deuonshire, whiche long tyme tossed in ether fortune, somtyme in wealth, after in aduersite, till the benigntee of her nephewe kyng Henry the eighte broughte her into a sure estate accordynge to her degre and progeny.

This kyng Edward was suche a prince of gouernaunce and behaueoure in y<sup>e</sup> tyme of peace (for in y<sup>e</sup> tyme of warre eche must bee others enemie) y<sup>e</sup> ther was neuer any kyng in this realme attaynyng the croune by warre and battaill, so hertely beloued with the moie substaunce of his people, nor he hym self so, specially fauoured in any parte of his life, as at the tyme of his deathe whiche fauour and affection yet after his deathe, by the crueltee, mischiefe and trouble of the tempestuous world that folowed, highly towardes hym more encreased. At suche tyme as he died, the displeasure of those that bare him grudge for kyng Henry the sixte sake (whom he deposed) was well assuaged and in effecte quenched within the space of xxii. yeres, whiche is a greate parte of a mannes life, and some were reconciled and growen into his fauoure, of the whiche he was neuer straunge, when it was with true herte demaunded. He was goodley of peisonage and princely to beholde, of harte courageous, politique in counsaill, and in aduersitee nothyng abashed, in prosperite rather ioyfull then proude, in peace iuste and mercifull, in warre sharpe and fearce, in the felde bolde and hardy, and yet neuerthesse no farther, then reason and polycie would aduenture, whose warres whoeuer circumspectely and adusedly considereth he shall no lesse commend his wisdom and policie where he aduoided them, then his manhod where he vanquished them. He was of visage full faced & louely, of body mightie, strong and cleane made: with ouer liberall and wanton diet, he waxed somewhat corpulent and bourly, but neuerthesse not vncomely. He was in youth greatly geuen to fleshely wantonnes, from the whiche healthe of

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The description of king Edward the. iiij



body in great prosperitee and fortune withoute an especiall grace hardely refraineth. This fault litle greued his people, for neither coulde any one mannes pleasure streche or extend to the displeasure of very many, nor a multitude bee greued by a priuate mannes fantasies or voluptuousnesse, when it was dooen withoute violence. And in his latter daies he left all wild dahanee, & fell to grauitee, so that he brought his realme into a wealthie and prosperous estate, all feare of outwarde enemies were clerely extinguished, and nowarre was in hande nor none towarde, but suche as no manne looked for. The people were towarde their prince not in a constrained feare, but in a true louyng and willfull obedience emongeste them selte, and the commons were in good peace. The lordes whom he knewe at variaunce, he in his deathe bedde (as he thought) brought too good concorde, loue and amitee. And a litle before his deathe, he had left gatheryng of money of his subjectes, which is the onely thyng that draweth the haites of Englishe menne from their kinges and princes. nor nothyng he either enterprised nor tooke in hande, by the whiche he shoulde bee driuen there vnto. For his tribute out of Fraunce he had a litle before recovered and obtained. And the yere before he died, he recovered agayn the towne of Berwike against the kyng of Scottes. And albeit that all the tyme of his reigne, he was so benigne courteous and familiar, that no parte of his vertues was esteemed more then those highe humilitees. Yet that condicion in thende of his last daies decayed not, in the whiche many princes by a longe continued soueraigntie, decline to a proud porte and behaueour from then condicions accustomed at their begynnynge. Yet lowlinesse and gentlenesse so far furth in hym increased that the sommer before he died, he beeynge at the hauerynge at the bower, sente for the maire and aldermen of London thether onely to hunte & make pastyme, where he made them not so hertye but so familiare and frendly chere, and sent also to their wiues suche plenty of venison, that no one thyng in many daies before gatte hym either mo hartes or more hertie fauour emongest the comon people, which oftentimes more esteeme and take for greate kyndenesse a litle courtesie then a greate profite or benefite.

And so this noble prince deceased, as you haue hearde in that tyme when his life was moste desired, and when his people moste desired to kepe hym. Whiche loue of his people and their entiere affection towarde hym, had been to hys noble chyldren (hauynge in them selues also as many giftes of nature, as many princely vertues, as much good towardenesse as their age coulde receyue) a merueilous fortresse and a sure armour, yf the diuision and dissencion of their frendes had not vnarmed them and left them desnutate, and the execrable desire of soueraigntie prouoked hym to their destruccion, whiche yf either kynde or kyndnesse had holden place muste nedes haue been their chiefe defence. For Richard duke of Gloucestre, by nature their vncke, by office their protectoure, to their father greatly beholden and tooke them by othe and allegiaunce bounden, all the bandes broken and violated whiche bynde man and man together, withoute any respecte of God or the worlde, vnnaturally contriued too bereue them, not onely of their dignitee and preheminance, but also of their naturall lues and worldely felicitie.

And first to shewe you, that by coniecture he pretended this thyng in his brothers life, ye shall vnderstande for a truth that the same night that kyng Edward died, one called Mistelbrooke, longe ere the daye sprōg, came to the house of one Potter dwelling in Redcrosse strete without Ciple gate of London, & when he was with hasty rapping quickly let in, the said Mistelbrooke shewed vnto Potter that kyng Edward was that night deceased: by my truth quod Potter, then will my master the duke of Gloucestre bee kyng and that I warrant thee. What cause he had so too thynke, harde it is to saie, whether he beeyng his seruante knewe any such thyng pretended or otherwise had any ynkylyng therof but of all likelihod he spake it not of naught.

But now too returne to the trewe historie, wer it that the duke of Gloucestre had of old sore practised this conclusion, or was before tyme moued there vnto and putte in hope by the tender age of the young princes his nephewes, as oportunitie and likely of speede putteth a manne in courage of that that he neuer intended. Certain it is, that he beeynge in  
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the Northe parties, for the good gouernaunce of the countrie, beyng aduertised of his brothers deathe contriued the destruccion of his nephewes with the vsurpacion of the royall dignitee and crowne And for asmuche as he well wiste, and had holpe to maintain, a long continued grudge and harte burning betwene the queenes kynred and the kynges bloude, either parte enuiying others autoritee, he now thought, as it was in deede, a furtherly beginnyng to the pursute of his entente, and a sure grounde and situacion of his vnnaturall buyldyng, yf he mighte vnder the pretence of reuengyng of olde displeasures, abuse the ignoraunce and anger of the one partie too the destruccion of the other, and then to wyn to his purpose as many as he coule. and suche as coule not bee wonne, mighte be loste or they loked therefore. But of one thyng he was certain, that if his entent were once perceiued, he should haue made peace betwene bothe parties with his owne blood but all his entente he kept secrete till he knewe his frendes, of the whiche Henry the duke of Buckyngham was the firste that sente to him after his brothers death a trusty seruaunte of his called Persuall to the citee of Yorke, where the duke of Gloucester kepte the kyng his brothers funeralles. This Persuall came to Ihon Warde a secrete chamberer to the duke of Gloucester, desirynge that he in close and couerte maner mighte speake with the duke his master: where vpon in the dead of the nighte, the duke sente for Persuall (all other beyng auoyded) whiche shewed to the duke of Gloucester, that the duke of Buckyngham his master in this newe wolde wolde take suche parte as he wolde, and wolde farther wayte vpon hym with a thousande good felowes yf nede were The duke sente backe the messanger with greate thanks and diuerse priuey instruccions by mouthe, whiche Persuall did somuche by his traillaill that he came to the duke of Buckyngham his master into the marches of Wales, and eftsones with newe instruccions met with the duke of Gloucester at Northingham, whiche was come out of the Northecountree with many knightes and gentlemen to the nombre of sixe hundred horse and more, in his iourney toward London. And after secrete metynge and comunicacion had betwene hym and the duke of Gloucester, he returned with such spede that he brought the duke of Buckyngham his master to mete with the duke of Gloucester not far from Northampton with thre hundred horsse, and so they two came together to Northampton where thei first began their vnhappy enterpryce, and so the duke of Buckyngham continued still with the duke of Gloucester til he was crowned kyng, as ye shal plailly perceiue hereafter.

The younge kyng at the deathe of his father kepte housholde at Ludlowe, for his father had sente hym thether for Iustice to be dooen in the Marches of Wales, to the ende that by the autoritee of his presence, the wilde Welshemenne and euell disposed personnes should refrain from their accustomed murthers and outrages. The gouernaunce of this younge Prince was committed too lord Antony Wooduile erle Ryuers and lorde Scales, brother to the quene, a wise, hardy and honourable personage, as valiaunte of handes as polittique of counsaill and with hym were associate other of the same partie, and in effect euery one as he was nerer of kynne vnto the quene, so was he planted nexte aboute the pynce. That drift by the quene semed to be deuised, whereby her bloudd mighte of righte in tender youthe bee so planted in the princes fauoure, that afterwarde it shoulde hardly bee eradicated out of the same

The duke of Gloucester turned all this to their destruction, and vpo that grounde set the foundation of his vnhappy buyldyng: For whom soeuer he perceiued too bee at variaunce with them, or to beare toward hym selfe any fauoure, he brake vnto them, some by mouthe, some by writynge and secrete messengers, that it was neither reason nor yet to be suffered that the younge kyng their master and kynsman shoulde bee in the handes and custody of his mothers kynrede, sequestered in maner from their compaignie and attendaunce, of whiche euery one oughte hym as faithfull seruice as they, and many of theim of farre more honorable parte of kynne then his mothers side, whose blood quod the duke of Gloucester sauynge the kyng his pleasure, was farre vnmete to bee matched with his, which now to bee remoued from the kyng and the leaste noble to bee lefte aboute hym, is quod he



neither honourable to his maiestie nor too vs, and also too hym lesse suretie, to haue the nobles and mightiest of his frendes from hym, & to vs all no litle ieopardie to suffre, and specially our well proued euill willers too growe into greate autoritee with the lynge in youthe, namely whiche is lighte of belefe and soone perswaded

Ye remembre that kyng Edward hym self, albeit he was bothe of age and discredior, yet was he ruled in many thynges by that bende, more then stode either with his honour or our profite, or with the comoditee of anye man els, excepte onely the immoderate auauuncement of them selues, which whether they thirsted sore after their owne weale or no, it were harde I thinke to gesse. And yf some folkes frendshipe had not holden better place with the kynge then any respecte of kynrede, they might, paraduventure, easily haue trapped and broughte to confusion some of vs or this and why not as easely as thei haue dooen other or this as nere of the blod royall, but our lorde hath wroughte his will, and thanked bee his grace that perell is paste: howbeit as greate is growyng if we suffie this young kyng in his enemies handes, whiche, without his wittying might abuse the name of his commaundemente to any of our vndoing, whiche thinges God and good prouision forbid, of whiche good prouision none of vs hath any thyng the lesse nede for the late attone-mēte made, in whiche *ȝ* kyng his pleasure had more place then the parties hertes or willes, nor none of vs is so vnwise or somuch ouersene as to trust a newefiēd made of an old too, or to thinke that any onely kindenesse so sodenly contracted in an houre, continued scantly yet a fourtnight, should bee deper set in our stomackes, then a longe accustomed malice many yeres rooted.

With these perswasions and writings, the duke of Gloucester sette a fire them whiche were easie to kyndle, and in especial twain, Henry duke of Buckyngham, and Willyam lord Hastynges, and lord Chambeilain, bothe menne of honoure and of greate power, the one by longe succession from his aunceters, thother by his offices and the kynge his fauoure. These two not bearynge eache to other so much loue, as hatred both to *ȝ* quenes blood, accorded together with the duke of Gloucester that thei would remoue from the kyng all his mothers frendes, vnder the name of their enemies.

Where vpon the duke of Gloucester beyng aduertised that the lordes aboute the kynge entended to brynge hym to London to his coronacion, accompaigned with suche a number of their frendes that it shoulde be harde for hym to brynge his purpose to passe without the assemblyng and gatheryng of people & in maner of open warre, wherof the gende he wyst was doubtfull, and in the which the kyng beyng on the othei syde, his parte shoulde haue the name and face of rebellion.

He secretly therefore by diuerse meanes caused the quene to be perswaded that it was neither nede & should also be ieopardious for *ȝ* kyng to come vp so strong, for as now every lord loued other and none other thyng studied for, but the triumphe of his coronacion & honoure of the kyng. And the lordes about the kyng, should assemble in the kynges names inuche people, thei should geue *ȝ* lordes betwixt whom & them thei had bene some tyme debate, an occasion to feare and suspecte least they shoulde gather this people, not for the kynges saue guard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauyng more regarde to their olde varauance then to their new attonement, for the which cause they on the othei parte might assemble men also for their defence, whose powres she wyst well farre stretched, and thus should all the realme fal in a roare, &, of the mischiete that therof should ensue (whiche was likely to be not a litle) *ȝ* moste harme was like to fal where she least woulde, & then all the world would put her & her kynred in the blame, saiyng that they had vnwisely and vtruely broken the anytie and peace whiche the kynge her husband had so prudently made betwene her kynred and his, whiche amyte his kynne had alwaies obserued.

The quene beyng thus perswaded, sent worde to the kyng and to her brother, that there was no cause nor nede to assemble any people, & also the duke of Gloucester and other lordes of his bend, wrote vnto *ȝ* kyng so reuerently and to the quenes frendes there so louyngly

yngly, that they nothings yearlyly mistrustynge, brought the young kynge towarde London with a sober compaignie in great haste (but not in good spede) til he came to Northampton, and from thence he removed to Stony stratford. On whiche day the two dukes and their bende came to Northampton, fainyng that Stony stratford could not lodge them al, where thei found the erle Ryuers, entendinge the nexte mornynge to haue folowed the kynge, and to be with him earely in the mornynge. So that night, the dukes made to the erle Ryuers frendly chere, but assone as they were departed very famlier with greute curtesie in open sight & therle Ryuers lodged the two dukes with a fewe of their priuy fiendes fel to counsell, wherein they spent a great parte of the night, and in the dawninge of the daye they sent aboute priuely to their seruantes in their lodgynges to hast to horsebacke for their lordes were in maner redy to ryde, whervpō all their seruantes were ready or the lorde Ryuers seruantes were awake. Nowe had the dukes taken the keyes of the ynn into their possession, so that none shoulde yssue out withoute their consent. And ouer this in the high way towarde Stony stratford, they set certayne of their folkes that should cause and cōpell to retourne againe all persons that were passyng from Northampton to Stony stratford, sayng that the dukes them selfs would be the fyrst that should come to the kyng from Northampton thus they bare folkes in hand. But when the earle Ryuers vnderstode the gates closed and the wayes on euery syde beset, neither his seruantes, neither him selfe suffered to go out, perceyunge so great a thyng without his knowledge, not begon for noughte, comparynge this present doynge with the laste nightes chere, in so fewe houres so greute a chaunge, marueylously myslyked it. Howebeit, sythe he coulde not get awaye, he determined not to kepe him selfe close, least he should seme to hyde him selfe for some secret feare of his owne faute, wherof he saw no such cause in him selfe, wherfore on the suretie of his owne conscience he determined to goo to them and to inquire what this matter might meane. Whom assone as they sawe, they beganne to quarel with him, affymyng that he pretended to set distaunce betwene the kyng and them to brynge them to confusion, whiche shoulde not lye in hys powie, and when he beganne as he was an eloquente and well spoken manne in goodlynysse to excuse hym selfe, they woulde not heare his aunswere but toke hym by force and put hym in ward. And then they mounted on hoisbacke and came in haste to Stony stratford, where the kynge was goynge to horsebacke, because he woulde leaue the lodgyng for them, for it was to straight for bothe the cōpaignies. And when thei came to his presence, they alighted and their compaignie aboute them, and on their knees saluted hym, and he them gently receiued, nothing yerthly knowyng ner mistrustynge as yet. The duke of Buckyngham said aloud, on afore gentlemen, and yomen kepe your rouses, and therwith in y kynges presence they picked a quarel to the lord Richard Grey the quenes sonne, and brother to the lord Marques & halfe brother to the king sayng that he and the Marques his brother and the lord Ryuers his vncl had compassed to rule the kyng and the realme and set variaunce betwene the states, & to subdue and destroy the noble bloude of the realme. And towarde thacomplishement of the same, they sayde, the lord Marques had entred into the towre of London, and thence had taken out treasure and sent men to the sea, which thynges these dukes knewe well wel done for a good purpose and as very necessary, appointed by the whole counsaill at London, but somewhat they muste saye. vnto the whiche wordes the kynge answered, what my brother Marques hath done I cannot saye, but in good faythe I dare well answere for mine vncl Ryuers and my brother here, that they be innocente of suche matters. Yee my heage quod the duke of Buckyngham, they haue kept the dealyng of these matters farre from the knowledge of youe good giace. And furthwith they requested the lorde Rycharde and sir Thomas Vaugham & sir Richard Hawte knyghtes, in the kyngs presence, & broughte the kyng and all back to Northampton, where they toke further counsaill in their affaires. And there they sent from the kyng whom it pleased them, & set aboute him such seruantes as better pleased them then him. At which dealyng he wepte and was not content, but it booted not. And at dynner, the duke of Glocester sent a dyshe from his owne table to the lord Ryuers, prayng him to bee of good chere and all shoulde be well,



well, he thanked him & prayed the messenger to beare it to his nephiewe the lorde Richard with like wordes, whom he knewe to haue nede of cōfort, as one to whom such aduersite was straunge, but he hym selfe had bene all his daies ennured therwith, and therefore could beare it the better. But for al this message, the duke of Gloucester sent ſ̃ lorde Ryuers, the lord Richard and sir Thomas Vaughain and sir Richard Hawte into the Northparties into diuerse prisons, but at last, al came to Poufret where they all foure were beheaded without iudgement.

In this maner as you haue hard, the duke of Gloucester toke on him the gouernaunce of the yonge kyng, whom with much reuerence he conueied towardes London. These tidynges came hastily to the quene before mydnighte, by a very sore reporte that the kynge her sonne was taken and that her brothei and her other sonne and other her frendes were arrested, and sent, no mān wyste whether. With this heauy tidynges the quene bewayled her chyldes ruyne, her frendes mischaunce, and her owne infortune, curssyng the tyme that euer she was perswaded to leaue the gatherynge of people to brynge vp the kynge with a greate powre, but that was passed, and therefore nowe she toke her younger sonne the duke of Yorke and her doughters and went out of the palays of Westminster into the sanctuay, and there lodged in the abbotes place, and she and all her chyldren and compaignie were registred for sanctuayre persons. The same night there came to doctor Rotheram Archebysshop of Yorke and lorde Chauncelour, a messenger from the lord Chambrelayne to Yorke place besyde Westminster the messenger was brought to the bishoppes bedsyde and declared to him that the dukes were gone backe with the young kyng to Northampton, and declared furthber, that the lorde Hastynges his maister sent him worde that he shoulde feare nothyng for all should be well. (Wel quod the archebysshop) be it as wel as it wyl, it wyl neuer be so wel as we haue sene it, and then the messenger departed. Whereupon the bishop called vp all his seruantes and toke with hym the great seale and came before day to the quene, about whom he found much heauynesse, rumble, haste, businesse, conueighaunce and cariage of hir stuffe into sanctuayre, euery man was busye to carye, beare and conueigh stuffe, chestes & tardelles, no man was vnoccupied, and some caried more then they were commaunded to another place. The quene sat alone belowe on the rushes all desolate & dismayde, whō the Archebysshoppe confortd in the best maner that he coulde, shewyng her that the matter was nothyng so sore as she tooke it for, and that he was putte in good hope and out of feare by the message sente to hym from the lorde Hastynges. A wo worth him quod the quene, for it is he that goeth about to destroy me and my blodde. Madame quod he, be of good comforte and I assure you, yf they crowne any other kynge then your sonne whom they nowe haue, we shal on the morow crowne his brother whom you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in lykewise as your noble husband deliuered it to me, so I deliuer it to you to the vse of your sonne and therwith deliuered her the greate seale, and departed home in the dawning of the day. And when he opened his wyndowes and loked on the Temys, he might see the riuier full of boates, of the duke of Gloucester his seruantes watching, that no person should go to sanctuayre, nor none should passe vnserched.

Then was there great rumoure and commotion in the citee and in other places, the people diuersely diuined vpon this dealyng. And diuerse lordes, knightes and gentlemen, either for fauoure of the quene or for feare of them selues, assembled compaignies and wente flockyng together in barnes. And many also, for that they recompted this demeanour attempted, not so specially against other lordes as against the kynge hym selfe in the dysturbance of his coronatyon, therefore they assembled by and by together to common of this matter at London. The Archebysshoppe of Yorke fearinge that it woulde be ascribed (as it was in dede,) to ouermuch hightnes, that he so soderly had yelded vp the great seale to the quene, to who the custody therof nothing apperteigned without especial commaundemente of the kynge, secretly sente for the seale againe and brought it with him after the accustomed maner to mete with the lordes.

At this metynge, the lord Hastynges, whose trueth toward the kyng no man doubted, nor neded not to doubt, perswaded the lordes to beleue, that the duke of Gloucester was faithfull and sure towardes his prince, and that the lorde Ryuers, the lord Richard and other knyghtes apprehended, were for matters attempted by them against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckyngham put vnder arest, for their suretie, and not for the kings iopardie, and that they were also in sauegarde there to remayne, tyll the matter were (not by the dukes onely) but also by all the other lordes of the kynges counsell indifferently examined, and by their discrecions ordred and either iudged or appesed. And one thyng he auised them to beware of, that they iudged not the matter to farfurthe or they knewe the trueth, nor turnynge their priuate grudges into the common hurte, irityng and prouokynge men vnto angre, and disturbyng the kynges coronacion, toward which the dukes were commynge, for that, then mighte paradventure bryng the matter so faire oute of ioynite, that it shoulde neuer be brought in frame againe, whiche yf it should happe as it were likely to come to a felde, though al parties wer in al other thinges equal, yet shoulde the authoitytee bee on that syde, where the kyng is hym selfe, with these perswasions of the lorde Hastynges, whereof parte he him selfe beleued, and of parte he wist well the cōtrary, these commocions were some what appeased. But in especiall, because the dukes of Buckyngham and Gloucester were so nere and came on so shortly with the kyng, in none other maner, nor none other voice or semblaunce then to his coronaciō, causing the fame to be blown about that such persons as were apprehended had contriued the distruction of the dukes of Gloucester and of Buckyngham and other of the noble bloude of this realme, to the entente that they alone woulde rule and gouerne the kyng. And for the coloure thereof, suche of the dukes seruantes as rode with the cartes of their stuffe whiche were taken, among the whiche stuffe no marueyle though some were harneys whiche at the breakynge vp of suche an housholde muste be broughte away or caste awaye, they shewed to the people, and as they went, sayd lo herē be the barrelles of harneyes that these traitours had priuely conueighed in their carnages to destroye the noble lordes withal. This diuerse, (although it made the matter to wise men more vnikely) wel perceiuyng that thentendours of suche a purpose woulde rather haue had their harneyes on their backs, then to haue boūd them vp in banelles, yet muche parte of the common people were therewith right well satisfied.

When the kyng approached nere the cytee, Edmonde Shawe Goldesmythe then Mayre of the cytie with the Aldermenne and shieues in skarlet, and fyue hundreth commoners in murre raye receiued his grace reuerently at Harnesay Parke, and so conueighed him to the cytee, where he entred the fourth day of May, in the fyrst and last yere of his reigne, and was lodged in the bishoppe of Londons Palayce: but the duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reuerently, saying to all mē as he rode behold your prince and souereigne lord, and made such semblaunce of lowlynnes to his prince, that from the great obloquy that he was in so late before he was sodenly fallen in so great trust that at the counsel next assembled he was made the onely chiefe ruler, and thought most mete to be protectoure of the king and his realme, so that, were it destiny or were it folly, the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to kepe. At whiche counsell the Archebishop of Yorke was sore blamed for deliueying the great seale to the quene, and the seale taken from him and deliuered to doctor Ihon Russel bishop of Lyncolne, a wyse mā and a good and of much experience, and diuerse lordes and knyghtes were appointed to diuerse rouses, the lord Chamberlayne and some other kept the routes that they wer in before, but not many.

Now were it so that the protectour (which alwayes you must take for the duke of Gloucester) sore thirsted for the acheuyng of his pretended enterpryse and thought euery daye a yere tyll it were perfourmed, yet durste he no further attempt as long as he had but half his pray in his hand, well wittynge that yf he deposed the one brother, all the realme woulde fall to the other, yf he remayned either in sanctuarye or shoulde happely be shortly conueighed to his fathers libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next metynge of the lordes in counsel he purposed to them that it was an heynous thyng of the quene, and procedyng of great malice

Edmonde  
Shaw mayer  
of London.



malice toward the kynges councelers that she shoulde kepe the kynges brother in sanctuarye from him whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to haue his brother with him, and that to be done by her to none other intent, but to brynge all the lordes in an obloquy and murmoure of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the kynges brother, whiche lordes were by the whole assent of the nobles of the realme appointed as the kynges nere frendes to the tucion of his royall person, the prosperitee wherof (quod he) standeth not alonely in keypyng from enemies and euill dyate, but partly also in recreacion & moderate pleasaure, whiche he cannot take in his tendre youth in the compaignye of old and auncient persons, but in the familiare conuersacion of those that be not far vnder nor farre aboue his age, and neuerthelesse, of estate conueniente to accompany his maiestie, wherfore with whom rather then with his owne brother? and yf any man thynke this consideracion lighte (I thynke no man so thynketh that loueth the king) let hym consider that somtyme without smal thynges, greater cannot stand, and velyet it redouneth greatly to the dishonour of the kynges highnes and of all vs that be about his grace to haue it come in any mans mouth, not in this realme onely, but also in other landes (as euill wordes walke far) that y kynges brother should be fayne to kepe sanctuary. For euery man wyll iudge that no man wyll so do for nought, and such opinions fastened in mens hartes be harde to be wrested out, and may grow to more grief then any man here can diuine. Wherfore me thinketh it were not y worst to send to the quene some honourable and trustie personage, such as tendreth the kings weale and the honour of his counsell, and is also in credite and fauoure with her: for which consideracions none semeth more metely to me then the reuerend father my lorde Cardinall archebishop of Cauntorbury, who may in this matter do most good of all men yf it please him to take the payne, whiche I doubt not of his goodnes he will not refuse for the kngs sake and ours and wealth of the young duke him selfe the kings most honorable brother, and for the comfort of my souereigne lorde hym self my most dearest nephiewe, considering that therby shalbe ceased the slaundersous rumore and obloquy now going abrode, and the hartes auoyded that therof might ensue, and then must rest and quietnesse growe to all the realme. And yf she percease be so obstinate and so precisely set in her own will and opinion, that neither his wyse and faithfull aduertisemente can moue her nor any mans reason satisfye her, then shall we by myne aduice by the kynges authoritye fetch hym out of that prison and brynge him to his noble presence, in whose continuall compaignye he shalbee so well cheryshed and so honorably intreated that all the worlde shall to our honour and her reproche perceiue that it was onely malice, fowardnesse and foly, that caused her to kepe him there. This is my mind for this time, except that any of you my lordes any thyng perceyue to the contrary, for neuer shal I by Gods grace so wed my self vnto myne owne wil, but I shalbe redy to chaunge it vpon your better aduices.

When the Protectour had sayde, all the counsell affirmed that the mocion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the duke his brother honourable, and a thyng that should cease great murmoure in the realme, yf the mother might by good meanes be induced to deliyuer him: whiche thing the Archebishop of Cauntorbuiye, whom they all agreed also to be moost conuenient therunto, tooke vpon hym to moue her, and thereto to do his vtermooste endeuoure. Howbeit yf she coulde in no wise be intreated with her good wyll to deliyue hym, then thought he and such of the spiritualtie as wer present, that it were not in any wyse too bee attempted to take hym out againste her wyll, for it woulde be a thyng that should turne to the grudge of all men and high displeasure of God, yf the pryulege of that place should be broken whiche had so many yeres bene kept, whiche bothe Kynges and Popes had graunted and confirmed, which ground was sanctified by Saint Peter him selfe more then fyue hundred yeres agone. And syth that tyme, was neuer so vndeououte a kyng that euer enterprised that sacred pryulege to violate, nor so holy a byshop that durste presume the church of the same to consecrate: and therefore quod the Archebishop, God forbid that any manne shoulde for any yearthely enterprise breake the immunitie and libertie of that sacred sanctuary that hath bene the safegard of so many a good mans life, but I trust quod

quod he, we shall not nede it, but for any maner of nede I would we should not do it, I trust that she with reason shalbe contented and all thing in good maner obtained. And yf it hap that I brynge it not to passe, yet shall I further it to my best power, so that you all shal perceyue my good wyll, diligence, and indeauoure. But the mothers dreade and womannishe feare shalbe the let yf any be.

Naye womannishe fiowardnesse quod the Duke of Buckyngham, for I dare take it on my solle that she well knoweth that she nedeth no such thyng to feare, either for her sonne or for her self. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with women, would God some men of her kynne were women to, and then should all be sone in rest. Howbeit, there is none of her kynne the lesse loued for that they be of her kynne, but for their awne euill deseruyng. And put the case that we neither loued her nor her kynne, yet there were no cause why we should hate the kings noble brother to whose grace we oure selles be kynne, whose honoure yf she desired as oure dishonoure, and as much regard toke to his wealth as to her awne wyll, she could be as loth to suffie him to be absent from the kyng as any of vs, yf she had any wytte, as would God she had as good wyll as she hath frowarde wytte. For she thinketh her self no wyser then some that are here, of whose faithful myndes she nothing doubteth, but verely heleneth and knowlegeth that they woulde be as sorye of his harme as her awne selfe, and yet they would haue him from her if she abyde there.

And we all I thynke be content that bothe her chyldren be with her if she came from thence and abyde in suche place where they may be with their honour. Nowe yf she refuse in the deliuerance of him to folowe the wysdome of them, whose wysdome she knoweth, whose approbate fidelitie she well trusteth: it is easye to perceue that fiowardnesse letteth her, and not feare. But go to, suppose that she feareth (as who may let her to feare her awne shadowe) the more we ought to fear to leaue hym in her handes, for yf she cast such fond doubttes that she feare his hurte, then wyll she feare that he shall be tet thence, for she wyll soone thynke that yf men were set (which God forbyd on so great a mischief) the sanctuary wyl litle let them, which sanctuary good men as me thinketh might without synne, somewhat lesse regard then they do. Now then, if she doubt least he might be fetched from her, is it not likely that she wyll send him somewhere out of the realme<sup>2</sup> verely I loke for none other. And I doubt not but she now as sore myndeth it, as we mynde the let therof: And if she might hap to bring that purpose to passe, as it were no great mastery to do, we letting her alone, all the world would say that we were a sorte of wyse counsaillers to a king to let his brother to be cast away vnder oure noses. And therefore I ensure you faithfully, for my mynde, I wyll rather maugre her stomacke fetch he hym away, then leue him there till her feare or fond frowarde feare conuey him away, and yet will I breake no sanctuary, for verely sith the priuelege of that place and other of that sorte haue so lōg continued, I would not go about to breake it, but yf they were nowe to begynne I would not be he that should make them. yet wyl not I say nay, but it is a deede of pitie, that such men as the chaunce of the sea, or their euill debtors haue brought into pouertee, should haue some place of refuge to kepe in their bodies out of the daunger of their cruel creditours. And if it fortune the crowne to come in question as it hath done before this tyme whyle eche parte taketh other for traytours, I thynke it necessarye to haue a place of refuge for bothe: But as for theues and murtheiers, wherof these places be full, and which neuer falle from their crafte after they once falle therunto, it is pytee that euer sanctuary should serue them, and in especiall wyllfull murthereers, whom God commaundeth to be taken from the aulter and to be put to death. And where it is otherwyse then in these cases, there is no nede of sanctuaries, apointed by God in the old lawe. For yf necessitee of his owne defence or misfortune driued hym to that deede, then a pardon serueth him, which either is graunted of course, or yf kyng of pytee and compassion geueth. Nowe loke howe fewe sanctuary men there be whom necessitee or misfortune compelled to go thither? And then see on the other syd, what a sorte there be commonly therein of such, whom wyllfull vniuersitynes hath brought to naught? what a rable of theues, murderers and malicious heynous



nous traitours be, and that in two places specially, the one at the elbow of the cytee, and the other in the very bowels. I dare well a vowe it, yf you way the good that they do, with the hurte that commeth of them, ye shall fynde it muche better to lese both then to haue both. And this I say, although they were not abused (as they now be and so longe haue bene) that I feare me euer they wyl be whylen men be afearde to set to their handes to the amende-mente, as though God and sancte Peter were the patrons of vngacious luyng. Now vnthriftes riote and ronne in debte vpon boldnes of these places, yea, and itche menne ronne thither with poore mens goodes, there they buylde, there they spende and byd their creditours goo whystle. Mens wyues ronne thither with their husbands plate, and say they dare not abyde with their husbendes for betyng, theues bring thether stolen goodes and lyue theron. There denyse they newe robberies nightly and steale oute and robbe, riue, and kyll menne and come agayne into those places, as though those places gaue them not onely a sauegard for the harme that they haue done, but a licence also to do moie mischief: howbeit, much of this great abusion, (yf wyse menne woulde sette their handes there vnto) might be amended, with great thankes of God and no breche of the priuelege. The conclusion is, sihe it is so long a goo I wote not what pope and what prince more piteous then politike, hath graunted it, and other men sence of a religious feare haue not broken it, lette vs take a paine with it, and lette it stande a Goddes name in his force, as far furthe as reason will, whiche is not so farfurthe as may serue too lette vs of the fetchyng furthe of this noble manne to his honoure and wealthe out of that place in the whiche he nether is nor can bee a sanctuarye or priueleged man. A sanctuarye euer serue the too defende the body of that manne that standeth in daunger abroad, not of greate hurte onely, but of lawfull hurte: for againste vnlawfull hurtes and harmes no pope ner kyng extended to priuelege any one place wherein it is lawfull for one manne to doo another manne wronge. That no manne vnlawfully take hurte that libertie the kyng, the lawe and verie nature forbiddeth in euery place and maketh too that regarde for euery manne euery place a sanctuarye: but where a manne is by lawfull meanes in peiell, there nedeth he the tuncion of some speciall priuelege, whiche is the onely ground of all sanctuaries, from whiche necessitee this noble prince is far, whose loue to his kyng nature and kynred proueth, whose innocence too all the worlde, his tender youth affirmeth, and so sanctuarye as for hym is not necessary, ner none he can haue. Menne come not too sanctuaries as they come too baptisme to require it by his godfathers, he muste aske it hym selfe that muste haue it, and reason, sihe no manne hath cause to haue it, but whose consience of his awne faute maketh hym haue nede to require it. What will then hath younder babe, which yf he had discrecion to require it yf nede were, I dare saye woulde bee nowe righte angry with them that kepe him there? And I would thinke withoute any scruple of consience, without any breche of priuelege too be somewhat more homely with them that be there sanctuarye menne in dede, that yf one go to sanctuary with another mannes goodes, why should not the king leuyng his body at liberty satisfy the party of his goodes euen within the sanctuarye. for nether kyng nor pope can geue any place such a priuelege that it shall discharge a man of his debtes boeyng hable to paie.

And with that diuerse of the clergie that were there present, whether, they saied it for his pleasure or as they thought, agreed plainly by the lawe of God and of the church that the goodes of a sanctuarye man should be deliuered in paiement of his debtes, and stolen goodes to the owner, and onely libertie reserued to hym to get his liuyng with the labour of his handes. Verely quod the duke I thynke ye saye very truth: And what if a mans wife take sanctuary because she list to ronne frō her husband? I would thynke if she can allege none other cause he may lafully without any displeasure done too saint Peter, take her out of sainte Peters church by the ayme. And yf no body may be taken out of sanctuary because he saieth he will abide there, then yf a chylde will take Sanctuary because he feareth to go to schoole, his master must let hym alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in it, for there, though it be a childeshe feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is no feare at all. And verely I haue harde of

sanctuarye menne, but I neuer haide before of sanctuary childien, and therefore as for the conclusion of my mynde, whosoeuer may deserue to haue nede of it, if they thynke it for their suretee let them kepe it, but he can be no sanctuary manne that hath nother discretion to desue it, ner malice to deserue it, whose life ner libertie can by no lawfull processe stande in neoperdye and he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do hym good I saie plainly he breaketh no sanctuary.

When the duke had done, the temporal menne wholly, and the most parte of the spirituall menne also thynkyng no hurt earthely went toward the young baby, condescended in effecte, that yf he wer not deliuered he shoulde be fetched oute. Howbeit, they thought it beste in aduoydyng of all maner of iumour, that the cardinall shoulde firste assaie to get hun with her good will. And thervpon all the counsaill came to y<sup>e</sup> storre chauber at Westminster, and the cardinal leauing the protectour and other lordes in the steric chamber, departed into the sanctuarye to y<sup>e</sup> quene, accompaigned with certain lordes, were it for the respecte of his honour or that she should by the persones of so many, perceiue that his arrande was not onely one mans mynde, or were it for that the protectour intended not in this matter to truste one manne alone, or els if she finally were determined to kepe hym, some of the cōpaigme had paraduenture some secrete instruction incontynente inagree her will too take him and to leaue her no respite to conueigh him.

When the quene and these lordes were come together in presence, the Cardinall shewed vnto her that it was thought to the lorde protector and the whole counsaill that her keepyng of the kyng his brother in that place highly sounded, not onely to the grudge of the people & their obloquy, but also to the unportable grief and displeasure of the kyng his royall maiestye, to whose grace it were a synguler comforte to haue his naturall brother in compaignie, and it was their bothes dishonoures & theis and hers also, to suffre him in sanctuary, as though the one brother stode in danger and perell of the other. And he shewed her farther that the whole counsaill had sent hym to require of her the deliuerie of him that he might be brought to the king his presence at his libertie out of that place which men recond as a prisone, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate and degree & she in this doing should both do great good to the realme, pleasure to the counsaill, profite to her self, succour to her frendes that wer in distresse, and ouer that, which he wiste well she specially tendered, not onely greate comforte and honour to the king but also to the young duke hym selfe, whose both great wealth it were to be together, aswell for many greater causes as also for their both disport and recreacion, whiche thinges the lordes cōstmed not lighte, though it semed light, well ponderinge that their youth without recreation and play cannot endure, ner anyestruanger for the conuenience of both their ages & estates so metely in that point for any of them as the either of them for thothci.

My lord (quod the quene,) I saie not nay, but that it were very conueniente that this gentleman whom you require were in the compaignie of the kyng his brother, and in good faith me thinketh it wer as great commoditee to them both, as for yet a while too be in the custody of their mother the tendre age considered of the elder of them both, but in especiall the younger, whiche besides his infancie that also nedeth good lookyng to hath a while been so sore diseased with sickenes and is so newlye rather a litle amended then well recovered, that I dare put no persone earthly in truste with his keepyng, but my selfe onely, considering there is as physicians saie, and as we also finde, double the perell in the resiliuacion that was in the firste sickenes, with which disease nature beeyng sore laboured, fore wened and weakened, waxeth the lesse hable to bear our a new surfet. And albeit there might be founde other that woulde happely doo their best vnto hym, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to ordre hym then I, that so long haue kept hun, or is more tendrely like too cherishe hym then his owne mother that bare hym. No man denieth good madame, quod the Cardinall, but that your grace of all folke wei moste necessary aboute your chyl-dren, and so woulde all the counsaill not onely bee contente but also glad that it were if it might stand with your pleasure to be in such place as might stand with their honour,



But yf you apointe your scife too tary here, then thynke they it more cōuenient the duke or Yorke wer with the king honorably at his libertie to the comfort of them bothe, then here as a sanctuary man to their both dishonour and obloquy, sith there is not alway so great necessite to haue the child with the mother, but that occasion sometyne may be such that, it should be more expedient to kepe him els where, which in this well apereth, that at suche tyme that your most dearest sonne then prince and now kyng should for his honor and good ordre of the countree kepe houshoulde in Wales far out of your kepyng, your grace was well content therewith your self. Not very well content (quod the quene) & yet the case is not like, for the one was then in health and the other is now sicke, in which case I maruail greatly why my lorde protectour is so desirous to haue him in kepyng, where if the child in his sicknesse miscaried by nature, yet might he runne into slannder & suspicion of fraud. And they call it a thyng so sore against my chilles honour & theirs also yf he abideth in this place, it is all their honours there to suffre him abyde where no mā doubteth he shalbe best kept, & that is here while I am here, which as yet entende not to come furthe & ieperde my self after other of my frendes, which would God wer rather here in suretee with me, then I were there in ieperdie with them. Why madame (quod the lord Haward) knowe you any thyng why they should bee in iopardie: Nay verely (quod she,) nor why they should be in prison neither as they now be, but I trowe it is no great maruail though I feare least those that haue not letted to put them in duraunce withoute colour, will let as litle to procure their distruction without cause. The cardinal made a countenance to the lord Haward that he shoulde harpe no more vpon that string: and then saied he too the quene that he nothyng doubted but those lordes of her kynne the which remained vnder a reste should vpon the matter examined doo well ynough, & as towarde her noble persone, neither was nor coulde be any maner of ieperdie. Whereby shoulde I trust that (quod the quene) in that I am gyltesse, as though they were gyltie, in that I am with their enemies better beloued then they, when they hate them for my sake, in that I am so nere to the king, and howe farre bee they of that woulde helpe, as God send grace they hurt not. And therefore as yet I purpose not too depart hence: as for this gentleman my sonne, I mynde he shal bee where I am till I see further, for I see some men so greedy withoute any substanciall cause too haue him, which maketh me much moie further and scrupulous to deliuer him. Truly madame (quod the Cardinal) the further that ye be to deliuer him, the further be other menne too suffre you too kepe him, leaste your causelesse feare, might cause you farther too conueighe hym, and many thynke he can here haue no priuilege whiche can haue neither will too aske it, nor yet malice or offence to nede it. And therefore they recon no priuilege broken, although they fetch him out of sanctuarie, whiche yf you finally refuse too deliuer hym, I thynke verely the counsaill will enfraunchese him, so much dread hath my lorde his vncl, for the tendre loue that he beareth him, leaste your grace shoulde sende him away. Ah, quod the quene, hath he so tendre a zeale to him that he feareth nothing, but leaste he should escape hym? Thinketh he that I would send him hēce, which is neither in the plight to send out? and in what place could I recon hym sure yf he be not sure in this sanctuary? wherof was there neuer tiraunte yet so deuilshe, that durst attempt too breake the priuilege, & I trust God is now as strong to withstand his aduersaries as euer he was. But my sonne can deseue no sanctuary, you saye, and therefore he can not haue it, forsothe the lord protectour hath sent a goodly glose, by the which that place that maye defend a thefe, maie not saue an innocent: but he is in no ieperdie nor hath no nede therof, I would God he had not. Troweth the protector, (I pray God he maie proue a protectour, rather then a destroyer, where vnto his painted processe draweth) yf it is not honourable that the duke byde here? it were more comfortable to them both that he were with his brother, because the kyng lacketh a play feloe, yea be you sure, I praye God send him better plaie felowes then him that maketh so high a matter vpon such a trifleyng pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the kyng, but if his brother which hath no luste to plaie for sicknesse, must come out of sanctuary, out of his  
sauegard

sauegard to play with him as though that princes so young as they bee, could not play without then peeres, or children could not play without their kynred, with whom for the more parte they agree much worse then with straungiers. But the chyldre you say cannot require the priuilege, who told the protectour so? Aske hym and you shall here him aske it, and so shall he yf ye will. Howbeit, this is a straunge matter, suppose he could not aske it & thynke he would not aske it, and imagene he would aske to go out, if I say he shal not; Note yf I aske the priuilege, but for my self, I say that he that againste my will taketh out hym, breaketh sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my persone onely or for my goodes to? you may not frū hence take my horsse from me, yf I stale hym not nor owe you nothing: then foloweth it, that you may not take my childe from me, he is also my ward, for as farre as my learned counsaill sheweth me, he hath nothing by dissente holden by knightes seruyce, but by socage: then the lawe maketh me his guarden, then maye no manne lawfully (I suppose) take my warde from me out of this place, without the breche of sanctuary, and if my priuilege could not serue him, nor he aske it for him self, yet sith the lawe committeth to me the custody of hym, I maye require it for hym, excepte the lawe geue the infaute a guarden onely for his goodes, dischargynge hym of the cure and sauekepyng of his-body, for which onely, bothe goodes and landes serue. Wherefore here entende I to kepe hym, sith mannes lawe serueth the guarden too kepe the infante, and the lawe of nature willethe the mother to kepe the childe, and Gods law priuilege the sanctuary, and the sanctuarie priuilege my sonne, sith I feare to put him to the protectoures handes, that hath his brother already, whiche is (yf both failed) inheritoure to the crowne as heire male, as he saythe. The cause of my feare no man hath too doo to examine, and yet feare I no further then the lawe feareth, whiche as learned menne tell me, forbiddeth euery manne the custodie of thaim by whose death he maie enherite lesse lande then a kyngdome. I can saie no more, but whosoever he be that breaketh this holy sanctuary, I pray God sende him shortly nede of sanctuarie, when he maye not come to it, for I woulde not that my mortall enemye shoulde bee taken oute of sanctuary.

The cardinall perceiued that the quene euer the longer the farther of and also that she began too kyndle and chafe and spake sore bitynge woordes against the protectour, and such as he neither beleued and also was loth to here, he saied to her, for a finall cōclusion, that he would no more dispute the matter, and if she wene content to deliuer the duke to him and to the other lordes there present, he durst lay his owne body and solle both in pledge, not onely for his suretye, but also for his estate, and surely he knewe nor suspected no cause but he mighte so do (but he knewe not all.) And further he saied, if she would geue hym a resolute aunswere to the contrary he would therewith departe incontinente, and shifte who so woulde with this businesse afterwarde, for he neuer intended further to moue her in the matter, in the whiche she thought that he and all other also, saue her selfe, lacked either witte or truth. Witte yf they wer so dull yf they nothing could perceiue what the protector intended, and yf they should procure her sonne to be deliuered into his handes, in whom they should perceiue towards the childe any euill will intended, then she mighte thynke all the counsaill bothe euill aduised and of litle fidelitee to their prince.

The quene with these woordes stode in a great study, and forasmuch as she saw the lorde Cardinall more redier to departe then the remanaunte, and the protectoure him selfe redy at hande, so that she verely thought that she could not kepe him there but he should bee incontinent taken thence, and to conueigh him els where, neither had she tyme to serue her, nor place determined, nor persons appointed to conueigh hym, and so all thing was vnredy, when this message came so sodainly on her, nothyng lesse looking for, then too haue him out of sanctuarie which she knew now men to be sette in all places about, that he could not be conueighed out vntaken, and partely as she thoughte it might fortune her feare to be false so well she wiste it was either nedelesse or bootelesse. Wherefore, yf she should nedes goo from him she demed beste to deliuer him, and specially of the cardinales faith she nothyng doubtyng nor of some other lordes whom she sawe there, whiche as



she feared leste, they mighte be deceiued, so well was she assured that they woulde not be corrupted: then thought she that it would make them f̃ more warely too loke to him and the more circumspectely to see his surety, yf she with her owne handes betooke him them by truste, and at the laste she toke the young duke by the hand and said vnto the lordes, my lorde quod she and all my lordes, neither am I so vnwyse to mystruste your wittes, nor so suspicious to mistruste your truthes of the which thyng I purpose to make suche a prooffe, that if either of both lacked in you, might turne both me to great sorowe, the realme to much haime and you to great reproche. For lo, here is quod she this gentlemā, whom I doubt not but I could kepe safe if I would, whatsoever any manne saie, and I doubte not also but there be some aboade so dedly enemies vnto my bloud, that yf they wiste where any of it lay in their own body they would let it out: we haue also experiēce that the desire of a kyngdome knoweth no kynrede, the brother hath been the brothers bane, and may the nephewes be sure of the uncle? eche of these children are others defence while they be a sunder, and eche of their lues lieth in others body, kepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing to both more perilous then both too be in one place for a wise marchaunte neuer auentureth al his gooddes in one ship. Al this notwithstanding, here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to kepe to your handes, of whome I shall aske them bothe before God and the worlde. Faithfull you be and that I wote well, and I knowe you be wise and of power and strength yf you liste to kepe him, for you lacke no helpe of your selues, nor nede to lacke no helpe in this case, and yf you cannot els where, then maye you leaue hym here. But onely one thyng I beseeche you, for the trust that his father put you in euer, and for the truste that I putte you in now, that as farre as you thynke that I feare to muche, ye be well ware that you feare not to litle. And therewith all she saied to the chylde, faie well mine owne swete sonne, God send you good kepyng, let me once kisse you or you go, for God knoweth w̃hē we shal kisse together agayn, & therewith she kyssed hym, & blessed hym, and turned her backe & wepte, goyng her waie, leauyng the poore innocēt chylde wepyng as faste as the mother.

When the Cardinall and the othei lordes had receyued the younge duke, they brought him into the starre chaumbre, where the protectoure toke him into his armes and kissed hym with these wordes. now welcome my lorde with all my verie herte, & he saied in that of likelihod euen as he inwardly thought, and there vpon, furthwith brought him to the kyng his brother into the bishoppes palace at Paules, and from thence through the cytee honorably into the tower, out of which after that daie they neuer came abroad. When the protectour had both the chylde in his possession, yea & that they were in a sure place, he then began to thirst to see the ende of his enterprise. And to auoyde al suspicion, he caused all the lordes whiche he knewe to bee faithfull to the kyng to assemble at Baynardes castle to cōmen of the ordie of the coronacion, whyle he and other of his complices & of his affinitee at Crosbies place contriued the contrary and to make the protectour kyng to which counsaill there were adhibite very fewe, and they very secrete. Then began here & there some maner of mutterynge emongest the people, as though all thyng should not long be well, though they wyst not what they feared nor wherefore were it, that before suche greate thynges, mennes hertes (of a secrete instinct of nature) misgeueth them, as the southwynde sometyme swelleth of hym selfe before a tempeste, or were it that some one manne happely somewhat perceuynge, filled many men with suspiciō thoughte he shewed fewe men what he knewe: howbeit, the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the counsaill were close, for litle and litle all folke drewe from the tower where the kyng was and drewe to Crosbies place, so that the protectoure had all the resorte, and the kyng in maner desolate. Whyle some made suyte vnto them that had the doying, some of them were by their frendes secretly warned, that it might happely turne them to no good to be to muche attendaunt on the kyng without the protectoures apointement, whiche remoued diuerse of the kyng his olde seruantes from him, and sette newe in their roumes aboute hym.

Thus many thynges cōmyng together, partly by chaunce and partly by purpose, caused at length not cōmon people onely, whiche wauer with the wynde, but wyse men also and some lordes to marke the matter and muse ther vpon. in so much as the lorde Stanley whiche afterwarde was erle of Derby wysely mistrusted it and saied to the lord Hastynges, that he muche misliked these two seuerall counailes, for while we q<sup>d</sup> he talke of one matter at the one place, litle wote we whereof they talke in the other. peace my lorde q<sup>d</sup> the lorde Hastynges, on my lyfe neuer doubtte you, for while one man is there, which is neuer thence, neither can there be any thing once mynded that should sounde amisse towarde me, but it should be in myne eares or it were well out their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby whiche was nere of his secrete counsaill, and whom he familiarly vsed in his most waightie matters, puttyng no man in so speciall truste as him recōnyng him selfe to no man so liefte sith he wiste well there was no man to hym so much beholdyng as was this Catesby, which was a man wel learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the speciall fauoure of the lorde Hastynges in good auctoritie and muche rule bare in the countie of Lecestre & Northampton where the lorde Hastynges power laye. But surely great pitie was it that he had not either more trueth or lesse wit, for hys dissimulation onely, kept all that mischief vp, in whom if the lorde Hastynges had not put so speciall truste, the lorde Stanley and he with diuerse other lordes had departed into their countrees and broken all the daunce, for many euill signes that he sawe, whiche he nowe constiued all for the beste, so surely thought he that there could be no harme towarde hym in that counsaill entended where Catesby was. And of trueth the protectoure and the duke of Bukyngham made very good semblaunce vnto the lorde Hastynges and kept hym muche in then compaignye. And vndoubtedly, the protectour loued hym well, and lothe was to haue loste him sayyng for feare leste his lyfe should haue quayed their purpose, for the whiche cause he moued Catesby to proue with some wordes cast out a farre of, whether he could thinke it possible to wynde the lorde Hastynges to their parte. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed him not, reported vnto hym that he found him so fast, and herde him speake so terrible wordes that he durst no farther breake: and of a truth the lord Hastynges of very truste shewed vnto Catesby the mistruste that other began to haue in the matter. And therefore, he fearyng leste their mocions might with the lord Hastynges minishe his credence, where vnto onely all the matter leaned, procured the protectour hastely to ryd hym & much the rather, for he trusted by hys death to obtayne muche of the rule whiche the lord Hastynges bare in hys countree, the onely desyre whereof, was the thyng that enduced him to be procurer and one of the speciallest contriuers of all thys horrible treason. Where vpon the lorde protectour caused a counsaill to be set at the tower on the fridaye the thirtene daye of Iune, where was muche commonyng for the honourable solemnitee of the coronacion, of the whiche the tyme appointed aproched so nere, that the pageauntes were a making daye & night at Westminster, and vitale killed whiche afterwarde was caste awaye.

These lordes thus sitting cōmonyng of this matter, the protectour came in among theims about nyne of the clocke salutyng them curteously, excusyng him self that he had been from them so long sayyng merely that he had been a sleper that daye. And after a litle talkyng with them he sayed to the bishopp of Ely, my lorde you haue verye good strawberries in youre garden at Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them Gladly (my lord q<sup>d</sup> he) I would I had some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that, and with that in all hast he sente his seruaunt for a dishe of strawberries. The protectour set the lordes faste in cōmonyng and there vpon prayed them to spare him a litle, and so he departed and came agayn betwene x. and eleuen of the clocke into the chambre all chaunged with a sowre angry countenaunce knyttyng the browes, frownyng and fletyng and gnawyng on his lips and so set hym doune in his place. All the lordes were dismaied and sore marueyled of this maner and sodeyne chaunge and what thyng should hym ayle. When he had sitten a while, thus he began. What were they worthy to haue that cōpasse and ymagine the destruction



struccion of me beyng so neare of blood to the kyng & protectoure of this his royall realme: At which question, all the lordes sate sore astonyed, musyng muche by whom the question should be ment, of which euery man knew him self clere.

Then the lorde Hastynges as he that for the familiarite that was betwene them, thought he might be boldest with him, aunswored and sayd that they were worthy to be punished as heynous traytours what soeuer they were, and all the othei affirmed the same, that is (q<sup>d</sup> he). yonder sorceres my brotheis wife and other with her, menyng the quene, at these woordes many of the lordes were sore abashed whiche fauoured her, but the lorde Hastynges was better content in hys mynde that it was moued by her then by any other that he loued better, albeit hys hart grudged that he was not afore made of counsaile of this matter as well as he was of the takyng of her kynred and of their puttyng to death, whiche were by hys assent before deuyssed, to be beheaded at Pomfret, this selfe same daye, in the whiche he was not ware that it was by other deuised that he hym selfe should the same daye be beheaded at London then sayed the protectour in what wyse that sorceresse and othei of her counsaile, as Shores wyfe with her affinitie haue by their sorcery and witchcraft this wasted my body, and therewith plucked vp his doublet sleue to his elbowe on hys lefte arme, where he shewed a weryshe wythered arme & small as it was neuer other. And thei upon, euery mannes mynde mysgaue them, well perceyuyng that this matter was but a quarell, for well they wist that the quene was both to wyse to go about any such folye, & also if she would, yet would she of all folke make Shores wyfe least of her counsaile whom of all women she most bated as that cōcubine whom the kyng her husband most loued.

Also, there was no manne there but knewe that hys arme was euer such sith the day of his birth. Neuerthelesse the lorde Hastynges, which from the death of kyng Edward kept Shores wife, whom he somewhat doted in the kynges lyfe, sayyng it is sayed that he forbore her for reuerence towarde his kyng, or els of a certayne kynde of fidelitie towarde his frend. Yet nowe his hart somewhat grudged to haue her whom he loued so highly accused, and that as he knewe well vntreuly, therefore he aunswored and sayed, certaynly my lorde, yf they haue so done, they be worthy of heynous punishment, what q<sup>d</sup> the protectour, thou seruest me I wene with yf and with and, I tell the they haue done it, and that wyll I make good on thy bodye traytour. And therewith (as in a great anger) he clapped his fyste on the borde a great rappe, at whiche token geue, one cried treason without the chamber, and therewith a doore clapped, and in came rushyng men in harneyes as many as the chamber could hold. And anone the protectoure sayed to the lorde Hastynges, I arrest the traytoure, what me my lorde q<sup>d</sup> he: yea the traytoure q<sup>d</sup> the protectour. And one let flye at the lorde Stanley, which shroncke at the stroacke and fell vnder the table, or els hys head had bene cleft to the teth, for as shortly as he shrancke, yet ranne the blood aboute his eares. Then was the Archebishop of Yorke and doctour Morton bishopp of Ely & the lorde Stanley taken and diuers other whiche were bestowed in dyuers chambers, saue the lorde Hastynges (whom the protectour cōmaunded to speede and shryue him apace) for by sanct Poule (q<sup>d</sup> he) I wyll not dyne tyll I se thy head of, it boted hym not to aske why, but heuily he toke a priest at auenture and made a shorte shrift, for a lenger woulde not be suffered, the protectour made so much hast to his dyne, which might not go to it tyll this murder were done, for sayyng of hys vngracious othe. So was he brought furthe into the grene besyde the chapel within the towre, and his head layed doune on a logge of tymber that lay there for buildyng of the chapel, & there tyrannously stricken of, and after his body and head wer entei red at Wyndesore by his maister kyng Edward the forth, whose soules lesu pardon. Amen.

A merueilous case it is to heare, either the wainynges that he should haue voyded, or the tokens of that he could not voyde. For the next night before his death, the lorde Stanley sent to him a trusty messenger at midnight in all the baste, requyng hym to ryse and ryde awaye with hym, for he was disposed vterly no lenger for to abyde, for he had a fearfull dreame in the whiche he thought that a bore with his tuskes so rased them bothe  
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by the heades that the bloud ran aboute bothe their shouldeis, and for asmuch as the protectour gaue the bore for his cognisaunce, he ymagined that it should be he. This dreame made suche a fearfull impression in hys harte, that he was throughly determyned no lenger to tary but had his horse redy, yf the lorde Hastynge would go with him. So that they would ryde so faire that night, that they should be out of daunger by the next day. A good lord (q<sup>d</sup> the lord Hastynge) to the messenger, leaneth my lorde thy maister so much to suche tryfles, and hath suche faith in dreames, whiche either his awne feare phantasieth, or do ryse in the nightes rest by reason of the dayes thought. Tell him it is playne witchcraft to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of thinges to come, why thynketh he not that we might as likely make them true by oure goyng yf we were caught and brought backe, (as frendes fayle flieth) for then had the bore a cause lykely to race vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled for some falshead, wherefore either is there peryll, nor none there is dede, or if any be, it is rather in goyng then abiding. And if we should nedes fall in perill one way or other, yet had I leauer that mē should se it were by other mēs falsched, then thynke it were either our awne faute or faynte feble hart, and therefore go to thy maister and comende me to him, & saye that I praye him to be mery & haue no feare, for I assure hym, I am assured of the man he wotteth of, as I am sure of myne awne hand. God send grace (q<sup>d</sup> the messenger) and so departed. Certeyn it is also that in redyng toward the towre the same moynyng in whiche he was beheaded, hys horse that he accustomed to ryde on stombled with him twyse or thryse almost to the fallyng, which thyng although it happeth to them dayly to whom no mischaunce is toward, yet hath it bene as an olde euyll token obserued as a goyng toward mischiete. Now this that foloweth was no warning but an enuious scorne, the same moynyng ere he were vp from his bed where Shores wife lay with him all night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward sonne to the lorde Haward (whiche lord was one of the priueyest of the lord protectors counsaill and dooyng) as it were of curtesye to accompaigne hym to the counsaile, but of truthe sent by the lorde protectour to hast hym thitherward.

This sir Thomas, while the lord Hastynge stayed awhile commonyng with a priest whō he met in the Towrestrete, brake the lordes tale, sayng to him merely, what my lord I pray you come on, wherfore talke you so long with that priest, you haue no nede of a priest yet, & laughed vpon hym, as though he would saye, you shall haue nede of one sone: But lytle wyst the other what he ment (but or night these wordes were well remēbred by them that hard them) so the true lord Hastynge litle mistrusted, & was neuer merier, nor thought his life in more suretie in al his dayes, which thyng is often a signe of chaūge but I shall rather let any thyng passe me then the vayne surety of mans mynde so neare his death, for vpō the very towre wharffe, so neare the place where his head was of, so sone after, as a mā might wel cast a balle, a pursuaunt of his awne called Hastynge mette with hym, & of their metyng in that place he was put in remēbraunce of another tyme, in which it happened them to mete before together in the place, at which tyme the lorde Hastynge had bene accused to kyng Edward by the lord Ryueis the quenes brother, insomuche that he was for a while which lasted not long highly in the kynges indignacion as he now mette the same pursuaunt in the same place, the leoperdy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him therof, with whom he had talked in that same place of that inatter & therfore he sayed, Ah Hastynge, art thou remēbred when I mette the here once with an heauy hart. Ye my lorde (q<sup>d</sup> he) that I remembre well, and thāked be to God they gat no good ner you no haime therby, thou wouldest saye so (q<sup>d</sup> he) yf thou knewest so muche as I dō, whiche few knowe yet, & mo shall shortly, that meant he that therle Ryueis and the lord Richard & sir Thomas Vaughan should that day be beheaded at Pomfiete, as they were in dede, which acte he wist wel should be done, but nothyng waie that the axe hong so nere his awne head. In faith mā (q<sup>d</sup> he) I was neuer so sorry ner neuer stode in so greate daunger of my lyfe as I dyd when thou and I mette here, and lo the worlde is turned nowe, none stand myne enemies in the daunger as thou maist happe to hear more hereafter, and I neuer



in my lyfe merier nor neuer in so great surety, I praye God it proue so (q<sup>r</sup> Hastynge, proue q<sup>r</sup> he doubttest thou that) nay nay I warraunt the, and so in maner displeased he entered into the Towre, where he was not long on lyue as you haue heard. O lorde God the blyndnesse of our mortal nature, when he most feared, he was in moste suretye, and when he reconed hym selfe in moste suiest, he lost his lyfe, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man a good knight & gentle, of great auctoritie with his prince, of liuyng somewhat dissolute, playne and open to his enemy, and sure and secrete to hys frende, easy to begyle, as he that of good harte and courage foresawe no perilles, a louyng man and passyng welbeloued, very faythfull and trustie ynough, but trustyng to muche was hys destruction as you maye perceyue.

Nowe fiewe the fame of thys lordes death through the cytie and farther about, lyke a wynde in euery mans eare, but the Protectoure immediatly after dynner (entending to set some colour vpon the matter) sent in all the haste for many substantial men out of the cytie into the Towre, and at their cōmyng him selfe with the duke of Buckyngham stode, harnessed in olde euill fauored briganders, such as no mā would wene that they would haue vouchesafed to haue put on their backes, excepte some sodeyne necessitie had constrained them. Then the lord protector shewed them, that the lord Hastynge & other of his conspiracy had contriued to haue sodeynly destroyed hym and the duke of Buckyngham there the same daie in counsaill, and what they intended farther, was yet not well knowen, of whiche their treason he had neuer knowledge before. x. of the clocke the same forenoone, which sodeyn feare draue them to put on suche harnesse as came nexte to their handes for their defence, and so God holpe them, that the mischiefe turned vpon them that woulde haue done it, & thus he required them to report. Euery man answered fayre, as though no mā mistrusted the matter, which of trueth no mā beleued. Yet for the further appeasyng of the peoples myndes, he sent immediatly after dynner an Heralde of armes with a proclamacion through the cytie of London which was proclaymed in the kynges name, that the lord Hastynge with diuers other of his trayterous purpose had before conspired, the same daie to haue slayne the protectour and the duke of Buckyngham sitting in counsaill, & after to haue taken vpon them the rule of the kyng and the realme at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoyle whom they lyst vncomptrolled, & muche matter was deuised in the same proclamacion to the slaunder of the lord Hastynge, as that he was an euyll counsailloure to the kynges father, entusyng hym to many thynges highly redoundyng to the diminishing of hys honoure and to the vniuersall hurte of his realme by his euyll compaignie and sinister procuryng and vngracious example, aswell in many other thynges as in vicious liuyng and inordinate abusyon of his body, bothe with many other and especiall with Shorewiffe whiche was one of his secrete counsaill of this heynous treason, with whom he laye nightly, and namely the night passed next before his death, so that it was the lesse maruail yf vngracious liuyng brought hym to an vnhappy ende, whiche he was now put to by the cōmaundemēt of the kyng his highnes and of his honorable and faithfull counsaile, bothe for his demerites beyng so openly taken in his false cōtriuēd treason, and also least the delayng of his execucion might haue encouraged other mischieuous persons parteners of hys conspiracye, to gather and assemble them selues together in making so great commocion for hys deliuerance, whose hope now beyng by his well deserved death pollytically repressed, all the realme shall by Goddes grace rest in good quyet and peace. Nowe was thys proclamacion made within two houres after he was beheaded, and it was so curiously endyted and so fayre written in Parchement in a fayre sette hande, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euery chyld might perceyue that it was prepared and studyed before (and as some men thought, by Catesby) for all the tyme betwene hys death and the proclamacion proclaimyng, coude skant haue sufficed vnto the bare-wrytyng alone, albeit that it had bene in paper and scribeled furthe in haste at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaimyng thereof, one that was scolemayster at Paules standing by and comparyng the shortenesse of the tyme with the length of the matter sayed to them that stode aboute hym, here is a gaye goodly

goodly cast, foule cast awaye for hast. And a marchaunte that stode by hym sayed that it was wytten by inspracyon and prophesye. Nowe then by and by, as it were for anger and not for coueteous, the Protectoure sent sir Thomas Hawarde to the house of Shores wyfe (for her husbanded welte not with her) whiche spoyled her of all that euer she had, aboue the valure of twoo or thre thousande markes, and sent her bodye to pryson. And the Protector had layde to her for the maner sake that she was a counsaill with the lorde Hastynges to destroye hym. In conclusion, when no coloure could fasten vpon these matters, then he layed heynously to her charge that thing that she could not denye, for all the world knewe that it was true, and that notwithstanding euery man laughed to heare it then so sodeynly, so highly taken, that she was naught of her body. And for this cause as a godly continent prince cleane and faultlesse of hym selfe, sent out of heauen into thys vicious worlde, for the amendment of mens maners, he caused the byshop of London to putte her to open penance, goyng before a crosse one Sondaye at procession with a taper in hei hand. In the whiche she went in countenance and peace so womanly, & albeith she was out of all aray sauyng her kyrtel only, yet went she so fayre and louely, and namely when the wondryng of the people cast a comely red in her chekes, of the whiche she before had most mysse, that her great shame wanne her much prayse amongst them that were more amorous of her body then curious of her soule, and many good folke that hated her luyng and were glad to se synne corrected yet pitied they more her penance then reioysed it, when they considered that the protector did it more of corrupt mynd then any vertuous affection.

This woman was borne in London, well frended, honestly brought vp, and very well married, sauyng somewhat to sone, her husbände an honest and a yong citezen, godly and of good substance, but forasmuche as they were coupled or she were well ryte, she not very feruently loved for whom she neuer longed, which was the thyng (by chaunce) that the more easely made hei to encline to the kynges appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of hys royaltie the hope of gaye apparell, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth was able sone to perce a softe tendre hart but whē the kyng had abused her, anone her husband beyng an honest manne and one that could his good, not presumyng to touche a kynges concubyne left hei vp to hym altogether. When the kyng dyed, the lorde Hastynges toke her, whiche in the kynges dayes albeith that he was sore enamoured with her yet he forbore, either for a pynclly reuerence or for a certayne frendely faithfulness. Proper she was and fayre, nothyng in her body that you could haue chaunged, but yf you would haue wished her somewhat higher. This saye they that knewe her in hei youth, some sayed and iudged that she had been well fauoured, and some iudge the contrary, whose iudgement seameth like as mēne gesse the beautye of one long before departed, by a scaple taken out of a chanell house, & this iudgemēt was in the tyme of kyng Henry the eyght, in the xvin yere of whose reigne she dyed, when she had nothyng but a reueled skynne and bone. Her beautye pleased not mēne so muche as her pleasaunt behauioure, for she hadde a proper wytte & coulde both reade and wryte, mery in compaigny, redy and quicke of answeere, ncyther mute nor full of bable, sometyme tantyng without displeasure, but not without dispoite. Kyng Edward would saye y he had thre concubynes, which in diuerse propertes diuersly excelled, one, the meriest, the other the wyliest, the thirde the holyst harlot in the realme as one, whom no man coulde get out of the churche to any place lightly, but if it were to his bed, the other two were somewhat greater personages then masties Shore, neuertheless of their humilitie were content to be nameles and to forbear the prayse of these properties. But the meriest was Shores wyfe in whom the kyng therefore toke great pleasure, for many he had, but her he loued, whose fauoure to saye the trueth (for it wer synne to lye on the denil) she neuer abused to any māns hurt, but to many mens comfote & reliefe. For where the king toke displeasure, she would mitigate & apeace his mynde, where men were out of fauour, she would bryng thē into his grace, for many that had highly offended, she obteyned pardon, & of great forfeitures she gat remission, and finally, in many weighty suites she stode many mēne in great steade, either for none or for very small

The description of Shores wyfe.

The description of kyng Edward thre Concubynes.



rewarde and those rather gaye then riche, either for that she was content with the dede well done, or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, & to shewe what she was able to do with the kyng, or for that that wanton women and welthy be not alwaies couetous, I doubt not some man wyl thinke this woman to be to slight to be written of among graue and weyghtie matters, whiche they shall specially thinke that happely sawe her in her age & aduersite, but me semeth the chaunce so much more worthy to be remembred, in how much after wealth she fell to pouertie, and from riches to beggery vnfriended, out of acquaintance, after great substaunce after so great fauour with her pynce, after as greate suite & sekyng to with all those which in those dayes had busynes to spede as many other men were in their tymes, whiche be now famous onely by the infamy of their euill deedes, her doynge was not muche lesse, albeit they be muche lesse remembred, because they were not euyll, for men vse to write an euyll tuine in marble stone, but a good tuine they wryte in the dust, whiche is not worst proued by her, for after her wealth she went beggyng of many that had begged them selves if she had not holpen them, suche was her chaunce.

Now was it deuised by the protectoure & his counsaile, that the same day y<sup>e</sup> the lord Chamberlayne was headed in the towre of London and about the same houre should be beheaded at Poumfiere the earle Ryuers and the lorde Richard the quenes sonne, syr Thomas Vaughan and sir Richard Haute, whiche as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony stratford by the consent of the lord Hastynge, whiche execution was done by the ordre & in the presence of sir Richard Ratclif knight, whose seruice the protectoure specially vsed in the counsaile, and in the execution of suche lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene longe secrete with hym, hauyng experiece of the world & shrewed wyte, shoute and rude in speche, rough and boysterous of behauour, bold in mischiete, as faie from pytie as from all feare of God

This knight brought these foule persons to the scaffold at the daye apointed, & shewed to all the people that they were traitours, not sufferyng the lordes to speake, & to declare their innocecy, least their wordes might haue enclined men to pytie them and to hate the protectour & his part & so without iudgmēt & processe of the lawe caused them to be beheaded without other yearthly gylt, but onely y<sup>e</sup> they were good mē and true to the kyng & to nye to the queene, insonmuch as sir Thomas Vaughan goyng to his death sayed, A wo worthe them y<sup>e</sup> toke the prophesie that G. should destroy kyng Edwardes childrē, meanyng y<sup>e</sup> by the duke of Clarence lord George which for y<sup>e</sup> suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. duke of Gloucester, which now I se is he y<sup>e</sup> shall and will accōplishe the prophesie & destroye kyng Edwardes children & all their alyes & frēdes, as it appereth by vs this day, whō I appele to the high tribunal of God for his wrongful murther & our true innocencye. And then Ratclyffe sayed, you haue well apeled, lay doune youre head, ye q<sup>d</sup> syr Thomas, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and so that good knight was beheaded and the other three, and buryed naked in the monastery at Poumfret.

When the lord Hastynge and these other lordes and knightes were thus beheaded and ryd out of the waye, then the protectour caused it to be proclaymed that the coronacion for diuers great and vrgent causes should be deferred till the seconde daye of Nouember, for then thought he, that whyle men mused what the matter meant, and while the lordes of the realme were about him, out of their awne strengthes, and whyle no man wyste what to thinke nor whom to truste, or euer they should haue tyme and space to digest the matter, and make partes, it were best hastily to pursue his purpose and put hym self in possession of the croune, nor menie could haue tyme to deuise any wyse to resyste. But nowe was all the study, this matter beyng of it selfe so heynous might be first broken to the people in suche wyse as it might well be taken. To this counsaile they toke diuerse such as they thought mete to be trusted and likely to be enduced to that parte and hable to stand them in steade, eyther by powre or by polycye. Among whom, they made a counsaile Edmond Shaa then Mayre of London, whiche vpon trust of hys awne auancement, where he was

of a proude haite highly desirous, toke on him to frame the cytie to their appetite Of spirituall men they toke suche as had wytte, and were in auctorithy emongest the people for opinion of their learnyng, and had no scrupulous conscience Emongest these had, they toke Raffe Shaa cleerke brother to the Mayre, & Freer, Pynkie prouinciall of the Augustine Friers, bothe doctours in diuinitie, bothe great preachers, bothe of more learnyng then vertue, of more fame then learnyng, & yet of more learnyng then trueth For they were before greatly esteemed among the people, but after that, neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a sermonde in prayse of the Protectour before the coronacion, and Pynkye made onc after the coronacion, bothe so full of tedious flattery, that no good mans eares coulde abyde them, Pynkye in his sermonde so loste his voyce that he was fayne to leaue of and come doune in the midst, Doctoure Shaa by his sermonde loste his honesty, and sone after his lyfe, for very shame of the woulde, into the whiche he durst neuer after muche come abroade, but the Freer forced for no shame, and so it harmed hym the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt and many thynke that Pynkye was not of counsaill before the coronacion, but after the common maner fell to flattery after, namely because his sermond was not incontinent vpon it, but at saint Mary Spittle the Easter after. But certayne it is that doctour Shaa was of counsaill in the beginnyng, in so much that they determyned that he should fyrst breake the matter in a sermond at Poules crosse, in whiche he should by the auctorithy of hys preaching induce the people to encline to þe protectours ghostly purpose But now was all the labour and study in the deuise of some conuenient pretexte, for which the people should be content to depose the prince & accept the protectour for kyng In which diuerse thinges they deuised, but the chief thyng, & the weight of all that inuencion rested in this, that they shoulde allege bastardy in kyng Edwarde hym selfe, or in his chyl dren, or bothe, so that he should seme disabled to enherite the crowne by the duke of Yorke and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in kyng Edward sounded openly to the rebuke of the protectours awne mother, whiche was mother to them bothe For in that point could be none other coloure, but to pretende that his awne mother was an auoutresse, but neuerthelesse he would that point should be lesse and more fynely & closely handled, not euen fully playne and directely, but touched a slope craftely, as though men spared in that point to speake all the trueth for feare of his displeasure But that other pointe concerning the bastardy they deuised to surmyse in kyng Edward his chyl dren, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the vttermost The coloure and pretexte wherof cannot be well perceyued excepte wee repete some thinges longe before dooen aboute kyng Edward his manages.

After kyng Edward the fourthe had deposed kyng Henry the sixte and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determinyng him selfe to mary (as was requisite) bothe for hym selfe and for the realme, he sente theile of Warwike & diuerse other noble men in ambassade to the Frenche kyng to entreate a mariage betwene the kyng and Bona sister to the Frenche quene, then beyng in Fraunce. In which thyng therle of Warwike founde the parties so towarde and wyllyng that he spedely without any difficultie accordyng to his instructions brought the matter to a good conclusion Nowe happeneth it in the meane season, there came to make a sute to the kyng by petition dame Elizabeth Grey (whiche after was his quene) then a widdowe borne of noble bloude, specially by her mother, which was Duchesse of Bedforde, and she was married to sir Richard Woodville lorde Riwers, her father.

Howbeit, this Elizabeth beyng in seruice with quene Margaret wife to kyng Henry the sixte, was married to one Ihon Grey Esquire whom kyng Henry made knight at the laste battail of saint Albones, but litle while he enioyed his knighthod, for at the same feld he was slain.

After, when that kyng Edward was kyng and the Erle of Warwicke beyng on his ambasad, this poore lady made sute to the kyng to be restored to suche smal landes as her husbande had geuen her in ioyntoure, whom when the kyng behelde and harde her speake, as she

was



was bothe faire and of good fauoure, moderate of stature, well made and very wyse, he not alonely pitied her, but also wexed enamoured on her, and takyng her secretly a sydd began to enter into talkyng more familiarly, whose appetite when she perceyued, she ver-teously denied hym, but that she dyd so wysely and that with so good maner and woorde so wel set, that she rather kyndeled his desyre then quenched it. And finally, after many a metyng and much wowyng and many great promises she well espied the kyng his affection toward her so greatly encreased that she durste somewhat the more boldly saye her mynde as to him whose hert she perceyued more feruently set then to fall of for a worde. And in conclusion she shewed him plain, that as she wist her self to simple to be his wife, so thought she her self to good to be his cōcubine. The kyng muche marueilyng of her constancy, as he that had not been wonte els where so stieflly sayed nay, so muche esteemed her continency and chastitee, that he sette her vertue in steade of possession and riches. And this takyng counsaill of his owne desyre determined in haste to mary her. And after that he was thus apointed and had betwene them twayn ensured her, then asked he counsaill of his secrete frendes, and that in suche maner that they might easily perceyue that it boted not, to saye nay. Notwithstandyng, the duches of Yorke his mother, was so sore moued therewith that she dissuaded that mariage as muche as she possible might allegyng that it was his honor, profyte & surety, to mary in some noble progeny out of hys realme, where vpon depended greate strengthe to hys estate by that affinite, and great possibilite of encrease of his domi-niōs. And that he could not well otherwise doe, considering the erle of Warwike had so farfurthe entered into the matter all ready, which was not lyke to take it well if all hys voy-age were in suche wyse frustrate & his appoyntement deluded. And she sayed ferther, that it was not princely to mary hys owne subiecte, no greater occasiō ledyng there vnto, no possessions nyr other commodite dependyng therupon, but onely as a riche manne would mary hys mayden onely for a little wanton dotage vpon her person. In whiche mariage many menne cōmend more the maydens fortune then the mannes wisdomē, & yet she sayed that there was more honesty, then honour in this mariage, forasmuch as ther is not betwene a marchaunt & his mayde so greate a difference as betwene a kyng and his subiecte, a greate prince and a poore widowe. In whose persone, although there were nothyng to bee mis-lyked, yet was there sayed she, nothing so excellent but that it might be found in diuerse other that were more metely (q' she) for your estate: yea and maidens also, the onely widowhed of dame Elizabeth Grey (although she were in all other pointes and thynges con-uenient for you) should suffice as me thynketh to refrain you from her mariage, sith it is an vn-sittynge thyng and a great blemishe to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nere to appoche priesthode in clennessē, as he doeth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamy in his first mariage. The kyng made his mother answere part in earnest and part in playe mere-ly, as he that wyste hym selfe out of her rule. & albeit he would gladly that she should take it well, yet was he at apoint in his owne mynde, toke she it wel or otherwise. Howbeit, somewhat to satisfy her he said, that albeit mariage beyng a spiritual thyng ought rather to be made for the iespecte of God, where his grace enclineth, the parties ought to encline to Ioue together (as he trusted it was in his case) rather then for the regard of any temporall auantage. yet neuertheles him semed this mariage well considered not to be vnprofitable, for he reconed the amitec of no earthely naciō to bee so necessary for hym as the frende-ship of his awne, whiche he thoughte likely to beare hym so muche the more hartye fauour, in that he disdained not to mari with one of his awne lande. & yet if outward aliaunce wer thought so requisite, he would find the meanes to entre therunto muche better by other of his kinne where all the parties coulde be contented, then to mary him selfe wherem he should neuer happely loue, and for the possibilitee of possessions lese the fruite and pleasure of this that he had already. For small plasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beside, yf he be wiued againste his appetite, and I doubtē not (quod he,) but there bee as you saie other that bee in euery point comparable with her, and therefore I let not them that like them to mary them, no more is it reason that it mislike any man  
that

that I mary where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousin of Warwike, neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that that I loue, ner is so vnreasonable to loke that I should in choyse of a wife rather be ruled by his yie then by myne awnc, as though I wer a warde that wer bounden to mary by the apoyncement a gwarden. I would not bee a kyng with that cōdicion to forbear mine awne libertie in choyse of mine awne mariage. As for possibillite of more inheritaunce by newe affinitee in straunge landes, is oft the occasion of more trouble than profite. And we haue alrede title by that meanes, as suffiseth to so much as suffiseth to gette & kepe wel in one mannes deies. That she is a widdowe and hath alrede children. By god his blessed lady, I am a bachelor and haue some to, & so eche of vs hath a prooffe, that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore madame I praye you be content, I trust to God she shall brynge furthe a young prince that shal please you. And as for the bigamy, let the bishop hardely lay it to my charge when I come to take ordres, for I vnderstand it is forbidden a prieste but I neuer wiste that it was forbidden a prince. The duchesse with these woordes nothyng apased and seynge the kyng so sette on that she could not plucke him backe, so highly she disdained it, that vnder pretexte of her duty to God warde, she deuised to disturbe this mariage, and rather to helpe that he should mary one dame Elizabeth Lucy, whom the kyngé not longe before had gotten with chylde, wherfore the kyngé his mother objected openly agaynste this mariage (as it were in discharge of her conscience) that the kyng was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy and her husband and before God, by reason of whiche wordes suche obstacle was made in that matter, that either the bishoppe durste not, or the kyng would not proceade to the solemnisation of the mariage til his fame were clerely purged, and the truth well and opely testified. Where vpon dame Elizabeth Lucy was sente for, and albeit she was by the kyng his mother and many other put in good comfort to affirme that she was assured to the kyngé, yet when she was solemply worne to saie the truth, she confessed she was neuer ensured. Howbeit she saied, his grace spake suche louyng woordes to her, that she verely hoped that he would haue married her, and that yf such kinde woordes had not been, she woulde neuer haue shewed suche kyndenesse to hym, to lette him so kindly gette her with childe. This examinacion solemply taken, it was clerely proved that there was no impediment to let the king to mary, wherfore, he shortly after at Grafton beside Stonystratforde married the lady Elizabeth Grey verely priuely, which was his enennes wife and had prayed hartely for his losse, in the which God loued her better then to graunte her her bone, for then had she not been his wife. And after that she was crowned quene, and her father was created erle Riuers and her sonne created Marques Dorset. But whē the eile of Warwike vnderstode of this mariage, he toke it so highly, that therof ensued muche trouble and greate bloudshed as is declared before in the story of Edward the. iii.

I haue rehersed this mariage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better apere vpon how slipper a ground the protector builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edward his children to be bastardes, but the inuencion, as simple as it was liked them to whom it suffiseth to haue somewhat to saie, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger profe then them selues liste to make.

Nowe to returne where I left, as I beganne to shewe you, it was by the protector and his counsaill concluded that this doctor Shaa should in a sermon at Paules crosse signifie to the people that neither king Edward hym selfe nor the duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor wer the very children of the duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawfully by other persones by aduouty of the duches their mother. And that dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of king Edward, and so prince Edward and all the children begotten on the quene wer bastards. And accordyng to this deuise, doctor Sha. the sondaye after at Paules crosse in a greate audience (as alwaie a great numbre assembled to his preaching) came into the pulpit takyng for his Theme, *Spuria vitulina nō dabunt radices altis. Sapient. iii.* that is to saie bastarde shippes shall neuer take depe rootes: wherupon when he had shewed the great grace that God geueth & secretely infoundeth in right generacion after  $\frac{1}{2}$  lawes of matrimony.



matimony, then declared he that those children cōmenly lacked *ȝ* grace (& for the punishment of their parentes) were for *ȝ* most part vnhappy which wer gotten in haste, and specially in aduouty, of which (though some by the ignorauncie of the worlde and the tute the hid from knowlege) haue enherited for a season other mennes landes, yet God alwaie so prouideth that it continueth not in then bloude longe, but the truethe commynge to lighte the rightfeull enheritours be restored, and the bastard slippes plucked vp or it can be rooted depe. And when he had laied for the prooffe and confirmation of this sentence, examples taken out of the olde testamente and other aunciente histories, then began he to disceid to the praise of the lord Richard duke of Yorke, calling him father to the protectour and declared his title to the croune bi inheritaunce and also by entaile authorised by parliament after *ȝ* death of kyng Henry the sixte. Then shewed he that the lord protector, was onely the righte heire, of his body lawfully begotten. Then declared he that kyng Edward was neuer lawfully married to *ȝ* quene, but his wife before God was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children wer bastardes. And besides that, that neither kyng Edward hym selfe nor the duke of Clarence (amongest them that wer secrete in the duke of Yorkes houshoulde) were neuer reconed surely to be the children of the noble duke as those that by their fauoures more resembled other knowen menne then hym, from whose vertuous condicions he saied also, that kyng Edward was far of. But the lord protector (quod he) that veraye noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightly prowes, aswell in all princely behaueour as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the very face of *ȝ* noble duke his father. This is (quod he) the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenaunce, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted ymage, the playne expresse likenesse of that noble duke. Now was it before deuised that in the speakynge of these wordes, the protector shoulde haue come in amongest the people to *ȝ* sermond ward, to thende that these wordes so metynge with his ptesence, might haue been taken amongest the heres, as though the holy ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, and shoulde haue moued the people euen there to haue cryed, kyng Richard, that it might haue been after sayed that he was specially chosen by God, and in maner by miracle: but this deuise quayled, either by the protectours negligence or the preachers ouer hasty diligence. For while the protectoure, founde by the waye tarynge, leaste he shoulde haue preuented these wordes, the doctour fearynge that he shoulde come or his sermon could come to those woordes hastyng his matter thereto, he was come to them and paste them, and entred into other matters or the protector came, whom when he beheld commynge, he sodainly lefte the matter whiche he had in hand, and without any deduceyon therunto out of all ordre, and out of all faine began to repete those woordes agayne. This is the very noble prince the especiall patrone of knightly prowes, whiche aswell in all princely behaueour as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the veraye face of the noble duke of Yorke his father. This is the fathers awne figure, this is his owne countenaunce, the very print of his visage the sure vndoubted image, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble duke, whose remembraunce can neuer die while he liueth. While these wordes were in speakynge, the protectour accompaigned with the duke of Buckyngham, went through the people vp into the place where the doctors stand where they harde oute the sermond but the people wer so far from cryng kyng Richard that they stode as they had been turned into stookes for wonder of this shamefull sermond. after whiche once ended *ȝ* precher gat hym home and neuer after durst loke out for shame but kept him out of sighte as an owle and when he asked any of his old frendes, what the people talked of him, although that his awne consciēce well shewed hym that they talked no good, yet when the other answered hym, that there was in euery mannes mouthe of hym muche shame spoken it so strake him too the haite that in fewe dayes after he withered awaye

Then on the tuesday after next foloyng this sermond, beyng the xvii day of Iune, there came to the Gyld hall of London the duke of Buckyngham and diuerse lordes and knightes  
mo

mo then happely knewe the message that they brought. And at the east ende of the hal where the hoystynges be kepthe, the duke and the maunc and the other lordes sat downe, and the aldermen also, all the commons of the citee beeynge assembled and standyng before them. After science commaunded vpon agreate paine in the protectoures name. The duke stode vp and as he was well learmed and of nature meueiiously well spoken, he sayed to the people with a cleare and a lowde voyce. Frendes, for the zeale and heitie fauoure that we beare you we be come to breke of a matter righte greate and weightie, and no lesse weightie then pleasynge to God and profitable to all the realme, noi to no parte of the realme, more profitable, then to you the citezens of this noble citee. For why, the thyng that you haue long lacked and as we well know sore longed for that you would haue geuen greate good for, that you would haue gonne farre to fetch that thyng be we come hether to bryng you, without your labour pain, coste, auenture or ieoperdye. What thyng is that? Certes the surety of your awne bodies, the quiete of your wiues and daughters and the sauergarde of your goodes. Of all whiche thynges in tyme passed you stode in doubte. For who was he of you all that could recon hym selfe lorde of his awne good emongest so many gynnes and trappes wer set therfore emong so much pyllynge and pollynge, emonge so many taxes and tallhages, of the which there was neuer ende, and oftymes no nede, or yf any were, it grew rather of riote or of vnreasonable waste, then any necessary honourable charge, so that there was daily plucked and pilled from good and honeste menne greate substaunce of goodes, to be lashed out emong vnthiftes, so far furthe that fiftenes suffised not, nor any vsuall termes of known taxes, but vnder an easy name of beneuolence and good will, the commissioner so much of euery manne toke, as no manne woulde with his good will haue geuen. As though the name of beneuolence had signified that euery manne shoulde paie, not what he of hym selfe of his good will lust to graunte, but what the king of his good wil lust to take, who neuer asked litle, but euery thing was haunsed above the measure, amerciamentes turned into fines, fines into ransomes, small trespasses into mesprison, mesprison into treason, where of I thinke that no manne looketh that we shall remembre you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten whiche was for a woide spoken, in hast cruelly behedded (This Burdet was a marchaūt dwellyng in Chepesyd at y signe of y croune which now is y signe of y flowre de luse ouer against sope lane: This man merely in y ruflyng tyme of kyng Edward y iiij his rage, sayed to his awne some that he would make hym in heritor of y croune, meanyng his awne house: but these wordes king Edward made to be mysconstrued, & interpreted that Burdet meant the croune of the realme: wherefore within lesse space then iij. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawen and quartered in Chepesyde) by the mysconstruyng of the lawes of the realme for the princes pleasure, with no lesse honour to Merkam chiefe Iustice then, which lost his office rather then he would assent to that iudgement then to the dishonesty of those that either for teare or flattery gaue that iudgement. What nede I to speke of syr Thomas Cooke Aldermā and mayre of this noble citee, who is of you either for negligence that wotteth not, or so forgetfull that he remembreth not, or so haide harted that he pitieth not that worshipfull mannes losse? what speke I of losse, his wonderfull spoyle and vnderuerved destruction, onely because it happened him to fauour them whom the prince fauoured not. We nede not reherse of these any mo by name, sithe I doubte not that here be many presente that either in them selues or their nigh frendes, aswell their goodes as their persones were greatly endangered either by faimed queiells or small matters aggrauated with heinous names, & also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretexte. For sithe y king preuentyng the tyme of his inheritance attained the croune by battail, it suffised in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to haue been of kindred or aliaunce, nere of familie, or longer of acquaintance with any of those, that were at any tyme the kynges enemies which was at onc time or another more then half the realme. Thus were neither your goodes, neither landes in suretie, and yet they brought your bodies in ieoperdye, beside the comen auenture of open warre, which albeit, that it is euer the well and occasion of much mischief, yet is it neuer so

The orac on  
of the duke  
of Bucking-  
ham made to  
y<sup>e</sup> citezens  
of Lōds.

Beneuolence

Of this syr  
Thomas  
Cooke ye  
may reade



mischeuous as whei any people fal in deuision, and at distaunce emong themselues: and in  
 no realm earthly so dedly and so pestilēt as when it happeneth emongest vs. And emong  
 vs neuer continued so long discencion nor so many battailles in any seāson, nor so cruell nor  
 so dedly foughtē, as wer in the kyng his daies that dedde is, God forgeue it his solle In  
 whose tyme and by whose occasion, what about the gettingyng of the garlande, kepyng it,  
 lesyng and winnyng againe, it hath coste more Englishe blud then hath the wise winnyng  
 of Fraunce. In which inwarde warre emongest our selues hath been so greate effusion of  
 the aunciente noble bloud of this realme, that scarcely the half remaineth, to the great en-  
 feblýng of this noble lande, beside many a good towne ransaked and spoyled by them that  
 haue been goyng to the felde or returnyng from thence, and peace after, not much surer  
 then warre So that no tyme was there in the which riche menne for their money, and great  
 menne for their landes, or some other for some feare or for some displeasure were out of  
 perel. For whom mistrusted he that mistrusted his own brother? Whom spared he that  
 kyllid his own brother? Coule not suche maner of folke that he moste fauoured doo  
 somewhat (we shall for his honour spare to speke) howbeit, this ye wote well all, that  
 whoso was best bare euer the lest rule, and more sute in his days was to Shores wife,  
 a vile and abhominable strompet then to all the lordes in England, excepte vnto those  
 that made her their plectour, whiche simple womā was yet well named and honest tyll  
 the kyng for his wanton luste and sinfull affection berefte her from her husbāde, a  
 right honest manne and substanciall emongest you And in that point whiche in good  
 faithe I am sory to speake of, sauynge that it is vain to kepe in counsaill that thynges that  
 all men knoweth, f̄ kyng his gredy appetite was insaciabie, and euery where ouer all the  
 realme intollerable. For no womē was there any where, young or old, poore or riche,  
 whom he sette his yie vpō, whom he any thyng liked either for persone or beautie, speche,  
 pace or countenance, but without any feare of God, or respecte of his honour, murmure,  
 or grudgyng of the world, he woulde importunately pursue his appetite and haue her, to  
 the great destruction of many a good woman, and great dolour to their husbādes and  
 frendes, whiche beyng honest people of thei selues, so muche regarded the clēnesse of  
 their houses, the chastitee of their wiues and childrē, that them wer leuer to lose all that  
 thei haue beside, then to haue suche a vilanie done to them. And albeit that with this  
 and other importable dealing, the realme was in euery place anoyed yet specially you the  
 citezens of this nobilitie, as for that emongest you is most plentie of such thynges as minister  
 matter to such iniuries, as for that you were nerest hande, siþe that nere here about was  
 his moste common abidyng. And yet be ye people whom he had as synguler a cause wel and  
 truly to intreate, as any part of his realme: not onely for that the prince by this noble citee,  
 as of his speciall chambre and renoumed citee of this realme, muche honourable faue recei-  
 ueth emongest all other nacions, but also for that, you not without your greate coste and  
 sondrye fauoures and reoperdyes in all his warres bare euer your especiall fauoure to his parte:  
 whiche your kynde myndes borne to the house of Yorke, siþe he hath nothyng worthely  
 requited you, there is of the house now which by God his grace shall make you full re-  
 compence, which thyng to shew you, is the whole some and effect of our errande. It shall  
 not, I wote well nede, that I reherse vnto you again that you al redy haue hearde of hym  
 that can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye will better beleue it (and reason it is that  
 it so be) I am not so proud too looke therfore ȳ you should receiue my wordes of so great  
 auctorite as the preachers of the word of God, namely a man so conninge and so wise,  
 that no manne wotteth better what he should do and say, and therto so good and vertues  
 that he would not say the thing, which he wist he should not say in the pulpit, namely, into  
 the which no honest man cometh to lie: whiche honourable preacher ye well remembre, sub-  
 stancially declared to you at Pauls crosse on Sondays laste paste, the right and title of the  
 most excellent prince Richard duke of Gloucester now protector of this his realme which  
 he hath vnto the croune of the kyngdome of the same For that worshipfulman made it per-  
 fectely and groundely open vnto you. The children of kyng Edward the fourth wer neuer lau-  
 fully

fully begotten, for as muche as the kynge (huyng his verie wife dame Elizabeth Luey) was neuer lawfully married to the quene their mother whose blood sauynge he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honour, was ful ynnately to be matched with his (the mynglyng of which two bloude together hath been the effusion of a great part of the noble blood of this realme) wherby it may well be seen, that mariage was not well made of which there is so much mischief growen. For lacke of which lawfull copulacion and also of other thynges whiche the saied worshipfull doctor rather signified then fully explained, and whiche thyng shall not be spoken for me, as the thyng that euery manne forbeareth to saie that he knoweth, in auoidyng the displeasure that my noble lorde protector bearyng as nature requireth a filial reuerence to the duches his mother. For these causes before remembred I saie, that for lake of issue lawfully comynge of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whose royall blood the crounes of England and of Flaunce, are by the high auctorite of a parhamēt entailed, the right and title of the same is by iuste course of enheritaunce according to the common lawe of this lande, deuoluted and come vnto the moste excellent prince the lord protectoure, as to the very lawfull begotten sonne of the fore remembred noble duke of Yorke. Whiche thyng well considred and the knightely prowesse with many vertues whiche in his noble persone singulerly dooe habounde. The nobles and commons of this realme, and specially of the North partes, not willing any bastard blood to haue the rule of the land, nor the abusions in the same before used and exercised any longer too continue, haue fully condiscended and vterly determined too make humble petition vnto the puisaunte prince the lorde protectour, that it may like his grace at our humble request, to take vpon hym the guydyng and gouernaunce of this realme, too the wealth and increase of the same, accordynge to his very right and iuste title, whiche thyng I wot well he will be loth to take vpon hym as he whose wisdomē well perceiueth, the labour and study bothe of mynde and bodye that shall come therwith to hym, whosoever shall occupy that rome. I dare saie he will if he take it (for I warrant you that that rome is no childes office) & that the great wise man well perceyued when he sayed *Væ regno, cuius Rex puer est*, wo to that realme whose kyng is a child, wherfore, so muche more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so righteously entitled therto is of so sad age, & theto of so great wisdomē, ioyned with so great experience, which albeit, he will bee lothe as I haue saide to take vpon hym, yet shall he too our petition in that behalf the more graciously encline, yf ye the worshipful citezens of this citee being the chief citee of the realme ioync with vs the nobles in our saied request, whiche for your owne weale we doubt not but that ye will. And yet neuerthelesse, we pray you so to do, whereby ye shall do great profite to all this his realme. Beside that in chosyng them so good a kynge, it shall bee to your selte a speciall commodite, to whom his maiestie shal euer after, beare so much y more tendre fauour in how much he shall perceiue you the more prone and beneuolently mynded toward his election. wherein dere fiendes, what mynd you haue we require you plainly to shewe vs. When the duke had saied and loked that the people whom he lioped that the Maire had framed before, shoulde after this flatteryng preposicion made, haue cried kynge Richarde, kynge Richarde, all was still and mute and not one woorde answered to. wherwith the duke was maruelously abashed, and takynge y Maire nere to hym, with other that wer aboute hym priuy to the matter, saied vnto them softly. What meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir quod the Maire, percase they perceiue you not well, that shall we amend quod he, if he that wil helpe, and therwith somewhat lowder rehersed the same matter again, in other ordre and other woordes so well and ornately, and neuerthelesse so evidently and plaine with voice, gesture, & countenaunce so comely and so conuenient, that euery man much marueiled that hard him and thought that they neuer harde in their liues so euill a tale so well told. But wer it for wonder or feare, or that eche loked that other should speake firste, not one word was there answered of all the people that stode before, but all were as still as the midnight, not so much as rounyng among them, by which they might seme once to common what was best to do. When the Maire saue this, he with other



parteners of the counsaill, diew about the duke and saied that y<sup>e</sup> people had not been accustomed there to be spoken to, but by the Recorder, which is the mouthie of the citee, and happely to hym they will answer. With that the Recorder called Thomas Filz Wyllyā, a sadde manne and an honeste, which was but newly-come to the office, and neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begyn, notwithstanding, there vnto commaunded by the Maire, made iehersall to the commons of that which the duke had twise purposed hym self, but the recorder so tēpered his tale that he shewed euery thyng as the duke his wooides were and no parte of his owne, but all this no chaunge made in the people, whiche alway after one stode as they had been amased. Where vpon, the duke roured with the Maire and said, this is a marueilous obstinate scilence, and there with turned too the people again with these woordes, Deare frendes, we come to moue you to that thyng whiche paraurenture we so greatly neded not, but that the lordes of this realme and commons of other partes might haue suffised, sayng suche loue we beare you, and so muche set by you, that we would not gladly do without you, that thyng in whiche to be parteners is your weele and honoure, whiche as to vs semeth you se not or waye not. Wherefore we require you to giue vs an answer, one or other, whether ye be mynded as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble prince now protector to be your kyng? And at these wordes the people began to whisper among them selves secretly, that the voyce was neither loud nor basē, but like a swarme of bees, till at the last, at the nether ende of the hal a busshment of the dukes seruantes and one Nashfeelde and other belongynge to the protectoure with some prentices and laddes that thrust into the hall emongest the pease, began sodainly at mennes backes to crie out as lowde as they could, kyng Richard, king Richard, and there threwe vp their cappes in token of ioye, and they that stode before cast backe their heddes marueilyng therat, but nothing the saied. And when the duke and the Maire saw this maner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly crie and a ioyfull to here every man with one voyce and no man sayng nay. Wherefore frendes (quod the duke,) sith we perceiue that it is all your whole mindes to haue this noble man for your king, wherof we shall make his grace so effectuell reporte that we doubt not but that it shall redounde to your great wealth and commodite. We therefore require you that to morowe ye go with vs and we with you to his noble grace to make our humble peticiō and request to him in maner before remembred. And therewith the lordes came doune and the compaignie dissolued and departed the more part all sad, some with glad seinbleaunce that were not very inerie and some of them that came with the duke not hable to dissemble their sorowe, were fain euen at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the doloure of their hartes braste out of their yies.

Then on the morowe the Maire and aldermen and chief commoners of the citee in their best maner appareled, assemblyng them together at Paules, resorted to Baynardes castle where the protectour laie, to which place also accordyng too the appointment repaired the duke of Buckyngham, and diuerse nobles with hym, besides many knyghtes and gentlemen. And there vpon the duke sent woorde to the lord protectoure of the beyng there of a greate honourable compaignie to moue a greate matter to his grace. Where vpon the protectoure made greate difficultie to come doune to them, except he knewe some parte of their errande, as though he doubted and partly mistrusted the commynge of such a nombre to hym so sodainely, without any warnyng or knowlege, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the duke had shewed this too the Mayre and other, that they might thereby se how litle the protectour loked for this matter, they sente again by the messenger suche lounge message, and there with so humbly besought hym to vouchsafe that the might resort to his presence to purpose then entent of which they would to none other persone any part disclose. At the last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to them, but in a galay ouer them with a bishop on euery hand of him, where they beneth might se him and speke to him, as though he would not yet come nere them til he wist what they meant. And there vpon, the duke of Buckyngham first made humble peticion to him on the behalfe of

them all, that his grace would pardon them and licence them to purpose vnto his grace the entent of their commyng without his displeasure, without which pardon obtained, they durst not be so bold to moue him of that matter. In which, albeit they meant as much honour to his grace as wealth to all *ȝ* realm beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offend. Then the protectour, as he was very gentle of hym self and also longed sore apparantly to know what they meant, gaue him leaue to purpose what him liked, verely trustynge for the good mynd that he bare them all none of them any thyng woulde entende to hym warde, wherewith he thought to be greued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then wexed he bold to shew hym their entente and purpose, with all the causes mouyng them thereto, as ye before haue heard. And finally, to beseche his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the realm now with his yie of pitie to behold the long continued distresse and decaye of the same, & to set his gracious hand to the rediesse and amendemente thereof by takynge vpon hym the crowne and gouernaunce of the realme accordyng to his right and title lawfully descended vnto him, and to the laud of God, profite and surety of the land: & vnto his grace so muche the more honor and lesse pain, in that *ȝ* neuer pynce reigned vpon any people that wer so glad to lue vnder his obesaunce as the people of this realme vnder his

When the protector had heard the proposicion, he loked very strangely therat and made answer, that albeit he knew partely the thynges by them alleged to be true, yet such entiere loue he bare to kynge Edward and his children, and so much more regarded his honour in other realmes about, then the crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desyrous, so that he could not find in his harte in this point to incline to their desire, for in al other nacions where the truth were not wel knowē, it shoulde parauenture be thought that it were his awne ambitious mynde and deuise to depose the pynce and to take hym selfe the crowne, with which infamy he would in no wise haue his honour steined for any crowne, in which he had euer perchaunce perceyued much more labour and pain, then pleasure to him that so would vse it as he that would not and were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding, he not onely pardoned them of the mocion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartly fauour they bare hym, prayng them for his sake to beare the same to the pynce vnder whom he was and would be content to lue and with his labour & counsaill as far as it should like the king to vse it, he woulde doo his vttermoste deuoir to sette the realme in good estate which was all iedye in the litle tyme of his protectourship, (lauded be God,) wel begon, in that the malice of such as wer before *ȝ* occasion of the contrary and of new entended to be, wer now partely by good policy, partely more by God his speciall prouidence, then mannes prouision, repressed and put vnder

Vpon this answer geuen, the duke of Buckyngham by the protector his licence a litle rounded, as well with other noble men about him as with the maire and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like peidō desired and obtained) he shewed aloude vnto the protectour, for a finall conclusion that the realme was appointed that kynge Edward his line should no longer reigne vpon them, both that they had so far gone that it was now no suretee to retreat (as for that they thought it for *ȝ* weale vniuersal to take *ȝ* way, although they had not yet begon it.) Wherfore if it would like his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humbly beseche him therunto, and yf he would geue them a resolute answer to the contrary (which the would be loth to here) then must they seke and shoulde not fail to find some other noble man that would. These wordes much moued the protector, which as euery man of small intelligence may wit would neuer haue enclined thereto; but when he sawe there was none other way but that he must take it, or els he and his both to go from it, he saied to the lordes and commons, sithe it is wee perceiue well that all the realme is so set (wherof we bee very sory) that they will not suffie in any wise kynge Edward his line to gouerne them, whoin no man earthely can gouerne against their willes. And we also perceiue that no manne is there to whome the crowne can by so iuste



title appertaine as to oure selfe as very righte heire lafully begotten of the body of our most dread and dere father Richard late duke of Yorke to which title is now ioyned your election, the nobles and commons of the realme, whiche we of all titles possible take for mooste effectual, we be content and agree fauourably to encline to your petition & request, and accordynge to the same, here we take vpon vs the royall estate of prehemynence and kyngdome of the twoo noble realmes, Englande and Fraunce, the one from this day forward by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne and defende, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get again, subdue and establishe for euer in dewe obedience vnto this realme of Englande, the auancement whereof we neuer aske of God longer to liue then we entende to procure and sette furthe. With this there was a greate cry and shoute, crying kyng Richard and so the lordes wente vp to the kyng, and so he was after that daie called. But the people departed talkynge dyuersely of the matter, euery man as his fantasie gaue him, but much they marueiled of this maner of dealing, that the matter was on both partes made so straunge as though neuer the one part had communed with the other parte therof before, when they wiste that there was no manne so dull that heard them, but he perceyued well ynough that all the matter was made betwene them. Howebeit, some excused that again, saynge: all thing must be done in good ordre, and menne must sometym for the maner sake not bee aknowen what they knowe. For at the consecracion of a bishoppe, euery manne perceueth by paiment of his bulles that he entendeth to be one, yet when he is wise asked whether he will be a bishop, he must wise say nay, and at the third tyme take it vpon him as compelled thereto by his awne will. And in a stage plaie, the people knowe right well that he that plaeth the sowdaime, is percase a souter, yet yf one of acquaintance perchaunce of litle nurtur should call him by his name while he standeth in his maiestic one of his tourmētours might fortune breke his hed for maryng the play. And so they saied, these matters be kynges games, as it were staige playes, and for the most part played vpon scaffoldes, in whiche poore menne bee but lookers on, and they that wise be, will medle no fether, for they that steppe vp with them when they cannot play their partes, they disorder the plaie and do them selues no good.

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## THE TRAGICAL DOYNGES OF KYNG RICHARD

### THE THIRDE.

**L**Othe I am to remembre, but more I abhorre to write the miserable tragedy of this infortunate prince, which by fraude entered, by tyrannye proceeded, and by sodayn deathe ended his infortunate life: But yf I should not declare the flagitious factes of the euyll princes, aswell as I haue done the notable actes of verteous kinges, I shoulde neither animate, nor incourage rulers of royalmes, Countreyes and Seignories to folowe the steppes of their profitable progenitors, for to attayne to the type of honour and worldly fame: neither yet aduertise princes being proane to vice and wickednes, to aduoyde and expell all synne and mischiefe, for dread of obloquy and worldly shame. for contrary set to contrary is more apparaunt, as whyte ioyned with black, maketh the sayrer shewe: Wherefore, I will procede in his actes after my accustomed vsage.

RICHARD

RICHARD the third of that name, vsurped þy crowne of Englād & openly toke vpon hym to bee kyng, the nyntene daie of Iune, in the yere of our lord a thousand foure hundred lxxxiii and in the. xxv yere of Lewes the leuenth then beeyng French kyng and the morow after, he was proclaymed kyng and with great solemnyte rode to Westminster, and there sate in the seate roial, and called befoie him the iudges of þy realme straightly commaundynge them to execute the lawe with out fauoure or delaie, with many good exhortaciōs (of the which he folowed not one), and then he departed towarde the Abbaye, and at the church doore he was mett with procession, and by the abbot to hym was deliuered the scepter of saincte Edward, and so went and offered to saincte Edward his shryne, while the Monkes sang Te deum with a faint courage, and from the church he returned to the palaice, where he lodged till the coronacion. And to be sure of all enemies (as he thought) he sent for fye thousand men of the North against his coronaciō, which came vp euil appareled and worse harneissed, in rusty harneys, neither defensable nor skoured to the sale, which mustered in Finesbury felde, to the great disdain of all the lookers on.

The fourth daie of Iuly he came to the tower by water with his wife, and the fifth daie he created Edward his onely begotten sonne, a childe of. x yere olde, prince of Wales, and Ihon Haward, a man of great knowledge and vertue (aswell in counsaill as in battail). he created duke of Norfolke, and sir Thomas Hawarde his sonne he created erle of Surrey, and Willyam lorde Barkeley was then created erle of Nottingham, and Fraunces lorde Louell was then made Vicount Louel, and the kyng his chamberlain, and the lorde Stanley was deliuered oute of warde for feare of his sonne the lorde Straunge, whiche was then in Lancashire gatherynge menne (as menne saied) and the sayed lorde was made Stuarde of the kyng his housholde, likewise the Archebishop of Yorke was deliuered: but Morton bishop of Ely, was deliuered to the duke of Buckyngham to kepe inwarde, whiche sente hym to his manoure of Brecknocke in Wales, from whence he escaped to kyng Richard his confusion. The same night the kyng made seuentene knyghtes of the Bath. The nexte daie he roade through London with greate pompe, and in especiall the duke of Buckyngham was richely appareled and his horse trapped in blew beluet embroudered with the naues of cartes burnyng of gold which trapper was borne by fotemen from the ground, with suche solemne fasson that all men muche regarded it.

On the morowe beeyng the sixt daie of Iuly, the kyng came toward his coronacion into Westminster hall, where his chapell and all the prelates mitred receiued him. And so they in ordre of procession passed forward. After the procession folowed therle of Northumberlande with a pointellese sword naked, and the lord Stanley bare the Mace of þy constableness. Therle of Kent bare the seconde sword on the righte hand of the kyng naked. The lorde Louell bare an other sworde on the lefte hand. Then folowed the duke of Suffolke with the scepter, and the erle of Lyncolne bare the ball and eosse. After them folowed the newe erle of Suirey with the sword of estate in a riche skabard. On the right side of him wente the duke of Noifolke bearynge the crowne then folowed kyng Richard in a Circot and robe of purple veluet vnder a canabie borne by the barones of the fyue portes, gooyng betwene the bishoppes of Bathe and Duresme. The duke of Buckyngham with the rod of the high stuarde of Englande bare the kyng his train. After hym folowed therle of Huntynghdon, beryng the quenes scepter, and the Vicount Lisle, bearyng the rod with the doue. And the erle of Wilshire bare the quenes crowne. Then folowed quene Anne daughter to Richard erle of Warwike in robes like to the king, betwene two bishoppes, and a canabie over her hed, borne by the Barones of the portes. On her hed a riche coronall sette with stones and pearle. After her folowed the couëtresse of Richemond heire to the duke of Somersset, whiche bare vp the quenes trayne. After folowed the duchesse of Suffolke and Norfolke with countesses, baronesses, ladies, and many faire gentlewomen: in this ordre they passed throughe the palayce, and entred the Abbaye at the Weste ende, and so came to their seates of estate. And after diuerse songes solemnly,



solemply songe, they bothe disceded to the highe altare and were shifed from their robes, and had diuerse places open from the middle vpward, in whiche places they were anointed. Then bothe the kyng and the quene chaunged them into clothe of golde and ascended to their seates, where the cardinall of Cauntorbury and other bishoppes them ciowned accordyng to the olde custome of the realme, geuyng hym the scepter in the lefte hand and the balle with the crosse in the right hande, and the quene had the scepter in her right hande, and the rod with the dove in the lefte hande: On euery side of the kyng stode a duke, and before him stode the erle of Surrey with the sweard in his handes. And on euery side of the quene standyng a bishoppe and a lady knelyng. The Cardinall song the masse, and after paxe, the kyng and the quene disceded, and before the high altare they were bothe houseled with one hoste deuided betwene them. After masse finished, they bothe offered at sancte Edward his shrine and there the kyng lefte the crowne of sancte Edward, and putte on his owne crowne. And so in ordre as they came, they departed to Westminster hall, and so to their chambres for a ceason, duryng which tyme the duke of Norfolke came into the hall his horse trapped to the grounde in clothe of gold as high marshall, and voyded the hall.

Aboute foure of the clocke the kyng and quene entred the hall, and the kyng satte in the mydle, and the quene on the lefte hand of the table, and on euery side of her stode a countesse holdyng a clothe of pleasaunce, when she liste to drynke. And of the right hande of the kyng satte the bishop of Cauntorbury, the ladies satte all on one side in the middle of the hall, and at the table agaynst them satte the Chauncelloure and all the lordes. At the table next the cupborde satte the Maire of London. And at the table behinde the lordes, satte the Barones of the portes. And at the other bordes satte noble and worshipful personages. When all persones were sette, the duke of Norfolke erle Marshall, the erle of Surrey constable for that daie, the lorde Stanly lorde Steward, syr William Hopton treasurer, and sir Thomas Percy comptroller came in and serued the kyng solemply with one dishe of golde and another of siluer. And the quene all in gyte vessell, and the bishop all in siluer. At the seconde course came into the hall, sir Robert Democke the kyngs champion, makyng a proclamacion, that whosoever woulde saie that kyng Richard was not lawfully kyng, he woulde fighte with hym at the vtterance, and threwe downe his gauntlet. And then al the hal cried kyng Richarde. And so he did in three partes of the hall, and then one brought hym a cup with wine couered; & when he had dronke he cast out the drynke, and departed with the cup. After that, the herauldes cried *a largesse* thise in the hall, and so went vp to their stage. At the ende of diner, the Maire of Londō serued the kyng and quene with swete wyne, and had of ech of them a cuppe of golde with a couer of golde. And by that tyme that all was dooen, it was darkenight. And so the king returned to his chambre, and euery manne to his lodgyng. When this feaste was thus finished, the kyng sente home all the lordes into their countrees that woulde departe, excepte the lorde Stanley, whom he reteyned till he harde what his sonne the lorde Straunge went aboute. And to suche as wente home, he gaue straight charge and commaundement to see their countrees well ordred, and that no wrong nor extorcion shoulde bee doen to his subiectes. And thus he taughte other to execute iustice and equitee, the contrarye whereof he daily exercised, he also with greate rewardes geuen to the Northrenmen whiche he sent for to his coronacion, sente them home to their countree with greate thanks. Whereof diuerse of them, (as they all be of nature very gredy of autoritee, and specially when they thynke to haue any comforte or fauoure,) tooke on them so highly and wroughte suche mastries, that the kyng was faine to ride thither in his firste yere, and to putte some in execucion, and staie the countree, or els no small mischiefe had ensued.

Incontinente after this, he sente a solempne Ambassade to Lewes the Frenche kyng, to conclude a league and amitie with hym, trustyng also to obtayne the tribute whiche kyng Edward

Edwarde his brother had before out of Fraunce, but the Frenche kyng so abhorred hym and his crueltie, that he would neither se nor heare his Ambassadors, and so in vayne they returned.

Nowe after this triumphante coronacion, there fell mischises thicke and thicke, and as the thyng eiuill gotten is neuer well kept, so throughe all the tyme of his vsurped reigne, neuer ceased there cruell murder, death and slaughter, till his awne destruccion ended it. But as he finished with the best deathe and mooste rightewyse, that is to saie his awne, so beganne he with the mooste piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murder of his innocent nephewes, the younge kyng and his tendre brother, whose death and finall fortune hath neuerthesse so far come in question that some remained longe in doubt whether they were in his daies destroyed or no. Not for that that Parkyn Warbek by many folkes malice, and mo folkes folly so longe space abusynge the worlde, was aswell with princes as with poore people reputed and taken for the younger of these twoo. But for that also that all thynges were so couertely demeaned, one thyng pretented and another mente, that there was nothyng so plaine and openly proued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couerte dealyng, menne had it euer inwardly suspecte, as many well counterfet jewelless make the true mistrusted. Hobbit, concernynge that opinion, menne maie se the conueighaunce thereof in the lyfe of the noble prince kyng Henrye the vii. in the processe of Parkyn. But in the meane ceason, for this presentie matter I shall reherse to you the dolorous ende of these two babes, not after euery waie that I haue harde, but after that waie that I haue so hard by suche menne and suche menes as me thinketh it to be hard but it shoulde be true.

Kyng Richard after his coronacion, takynge his waie to Gloucester, to visite in his newe honour the towne, of which he bare the name of old, deuised as he roade to fulfill that thyng which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mynd gaue him that his nephewes luyng, men woulde not recon that he coulde haue righte to the realme, he thoughte therefore without delate to rid them, as though the killynge of his kynsmen mighte ende his cause, and make hym kyndely kyng. Where vpon he sent Ihon Grene, whom he specially trusted, vnto sir Robert Brakēbury constable of the tower, with a letter and credēce also, that the same sir Roberte in any wyse should put the two childrē to death. This Ihon Grene dyd his errand to Brakenbury, knelyng before oure lady in the Towre, who plainly answered that he woulde neuer put them to deathe to dye theifore. With the which answer Grene returned, recomptyng the same to kyng Richard at Warwyke yet on his journey, wherewith he toke suche displeasure and thoughte that the same night he sayde to a secrete page of his: Ah, whom shall a man truste: they that I haue brought vp my selfe, they that I went woulde haue moost surely serued me, euen those fayle me, and at my commaundemente wyll do nothyng for me. Syr quod the page, there lieth one in the palet chambie with out that I dare wel say, to do your grace pleasure the thing were nigh hard that he would refuse, meanyng this by Iames Tirel, which was a man of goodly personage, and for the giftes of nature worthy to haue serued a muche better prince, yf he had well serued God, and by grace obteyned to haue as muche trueth and good wyll, as he had strength and wytt. The man had an high harte and sore longed vpwaide, not risynge yet so fast as he had had hoped, beyng hindered and kepte vnder by sir Richard Ratcliffe and sir Willyam Catesbye, which longynge for no more parteners of the Princes fauour, namely not for him, whose pride ther knewe woulde beare no peie, kept him by secrete distes out of al secrete trust: which thyng the page had well marked and knowen: wherefore this occasion offered of very speciall frendship spied his tyme to set him fōwarde, and suche wyse to do him good, that all the enemies that he had (except the deuil) could neuer haue done him so much hurte and shame, for vpon the pages woordes, kyng Richard arose (for this communicacion had he sitting on a drafte, a conuenient carpet for suche a counsaill) and came out into the palet chambie, where he dyd fynde in bed the sayd Iames Tyrell and sir Thomas Tyrell of persone like and brethren of bloude, but nothyng of kynne in condicions. Then sayd the kyng merely to them, what syrs, be you in bed so sone: and

The destruction of  
kyng Edwardes childrē.



called vp Iames Tyrell, & brake to him secretly his mynd in this mischeuous matter, in the which he found him nothing straunge. Wherefore on the morowe he sent him to Brakynbury with a letter by the which he was commaunded to delyuer to the sayd Iames all the keyes of the Towre for a night, to thende that he might there accomlishe the kynges pleasure in suche thynges as he there had geuen him in commaundement. After which lettre deliuered & the keyes receyued, Iames appointed f̄ next night ensuyng to destroye them, deuisyng befoie and preparyng the meanes.

The prince assone as the Protectour toke vpon hym to be kyng, and left the name of protectoure, was thereof aduertised and shewed that he should not reigne, but his vnclie should haue the crowne. At which word the prince sore abashed beganne to sighe and sayd: Alas I would myne vnclie would let me haue my life although I lese my kyngedome. Then he that tolde hym the tale vsed him with good woordes and put hym in the best conforate that he coulede, but furthewith he and his brother were bothe shut vp, and all other remoued from them, one called blacke Wyl, or Willyam Slaughtei onely except, which were set to serue them, and an other to see them sure. After whiche tyme, the prince neuer tyed his pointes, nor any thyng roughte of hym selfe, but with that young babe his brother lyngered in thoughte and heuines, tyll this trayterous dede deliuered them of that wretchednes.

For Iames Tirrel deuised that they shoulde be murdered in their beddes, and no bloud shed. to the execution wherof, he appointed Myles Forest one of the foure that before kepte them, a felowe fleshe bried in murder before tyme. and to him he ioyned one Ihon Dighton his awne horsekeeper, a bygge broade square and strong knaue. Then at the other beyng remoued from them, this Miles Forest and Ihon Dighton aboute mydnight, the sely childien lyng in their beddes, came into f̄ chaubre and sodenli lapped them vp amongst the clothes and so bewrapped them and entangled them, lepyng doume by force the fether-bed and pillowes harde vnto their mouthes, that within a while they smored & styfied them, and then breathes failyng, they gaue vp to God their innocēt solles into the royes of heauen, leauyng to the tourmētours their bodies dead in the bed, which after the wretches perceyued, firste by the strugglyng, with the panges of death, and after long lyng styl to be thoroughly dead, they layd the bodies out vpon the bed, and fetched Iames Tirrell to see them, which when he sawe them perfightly dead, he caused the murderers to burye them at the stayre foote, metely deepe in the grōnde vnder a great heape of stones.

Then rode Iames Tirrel in great hast to kyng Richard, and shewed him all the maner of the murder, who gaue him great thankes, and as men saye, there made hym knight, but he allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, sayyng, that he would haue them buried in a better place because they were a kynges sonnes. Lo f̄ honorable courage of a king, for he would recompēce a detestable murder with a solempne obsequy. Wherupon a priest of sir Robert Brakenburies toke them vp & buried them in such a place secretly as by the occasion of his death (which was very shortly after) which onely knewe it, the very trueth could neuer yet be very wel and perfightly knowen. For some saye that kyng Richard caused the priest to take them vp and close them in lead and to put them in a coffyne full of holes hoked at the endes with ii hokes of yron, and so to cast them into a place called the Blacke depes at the Themes mouth, so that they should neuer rise vp nor be sene agayn. This was f̄ very trueth vnknewē by reason that f̄ sayd priest died so shortly & disclosed it neuer to any person that would vtter it. And for a trueth, when sir Iames Tirrell was in the Towre for treason committed to kyng Henrye the seuenthe bothe he and Dighton were examined together of this pointe, and both they confessed the murder to be done in the same maner as you haue hard, but whether the bodies were remoued, they bothe affirmed they neuer knewe. And thus as I haue learned of them that muche knewe and litle cause had to lye, where these two noble princes, these innocent tendre children, borne of the mooste royall bloude and brought vp in greate wealthe, likely longe to liue, to reigne and rule in the realme, by trayterous tirannye taken and depriued of their estate, shortly shut

vp in prison and priuely slaine and murdered by the cruel ambicion of their vnnaturall vn-  
cle and his dispiteous tourmentours: whiche thynges on euery parte well pondered, God  
gaue this world neuer a more notable example, either in what vnurety standeth this wolde  
weale, or what mischiefe worketh the proude enterprise of an highe harte, or finally, what  
wretched ende ensueth suche dispiteous crueltie. For fyrste to begynne with the ministers,  
Myles Forest, at saint Martyns le graunde by pece meale miserably rotted aways, Thon  
Dighton lyued at Caleys long after, no lesse disdayned and hated then pointed at, and  
there dyed in great misery: But sir Iames Tyrrel was beheaded at the Towre hyll for trea-  
son: And kynge Richarde him selfe was slaine in felde hacked and hewen of his enemies  
handes, hარიéd on a horsbacke naked beyng dead, his heere in dispite torne and tugged  
lyke a curre dogge. And the mischiefe that he toke with in lesse then thre yeres, of the  
mischiefe that he dyd in thre monethes be not comparable, and yet all the meane tyme spente  
in muche trouble and payne outwarde, and much feare, dicad and anguise within. For  
I haue harde by credible repote of suche as were secrete with his chamberers that after this  
abhorrible deed done, he neuer was quiet in his mynde, he neuer thought him selfe sure  
where he wente abroade, his body priuely feinted, his eyen wherled aboute, his hande euer  
on his dagger, his countenance and maner lyke alwaies to stricke agayne, he toke euill  
reste on nightes, laye long wakyng and musyng, forweried with care and watche, rather  
slombied then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, sodeinly somtyme stert vp, leapt  
out of his bed and looked about the chambie, so was his restlesse harte continually tossed  
and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembraunce of his abhorrible  
murder and execrable tyranny.

The end of  
y murther-  
ers of kynge  
Edward  
chylde.

From the  
beginnyng  
of King Ed-  
ward the  
fifte he-  
cherro, is of  
sir Thomas  
Mores pre-  
face.

KYNG Richard by this abominable mischyeff & scelerous act thinking hym self well re-  
leuyd bothe of feare and thought, would not haue it kept counsaill but within a few daies  
caused it to ronne in a common rumor that y<sup>e</sup> ii chylde were sodanlie dead, and to this  
entent as it is to be demyd that now, none heyre male beyng a liue of kynge Edwardes body  
lawfully begotten y<sup>e</sup> people would be content with the more paciēt hart, & quiet mynd, to  
obey him & suffer his rule and gouernance: but when y<sup>e</sup> fame of this detestable facte was  
reueled, & deuulged through y<sup>e</sup> hole realme, ther fell generally, such a dolor & inward  
sorow into the hartes of all the people, that all feare of his crueltie set a syde, they in euery  
towne, streate, and place openlie wept, and piteously sobbyd. And when their sorowe  
was sumwhat mitigate, their inwarde grudge could not refrayne but crye out in places pub-  
like, and also private furiously saieng, what creature of all creatures ys so malicious and so  
obstinate an enemye either to God, or to christian religion, or to humayne nature, whiche  
would not haue abhorred, or at the lest absteyned from so miserable a murther of so ex-  
ecrable a tyrānye. To murder a man is much odious, to kyll a woman, is in maner vnnat-  
ural, but to slay and destroye innocent babes, & young enfantes, the whole world abhor-  
reth, and the bloud from the earth crieth, for vengeance to all mightie God. If the com-  
mon people cried out, I assure you the frendes of the queene, and her chylde made no lesse  
exclamacion and complainte with loude voyce lamentable crienge and sayenge, a las what  
will he do to other that thus shamefully murdereth his awne bloud without cause or desert?  
whom, wyl he saue when he slayth the poore lambes committed to him in trust? now we se  
and behold y<sup>e</sup> the most cruel tyranny hath inuadyd the cōmon wealth, now we se that in him  
is neither hope of iustice nor trust of mercie but abundance of crueltie and thrust of innocent  
bloude. But when these newes wer first brought to the infortunate mother of the dead  
chylde yet being in sanctuary, no doubt but it strake to her harte, like the sharpe daite of  
death. for when she was first enformed of the murther of her. ii sonnes, she was so sodainly  
amasyd with the greatnes of y<sup>e</sup> crueltie that for feare she sounded and fell doune to the  
ground, and there lay in a great agonye like to a deade corps. And after that she came to  
her memory and was reuyued agayne, she wept and sobbyd and with pitefull seiches she  
replenished the hole mancion, her breste she puncted, her fayre here she tare and pulled in  
pees & being quercome with sorowe & pensiuenes rather desyred death then life, calling by



name diuers times her swete babes, accomptyng her self more then madde that she deluded by wyle and fraudulent promises deluyeted her yonger sonne out of the sanctuarie to his enemye to be put to death, thinkyng that next the othe made to God brokē, & the dewtie of allegiaunce toward her childrē violated, she of all creatures in that poyncte was most seduced and disceaued. After longe lamentacion, when she sawe no hope of reuengynge otherwyse, she knelyd downe and cried on God to take vengeance for the disceaytfull periurie, as who saide she nothing mistrusted but once he would remember it. What ys he liuyng that if he remember and beholde these in noble enfantes without deseryng, so shamefully murdered, that will not abhorre the fact, ye & be moued & tormented with pitie and inercie. And yet the worlde is so frayle and our nature so blynde that fewe be sturred with such examples, obliuioushe forgettyng, and littell consideryng, that oftentimes for the offences by the parentes perpetrate and committed, that synne is punished in their lyne and posterite. This chaunce might so happen to this innocēt children, because king Edward ther father and parent offended in staynyng his conscience he made his solempne othe before y gate of the cite of Yorke (as you haue harde before) and promised and sware one thng by his worde thinkyng cleane contrarie in his harte as after dyd appere. And afterward by the death of the duke of Clarence his brother, he incurred (of likelyhod) the great displeasure toward God. After this murder this perpetrated and that he had visited his towne of Gloucester which he for his old dignite bothe loued and with ample liberties and priuileges endowed and decorated, he toke his iorney toward the countie of Yorke, where the people abusyng his lawfull fauoure (as he bothe fauoured and trusted them in his hart) had of late presumed to attempte diuers routes and mottes cōtrarie to his lawes and ensfryngyng of his peace, and vppon hope of his mayntenaunce, were so elated that no lord were he neuer of so great power could either pacifie or rule them tyll the kyng hym selfe came personally thether to set a concorde and an vnite in that cōntree and to bridell and rule the rude rusticall and blusterynge bolde people of that region, and so he by long iourneyng came to the cite of Yorke where the citezens receyued hym with great pompe and triumphe, accordyng to y qualities of their educacion and quanttie of there substaunce and habillie, and made diuers daies playes and pageātes in token of ioy and solace. Wherefore kyng Richard magnified and applauded of the noithē nation, & also to shewe hym self apparantlie before them in habyte royal with scepter in hande and diademe on his hed, made proclamacion that all persones should resort to Yorke on the daie of the assencion of oure lord where all men shoulde bothe beholde and se hym his quene and prince in there high estates and degrees and also for their good wylles, shoulde receyue many thanks, large benefites and munificent rewards. At the daye apointed the hole clergie assembled in copes richely reuested and so with a reuerente ceremonie went about the cite in procession, after whome folowed the king with his crowne and scepter appareilled in his circot robe royall accompaigned with no small nombre of y nobilitie of his realme after whom marched in order quene Anne his wife likewise crowned ladinge on her lefte hande Prynce Edward her sonne hauyng on his hed a demy crowne appoynted for the degree of a prince. The kyng was had in that triumphe in suche honour and y common people of the noithē so reioysed that they extolled and playseed hym far aboue the starres. After this solempne feaste and glorious pompe he kepte greate counsailes there, as well for the orderynge of the cōntree in tyme to come, as for the bridellynge and punyshinge of suche as there had mys gouerned them selves: and farther of the gentlmen of that contrie, he augmented the nombre of hys domesticall ministers & seruantes, in the which persones he put his whole trust & affiaunce. When all thynges were thus discreetly ordered, he returned by Nothyngā, and after came to London. whome more for dread then for loue, the Cytezens receaued in gicate compaygnies. Thus kynge Richard by a new inuented crueltie and late practised tyrannye obteyned and grewe to high prayse and honoure, and then by the admiracion and iudgemente of the common multitude, he was moost esteemed to be exalted into heauen, when he couertly had intelligēce, that he was like to lose his estate and could by no meanes haue long contynuaunce in his vsurped power: for assueredly after the death of kynge

Edwards chyl dren when any blusteringe wynde perelous thunder or terrible tempest, chanced or were apparantly like to happen : Sodainly the people hauinge in there freshe memorie the facinorous acte of there kyng and prince, woulde openly crye and make vocyferacion that God dyd take vengauce and punishe the pore Englishemen, for the cryme and offence of there vngacious kyng, whome they blamed, accursed and wysshed to haue extreme tortures. Although kyng Richard harde ofte of this slaunderous wordes and malicious saynges and knewe wel by what persones they were spokē, yet he dirst not with strong hande be on the fyrste inuentours reuenged, knowing that some tyme it is no wisdom to refuse or disdaigne them that tell a ruler his deutie or declare to hym his mysbehauour toward the common wealthe or counsaill hym to amende and chaunge his yll life. After this great felicitie, he fell again in to a great feare and penciuenes of myrde, and because he coulde by no meanes either correct or amend thinges that were passed, he determined by doynghis deutie in all thinges to his commons, to obliterate and put out of memorie that note of infamie with the whiche his fame was iustely spotted and stayned, and to cause the people to conceyue so good an opinion in him, that from thēce forth no calamyte nor trouble should be adjudged to happen to the commō wealthe, either by his negligence or by his mys gouernance (although it is difficile and strange shortelic to toune and plucke out suche qualities and vsages as haue of longe tyme ben incorporate in amans mynde and rooted in his maners and condicions) Therefore whether it was for the performace of his former intent of amendement, or (as the common fame flew abroad) that he toke repentaunce of his myscheuous actes and scelerate doynges, he touned over the leffe, and began an order of a new life, and pretended to haue the name of a good and vertuous man, bi the reason that he shewed hymselfe more ruste, more meker, more familiar, more liberall (especially amongst the poore people) then before he had accustomed to do, and so by this meanes he fimelely trusted fyrst to obteyne of God forgiuenes of his offences and crymes, and after to leuie and take away the enemye and towarde grudge that the common people bare in their myndes towarde hym, and in conclusion, to obteigne their frendelye loue and assured fauour. He farthermore began and enterprised diuers thmges aswel publike as priuate, the which he beyng preuented by sodayne deathe dyd neither accomlishe nor bring to conclusion, for he begon to founde a college of a hundreth prestes, which foundacion with the founder shortelye toke an ende. To please the common people also, hē in his high courte of parliamente enacted dyuers and sondre good lawes and profitable estatutes and in especiall one againste strangers and foren wrought wares, not to be transported in to this realme, which commodius acte for the common wealthe yf he had lyued he fullye purposed to haue auauised & set forwarde & put in execucion. But afterwarde euidentlie to all persones it appeared, that onely feare (whiche is not a maister long in office and in continual auctoritie) and not iustice, caused kyng Rycharde at that venie tyme to waxe better and amende his synnefull life, for shortelic the goodnes of the man whiche was but payncted and fraudulent, sodainlye waxed coulde and vanished awaie. And from thence forth not onely all his counsaill, doynges and picedynges, sodainlye decayed and sorted to none effecte: But also fortune beganne to froune and turne her whele douneward from him, in so much that he lost his onely begotten sonne called Edward in the ij. moneth after he had created hym prince of Wales

## ¶ THE II. YERE.

AND shortely after, The. ii yere he was vnquieted by a conspiracye, or rather a confederacye betwene the duke of Buckyngham and many other gentlemen against him, as ye shall heare. But y occasion why the duke and the kyng fell out, is of diuerse folke diuersely pretended. This duke as you haue harde before, assone as y duke of Gloucester after y death of kyng Edward was come to Yorke, and there had solempne funerall seruice done for kyng Edward sent to him a secret seruauante of his called Persall, with such messages as you haue



## THE II. YERE OF

haue harde before. And after the duke of Buckyngham came with CCC. horse to Northampton and still continued with hym, as parrenei and chiefe organe of his deuices tyll after his coronacion, they departed to all semyng very frendes at Gloucester. From whence assone as the duke came home, he so highly turned from him and so highly conspired against him, that a man would marueill wherof the change grewe in so shorte space. Some say this occasyon was, that a litle before the coronacion, the duke required the kynge amongst other thynges to be restored to the erle of Herfordes landes: And forasmuche as the tytyle whiche he claymed by inheritaunce, was somewhat interlaced, with the tytyle of Lancaster, whiche house made a tittle to the croune, and enioyed the same thre discentes, as all men knewe, tyll the house of Yorke depriued the third kynge, whiche was Henry the sixte, Kynge Richarde somewhat mistrusted and conceiued suche an indignacion, that he reiected the dukes request, with many spitefull, and minotary wordes, whiche so wounded the dukes harte with hatred and mistrust, that he could neuer after endure to loke right on king Richard but euer feared his awne lyfe, so farre forth, that when the Protectoure should ryde to his coronaciō, he feigned himself sycke, because he would do him no honoure. And the other taking it in euill part, sent him word to ryse and ryde or he woulde make hym to be caried. Whereupon gorgeously appparelled, and sumptuously trapped with burnynge carteaues of golde embrodered, he roade before the kyng through Londō with an euill will and woorse harte. And that notwithstandynge, he roase the daye of the coronacion from the feast, feignynge him selfe sicke, which kyng Richard sayd was done in hate and spighte of him. And therefore men sayd that eche of them euer after lyued continually in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke looked verely to haue bene murthered at Gloucester, from whiche he in fayre maner departed but surely suche as were righte secrete with bothe, affirme all this to be vnttrue and other wyse men thynke it vnlkely, the deepe dissimulyng nature of bothe these menne well considered. And what nede in that grene worlde the protectour had of the duke, and in what perel the duke stooode yf he fell once in suspicion of that tyraunte, that either the protectour woulde geue the duke occasyon of displeasure, or the duke the protectour occasion of mystruste. And surely men thynke, that yf kyng Richard had any suche opinion conceiued in hym, he woulde neuer haue suffered him to auoyd his handes or escape his power but very true it is, that the duke of Buckyngham was an highe mynded man, and euill coulde beare the glory of another, so that I haue heard of some that saw it, that he at such tyme as the croune was set vpon the protectours hed, his eye could neuer abyde the sight therof, but wryed his hed another way: but men said he was not well at ease, and that was bothe to kynge Richard well known and well taken, nor any demaūde of the dukes request vncurteously reiected, but gently deferred, but bothe he with great giftes and high behestes in mooste louynge and trustye maner departed from the kynge to Gloucester. Thus euery man iudged as he thought, but soone after his commyng home to Breckenocke, hauyng there by kyng Richardes commaudemēt doctoi Mortō bishop of Ely, who before as you haue harde was taken at the counsaill at the towre, waxed with hym very famlier, whose onely wysedome abused his pride, to his owne deliuerance and the dukes destruction. The byshop was a man of greate naturall witte, vey well learned and of honourable behaeour, lackyng no wyse wayes to wynne fauoure. He was fyrst vpon the parte of kyng Henry, whyle that parte was in wealthe, and neither lefte it nor forsoke it in no woo, but fled the realme with the quene and the prynce. And whyle king Edward had kynge Henry in prison, he neuer returned but to the felde at Barnet. After which felde lost and vitelly subdued and all parte takynges extyngnished, kyng Edward for his fast fayth and wysedome as not onely contente to receyue hym, but also wooed him to come and had hym from thensforthe bothe in secrete truste and special fauoure, whom he nothyng deceyued. For he beyng after kynge Edwardes deathe fyyste taken by the tyraunte for his truethe to the kynge, founde the meane to set the duke in his toppes, and ioyned gentlemen together in ayde of the earle of Richemonde, whiche after was named kynge Henry the seueneth. Fyrste deuysyng the marriage betwehe the lady Elizabeth daughter to kyng Edward the fourth, by  
the

the whiche his faithfull and true seruice declared to bothe his maisters at once, was an infinite benefite to the realme, by the coniunction of the bloudes of Lancaster and Yorke, whose funeral titles had longe iniquited the realme. This man afterwarde escaped from the duke and fled the realme, and neuer returned, and went to Rome, neuer myndynge to medle with the worlde, tyll kynge Henrythe seuenth sent for him, and after made hym Archebishop of Cauntorbury and Chaunceloure of Englande, and after was made Cardinall, and liued well to all mens iudgementes and died well. But to retourne to the former purpose, he by the longe and often alternate prooffe, as well of prosperitee as aduerse fortune, had gotten by greate experience the very mothei and mastres of wisdomes, and depe insighte in polittike & worldly driftes, wherby perceiuyng now the duke to common with hym, fed hym with fayre woordes and many pleasaunte prayses, and perceiuyng by the grefe of their communicacions the dukes pryde nowe and then to balke out a litle brayde of enny toward the glory of the kynge, and thereby felynge hym easye to fall out yf the matter were well handeled, he craftely sought the wayes to pycke him forward takynge-alwayes the occasyon of his commynge, and also lepyng hym selfe close within his bandes that he rather seemed to folowe hym then to leade hym. For when the duke beganne fyrst to prayse and boast the kynge and shewe howe muche profite the realme shoulde take by his reigne, Byshop Morton answered, surely my lorde, folye it were for me to lye, for I am sure yf I woulde swere the contrarie ye would not once beleue me, but if the worlde woulde haue begonne as I would haue wysshed, that kynge Henries sonne had had the crowne and not kynge Edward, then would I haue bene his true and faithfull subiecte, but after that God had ordeyned hym to lose it, and kynge Edward to reigne, I was neuer so madde with a dead man to strue against the quick, so was I euer to kyng Edward a faithfull and true chapeleyn and glad would haue bene that his children should haue succeeded him, howbeit yf the secret iudgemēt of God haue otherwyse provided, I purpose not to spurne against the picke, nor labour to set vp that God pulleth doune. And as for the late protectoi and nowe kyng and with that worde he lette, sauynge that he sayd that he had already medled to much with the world and would from that day medle with his booke and beades, and no further. Then longed the duke sore to heare, what he would haue sayde, because he ended with the kyng, and there so sodainly stopped, and exhorted hym familerly, betwene them bothe to be bolde and to saye whatsoeuer he thoughte, whereof he faithefully promised there shoulde neuer come harte, and peradventure more good then he woulde wene. And that he hym selfe intended to vse his faithfull secrete aduice and counsaile, whiche he sayd was the onely cause for the whiche he procured of the kynge to haue hym in his custodie, where he might recon hym self at home, or else he had bene put in the handes of them with whom he should not haue founde like fauour. The byshoppe right humble thanked him and sayd in good faythe my lorde, I loue not muche to talke of princes as of a thyng not all out of perill, although the word be without faute, but yet it must be as it pleaseth y<sup>e</sup> prince to constiue it. And euer I thinke on Isopes tale, y<sup>e</sup> when the Lyon had proclaymed that on paine of death there shoulde no horned beastes come into the woode, one beast that had a bonche of fleshe growing out of his heade, fled a great pace the Foxe that sawe him flye with all the haste asked him whether he fled? In faith quod he, I neither wote ne recke, so I were once hence, because of the proclamacion made against horned Beastes. What foole quod the foxe, the Lyon neuer ment it by the, for that whiche thou haste is no horne in thy heade. No mary quod he, I wote that well ynough, but yf he say it is a horne, where am I then? The duke laughed merely at the tale and said my lorde I warraunte you, neither the Lyon nor the bore shall pycke any matter at any thyng here spoken, for it shall neuer come nere then eares. In good faith, syr sayd the byshop, yf it dyd, the thyng that I was aboute to say taken aswell as before God I mente, it coulde deserue but thanke, and yet taken as I wene it woulde, might happen to tui ne me to lytle good and you to lesse.

Then longed the duke muche more to wete what it was, whereupon the bishop sayd. In good faith my lorde, as for the late protectoure, sith he is nowe kyng in possession I purpose



pose not to dispute his title, but for þy wealthe of this realme, wherof his grace hath nowe the gouernaunce, and wherof I my self am a poore membre, I was aboute to wishe that to those good abilities wherof he hath alredy right many, litle needyng my prayse, yet might it haue pleased God for the better store to haue geuen hym some of suche other excellent vertues mete for the rule of the realme, as our lord hath planted in the person of your grace and there lefte of agayne. The duke somewhat maruelynge at his sodaine pauses as though they were but parentheses, with a high cōtenaunce saied: my lorde I evidently perceyue and no lesse note your often breathyng and sodayne stoppyng in your cōmunicacion, so that to my intelligence your wordes neither come to any dyrect or perfect sentence in conclusiō, wherby either I myght perceyue and haue knowlege what your inward entent is now toward the kyng, or what affection you beare toward me. For the comparyson of good qualites ascribed to vs bothe (for the which I my self knowlege and recognise to haue none, nor loke for no prayse of any creature for the same) maketh me not a lyttell to muse thinkyng that you haue some other prieuē Imaginacion, by loue or by grudge engraue and emprinted in your harte, whiche for feare you dare not or for childeshe shamefastnes you be abashed to disclose and reuele, and especially to me beyng your frende, whiche on my honoure do assume you to be as secrete in this case as the deffe and dumme person is to the singer, or the tree to the hunter. The byshoppe beyng some what boulder, consideryng the dukes promyse, but moste of all animated and encouraged because he knewe the duke desyerous to be exalted and magnified, and also he perceyued the inwarde hatred and pryue rancor whiche he bare toward kyng Richarde, was nowe boldened to open his stomacke euē to the very bottome, entendyng thereby to compasse howe to destroye and viterly confounde kyng Richarde, and to depyue hym of his dignitee royall, or els to sett the Duke so a fyer with the desyer of ambition, that he hym self might be safe and escape out of all daunger and perell, which thinge he brought shortely to conclusion bothe to the kynges destruction and the Dukes confusion and to his owne sauegaide, and fynally, to his high promocion. And so (as I sayed before) vpon truste and confidence of the dukes promyse, the bishoppe saiede my synguler good lorde sithe the tyme of my captiuitee, whiche beyng in your graces custodie I maye rather call it a liberall libertie more then a straight emprysonmente, in a voydyng ydelnes moother and norisher of all vices, in redyng bookes and aunciente pamphlettes I haue found this sentence wrytten, that no man is borne fre and in libertie of him selfe onely, for one part of duetie he oweth or shoulde owe to his parentes for his procreacion by a very naturall instincte and filiall curtesie another parte, to his frendes and kynsfolke, for proximitie of bloude and naturall amitie dothe of verie dewtie chalenge and demaunde. But the natue countrie in the which he tasted fyrste the swete ayers of this pleasaunte and flatteryng woulde after his natiuite, demaūde as a debt by a natural bonde neither to be forgotten nor yet to be put in obliuion, whiche sayng causeth me to consider in what case this realme my natue countrie now standeth, and in what estate and assurance before this tyme it hath contynued, what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler we myghte haue, for I plainly perceyue the realme beyng in this case muste nedes decaye and be brought to vtter confusion and fynall exterminion: But one hope I haue incorporate in my breaste, that is, when I consider and in my mynde do diligently remember, and dayly beholde your noble personage, your iustice, and indifferēce, your feiuent zeale and audente loue toward your natural contray, and in lyke maner þy loue of your contrie toward you, the greates learyng, pregaunte witte and goodly eloquence, whiche so muche dothe abounde in the persone of your grace, I muste nedes thinke this realme fortunate, ye twyse more then fortunate, whiche hath suche a prync in store, mete and apte, to be a gouernoure in whose persone beyng endued with so many princely qualites consisteth and resteth the very vndoubted similitude and image of trew honoure. But on the other syde when I call to memorie the good qualites of the late protectour and nowe called kyng, so violated and subuerted by tyrannye, so chaunged & altered by vsurped auctoritee, so clouded and shadowed by blynde and insaciabie ambition, ye and so sodainlye (in maner  
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by a metamorphosis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannic: I must nedes saie and iustlie affirme, that he is neither mete to be a kyng of so noble a realme, nor so famous a realme mete to be gouerned by suche a tyraunte. Was not his firste interprise to obtaine the crowne begonne and incepted by the murder of diuers noble valiaunt tieue and vertuous personages? O a holy begynnynge to come to a mischeuous endyng, dyd he not secondarchie procede contrarie to all lawes of honestie, shamefully agaynst his awne naturall mother, beyng a womā of much honour, and more vertew, declaryng her openlie to be a woman geuen to carnall affection, and dissolute huinge (whiche thyng yf it had bene trewe as it was not in dede, euery good and naturall child would haue rather mummied at, then to haue blasted a broadie and especially she beyng a lyue). Declarynge farthermore his ii brethren and his ii nephewes to be bastaydes, and to be borne in auouirey, yet not with all this content. After that he had obteyned the garlande for the which he so longe thirsted, he caused the two poore innocēs his nephewes committed to hym, for espéciall tuste, to be murdered and shamefully to be kylled. The bloud of whiche sely and lyttel bales dayly cryeto God, from the carthe for vengauce. Alas my harte sobbith, to remembre this bloody boucher and cruel monster, what suretie shall be in this realme to any person, other for life or goodes vnder suche a cruell prynce, whyche regardeth not the destruction of his awne bloude, and then lesse the losse of other. And most especially as oftentymes it chāunceth, where a couetous or a cruell prince taketh suspicion, the swaleste, swaiuyng that is possible (yf the thyng be mystonstered) maye be the cause of the destruction of many gylties persones: and in especiall of noble and wealthy personages hauynge greate possessions and riches. Suche a lorde is Lucifer when he is entred into the haite of a pious prynce, geuen to couetousnes and crueltie. But nowe my lorde to conclude what I meane towaide your noble persone, I saie and affirme, yf you loue God, your lynage, or youre natyue contye, you muste yower selfe take vpon you the Crowne and diademe of thys noble empyre, bothe for the mayntenauns of the honoure of the same (whiche so longe hath floreshed in fame and renowne) as also for the delyueraunce of youre natuall cuntrymen, from the bondage and thraldome (worse then the captiuitie of Egypte) of so cruell a tnaunt and arrogante oppressor. For thus I dare saie, yf any foren prynce or potentate, ye the Turcke hym selfe woulde take vpon hym the regiment here and the crowne, the commons woulde rather adinit and obey hym, then to lyue vnder suche a bloud supper and child kyller: but how muche more ioyfull and glad woulde they be to lyue vnder your giace, whome they all knowe to be a ruler mete and conuenient for them, and they to be louing and obedient subiectes mete to lyue vnder suche a gouernour: dispise not, nor forsake not so manifeste occasion so louingly offered. And yf you your self knowing the payne and trauaill that appeteyneth to the office of a kyng, or for any other consideracion, will refuse to take vpon you the crowne and scepter of this realme. Then I aduise you by ŷ faith that you owe to God, by your honour and by your othe made to Sancte George patron of the noble ordre of the gartier (whereof you be a compaignion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your natie contrey and the people of the same, to deuise some waie how this realme now being in miserie may by your high discrecion and princely policie, be brought and reduced to some suertie and conueniente regiment vnder some good gouernour by you to be excogitate for you are ŷ verye patton, the only helpe, refuge, and conforte for the poore amased and desolate commons of this realme. For yf you could either deuise to sett vp again the linage of Lancaster or auauce the eldest daughter of kyng Edward to some highe and puyssaunte prince, not onely the newe ciowned kyng shall small tyme enioy the glorie of his dignitie, but also all ciuile warr should cease, all domestically discorde should slepe, and peace, profite and quietnes should be set forth and embrased. When the bishoppe had thus ended his sayng, ŷ duke sighed and spake not of a great while, which sore abashed the bishop and made hym chaunge couler: which thing when the duke apperceiued, he saide be not afraide my lorde, all promyses shall be kept, to morow we wyl cōmōn



more let vs go to supper, so that night they commoned no more, not a litle to the iniquitacion of the bishoppe, whiche nowe was euen as desirous to knowe the dukes mynde and entent, as the duke longed the daye before to knowe his opinion and meanyng. So the nexte daie, the duke sent for the byshoppe and rehersed to hym in maner (for he was bothe wyttie and eloquente) all the communicacion had betwene them before, and so paused a while, and after a lytle ceason puttyng of his bonett he sayde O lorde God creator of all thynges howe muche is this realme of Englande and the people of the same bounden to thy goodnes, for where we now be in vexacion and trouble with greate stormes oppressed saylyng and tossyng in a desperate shippe without good maister or gouernour but by thy heelp good lord I trust or long tyme passe that we shall prouyde for such a ruler as shalbe both to thy pleasure, and also to the securite and sauegarde of this noble realme. And then he put on his bonett saynge to the byshoppe, my lord of Ely whose trewe harte and sincere affection towarde me at all tymes, I haue euidentlie perceyued and knowen, and nowe moste of all in our last preuie cōmunicacion and secrete deuysynge, I must nedes in hart thanks and with mouthe confesse and saie, that you be a sure frende, a trustye counsaillour, a vigilante foresear, a very louer of your cōntrey, a naturall cōntreyman for whiche kyndnes for my parte, I inoste louynglye render to you my hartye thanks nowe with wordes hereafter trustyng to recompence and remunerate you with dedes, yf life and power shall serue. And sithe at our last communicacion, you haue disclosed, and opened, the very secrets and priuities of your stomacke, touchinge the duke of Gloucester nowe vsurper of the crowne, and also haue a littel touched the auuncemēt of the noble famelycs of Yorke & Lancaster I shall likewyse not onely declare and manifeste vnto you, all my open actes, attemptes and doynges, but also my preuie ententes, and secrete cogitacions. To the entent that as you haue vnbuckeled your bogett of your preuie meanynges, and secrete purposes to me so shall all my clowdy workynge, close deuises, and secrete imaginacions, be (as clere as the some) reueled, opened, and made lightesome to you. And to beginne, I declare that when kynge Edward was disceased, to whom I thought my self littel or nothyng beholden, (all thoughe we. n. had married two, systers) because he neither promoted nor preferred me, as I thoughte I was worthy & had deserued, nether fauored nor regarded me, accordyng to my degree and byrthe. For surely I had by hym lytle auctoritee, and lesse rule, and in effecte nothyng at all. which caused me the lesse to fauor his chyl-dren, because I founde small humanitie, or none in there parente. I then began to studie, and with mature deliberacion, to ponder and consyder, howe & in what maner this realme shoulde be ruled and gouerned. And fyrste I remembered an olde prouerbe worthy of memorve, that often runthe the realme, where chylidien rule, and women gouerne. This olde adage so sancke, and settelled in my heade, that I thought it a great errour, and extreme myschyeffe to the hole realme, either to suffer the younge kynge to rule, or the quene his mother to be a gouernour ouer hym, consyderynge that her biethrene, and her fyrst children (all thoughe they were not extracte of highe and noble lynage) toke more vpon them, and more exalted them selues by reason of the quene, then dyd the kynges brethrene, or any duke in his realme: Which in conclusion turned to there confusion. The I being perswaded whith my self in this poynte, thought it necessarrie bothe for the publique and profitable welthe of this realme, and also for myne awne commoditie and emolumente, to take parte with the duke of Gloucester: Whome I assure you I thoughte to be as cleane withoute dissimulacion, as tractable withoute iniurie, as mercifull with oute cruelte, as nowe I knowe hym perfectly to be a dissembler withoute verite, a tyraunte withoute petye, yea and worse then the tyraunte phaleres, destitute of all truthe and clemēcie. And so by my meanes, at the fyrste counsaill holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thyng that after happened, (as you my lorde knowe well ynough) he was made Protectoure and defender, bothe of the kynge and of the realme, whiche auctorite once gotten, and the two chylidren partelie by policie broughte vnder his gouernaunce, he beyng

beyng moued with that gnawynge and couetous serpēt, desyered to reigne and neuer ceased priuēlie to exhorte and require (yea & some tymes with minatorie termes) to persuaude me and other lordes aswell spirituall as temporall, that he myghte take vpon hym the crowne, tyll the prynce came to the age of foure and twenty yeres, and were able to gouerne the realme, as a mature and sufficient kyng. Whiche thyng when he saue me somewhat stycke at, both for the straungenes of the example (because no such presidente had bene sene) and also because we remembred that men once ascended to the highest tyme of honour and auctoritee wil not gladlie discende agayn, he then brought in instrumētes, autentike doctoures, proctoures, and notaries of the lawe, with deposicions of diuers wytnesses, testifying kyng Edwards childien to be bastardes, which deposicions then I thought to be as trewe, as now I knowe them to be fayned, and testified by persones with rewarde vntuēlye subornate. When the saide deposicions, were before vs redde and diligently haide, he stoude vp bare headed saying: Wel my lordes, euen as I & you sage & discrete counsailers woulde that my nephewe should haue no wronge. So I praye you do me nothyng but righte. For these wytnesses and saynges of famous doctours beyng trew, I am onely the vndubitate heire to lord Richard plantagenet duke of Yorke, adjudged to be the very heire to the crowne of this realme by auctoritee of parliamente, whiche thinges, so by learned men to vs for a verite declared, caused me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and soueraigne lord. For well we knew y<sup>e</sup> the duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of the attaynder of his father was disabled to inherite, and also y<sup>e</sup> duke hym self was named to be a bastarde, as I my self haue harde spoken, and that vpon greate presumptions more tymes their one so agayn by my ayde and fauour, he of a protectour was made a kyng, and of a subiecte made a gouernour, at which tyme he promysed me on his fidelite, laiyng his hand in myne at Baynarde Castel, that the ii young princes should lyue, and that he woulde so provide for them, and so mayntaine them in honorable estate, y<sup>e</sup> I and all the realme ought and should be content. But when he was once crowned king, and in full possession of the hole realme, he cast a way his old cōdicions as y<sup>e</sup> added doeth her skynne, vnto hyng y<sup>e</sup> old proverbe, honoures chaunge maners, as the parishe prest remembreth that he was neuer parishe clerk. For when I my self sued to him for my part of the Earle of Hantfordes landes whiche his brother kyng Edward wrongetully deteyned and with helde from me, and also requied to haue the office of the highe constable shyppe of Englande, as diuers of my noble aunceters before this tyme haue had, and in longe discente continued. In this my fyyste suite shewynge his good mynde towaide me, he dyd not onely fyyste delaye me, and afterwarde denay me, but gaue me suche vnkynde woordes, with suche tauntes and retauntes ye in maner checke and checke mate to the vtermooste pfofe of my patience. As though I had neuer furthered him but hyndered him as though I had put him downe and not sett hym vp yet all these vngiattitudes and vnderdeserued vnkynndnes I bare closlye & suffered patientlie and coueritly remembred, outwardely dissimulyng that I inwardely thoughte, and so with a paynted countenance I passed the laste summer in his last compaignie, not withoute many false promyses, but withoute any good dedes. But when I was credibly entoured of the death of the ii. younge innocents, his awne natural nephewes contrarie to his faith and promyse, to the whiche God be my iudge I neuer agreed nor condescended. O lord, how my veynes panted, how my body trembled, and my harte inwardely grudged, in so much that I so abhorred the sighte and much more the compaignie of hym, that I coulde no longer abyde in his courte, excepte I shoulde be openly reuenged. The ende wherof was doubtfull, and so I fayned a cause to departe, and with a mery countenance and a dispiteful harte I toke my leaue humbly of hym (he thinkynge nothyng lesse then that I was displeased) and so returned to Brecknock to you. But in y<sup>e</sup> iourney as I returned whyther it were by the inspiration of the holy ghost, or by Melancolous disposiciō, I had diuers and sundrie imaginacions howe to depriue this vnnatural vnkle, and bloody butcher, from his royall seate, and princely dignitie. Fyrst I Fantasied that yf I list to take vpon me the crowne, and imperiall scepter of the



realme, now was the tyme propice and conuenient. For now was the waie made plainer and the gate opened, and occasiō geuen, whiche now neglected, should paraduenture neuer take suche effecte and conclusion. For I sawe he was disdaind of the lordes temporall, execrate and accursed of the lordes spiritual, detested of all gentilmen, and despised of all the communalte. So that I saw my chaunce as perfectly as I sawe my awne Image in a glasse, that there was no person (yf I had ben gredy to attempte the enterprise) could nor should haue wone the ring or got the goale before me. And on this poynte I rested in imagination secretly w<sup>th</sup> my self. ii. daies at Tewkesberie. And from thence so iornyng I mused & thoughte y<sup>t</sup> it was not best nor cōueniēt to take vpō me as a cōquerour, for then I knewe that all mē & especially the nobilitie, would with all their power with stande me, bothe for rescuyng of possessions & tenours, as also for subuerting of y<sup>r</sup> hole estat lawes and customes of the realme. Suche a power hath a conquerour as you know well ynough my lord. But at the last, in all this doutfull case ther sprang a new braunche out of my hed, which suerly I thought should haue broughte forthe fayer flowers, but the sonne was so hotter that they turned to drye wedes, for I sodainly remembred that lord Edmond duke of Somerset my grandfather was with kynge Henrie the sixte in the ii and iii degrees from Ihon duke of Lancaster lawefully begotten. So that I thought sure my mother being eldest daughter to duke Edmonde, that I was nexte heyre to kynge Henry the sixte of the house of Lancaster. This title pleased well suche as I made priuie of my counsaill, but much more it encouraged my foulishe desyer, and eleuated my ambicious entente, in so muche that clerely iudged, and in myne awne mynd was determinatly resolved, y<sup>t</sup> I was indubitate heyre, of the house of Lancaster, and there vpon concluded, to make my fyrst foundation, and erecte my newe buyldinge. But whyther God so ordeyned, or by fortune it so chaunced, while I was in a mase, other to conclude sodaynly on this title, and to sett it open a mongeste the common people, or to kepe it seciete a while, se the chaunce: as I rode betwene worceter and brigenorthe, I encountered with the ladye Margariete, countesse of Richemonde, nowe wyfe to the lorde Stanley, whiche is the very daughter and sole heyre, to lorde Ihon duke of Somerset my grandfathers elder brother. Whiche was as cleane out of my mynde as though I had neuer sene her, so that she and her sonne the Laile of Richemonde be bothe bulwarcke and portecolice betwene me, and the gate, to entre into the maiestie royall and gettinge of the crowne. And when we had communed a litle concernyng her sonne, as I shall shewe you after, and were departed she to oure ladye of worceter, and I towarde Shrewsberie. I then newe chaunged and in maner amased, began to dispute with my selfe, litle considerynge that thus my earnest title was turned euen to a titill not so good as, *est amen*. Eftsones I imagined whyther I were beste to take vpon me, by the eleccion of the nobilitie and communalte, whiche me thoughte easy to be done the vsurpor kynge thus beyng in hatred and abhorred of this hole realme, or to take it by power, which standeth in fortunes chaunce and difficile to be acheued and broughte to passe. Thus rombylyng and tossyng, in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the stone and sacrifice, I considered fyrste the office, deutie and payne of a kyng, which surely thinke that no mortal man can iustely, and truely obserue, excepte he be called elected and specially appoynted by God as kynge Daud and diuers other haue been. But farther I remembred that yf I once toke on me the scepter, and the gouernance of the realme. That of two extreme enemies I was dayly sure, but of one trusty frend (whiche nowe a daies begone a pilgrymage) I was nether assured nor credible asserteyned (suche is the worldes mutation) for I manifestely perceived that the daughters of kynge Edward and there alies, and frendes, whiche be no small nomber, beyng bothe, for his sake much beloued, and also for the great iniurie and manifeste tyrannye done to them, by the newe vsurper, much lamented, and pitied, woulde neuer cease to barcke yf they cannot byte at the one syde of me. Semblable my cousyne the laile of Rychemonde, his aydes and kynsfolke, whiche be not of lyttell power, wyll surelye attempte lyke a fierce grandhounde, other to byte or to perce me on the other syde. So that my lyfe and rule, should euer hange by a heare, neuer

in quiete, but euer in doubte of deathe or deposicion And yf the said n. images of Yorke and Lancaster, which so longe haue stryued for the imperiall Diademe should ioyne in one against me, then were I suerly mated and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue clerely determined, and with my selfe cōcluded, vtterly to relinquishe all suche fantasticall imaginacions concernynge the obteynynge of the crowne But all such plagues, calamities and troubles (which I feared and suspected) myght haue chanced on me yf I had taken the rule & regiments of this realme, I shall with a reredemayne so make them rebounde to our eōmen enemye that calleth hym selfe kyng, that the beste stopper that he hath at tenyce shall not well stoppe without a faulte. for as I tolde you before, the countesse of Richemonde in my retorne from the newe named kyng metyng me in the high way, praid me fyrste for kinned sake, secondarily for the loue that I bare to my grād'ather duke Humfrey, whiche was sworne brother to her father, to moue the kyng to be good to her sonne Henry erle of Richemōd, and to licence him with his fauor to retorne again into England. and yf it were his pleasure so to do, she promised that the erle her sonne should mary one of kyng Edwardes daughters at the appoyntement of the kyng, without any thing to be taken or demaunded for the saide espousals, but onely the kynges fauour, whiche request I sone ouer passed and gaue her fayre wordes & so departed. But after in my lodgyng, when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie & dyd circumspectely ponder them, I fully adiudged y the holy ghost caused her to mone a thyng (the ende wherof she coule not consider) bothe for the securitie of the realme as also for the prefermente of her childe and the destruccion and finall confusion of the common enemye kyng Richard. Whiche thing she neither then thought I am sure as I by her wordes coule make coniecture, nor I my selfe cast not her desyer to be so profitable to the realme as I now do perceiue, but suche a lord is God, that with a litle sparckle he kyndelth a great fyr, & so fynally to declare to you the very conclusion to the which I am both bent and sette, my mynde is and my power and purse shall helpe, that y erle of Richemond very heyre of the house of Lancaster (in the querell of the which linage, both my father and grand father lost ther lyues in battayle) shall take to wite lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to kyng Edward by the whiche marriage bothe the houses of Yorke and Lancaster māye be obteyned and vnite in one, to the clere stablyshement of the title to the crowne of this noble realme. To which conclusion if the mothers of bothe parties and especially the erle hym selfe, and the ladye wyll agre, I doubte not but the braggyng bore, which with his tuskes raiseth euery mans skyn, shall not onely be brought to confusion as he hath deserued but that this empire shall euer be certaine of an vndubitate heyre, and then shall all cruile and intestyne war cease, whiche so longe hath continued to the paring of many mōs crownes, and this realme shalbe reduced agayne to quietnes renoune and glorie. This inuencion of the duke many men thought after, that it was more imaged for the inward hatred that he bare to kyng Rycharde, then for any fauor that he bare to the erle of Rychemond. But of such doubtfull matter, it is not best to iudge for erryng to farre from the mynde and entent of the auctor. But whatsoeuer he entended this deuice once opened to kyng Rycharde was the very occasion, y he was rounded shorter by the whole head without attaynder or iudgement. When the duke had sayd, the bishop, which fauored euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous ioyfull, and muche reioysed to here this deuice, for now came the wynde about euen as he would haue it, for all hys imaginaciō tēded to this effect to haue kyng Richard subdued, & to haue y lynes of king Edward, & kyng Hery y. vi again raysed and auaunsed. But lord how he reioysed to thynke how y by this marriage the images of Yorke & Lancaster should be comoynd in one, to the very stedfastnes of the publike wealthe of this realme And lest the dukes courage should swage, or hys mynd should agayne alter, as it did oftē before, as you may easely perceiue by his awne tale He thought to set vp all the sayles that he had, to the entent that y ship of hys pretended purpose myghte come shortly to some suer port: And sayd to the duke, my lord, sigh by Gods hygh prouision and youre incōparable wysedome and pollicie, this noble coniunction is fyrste moued, nowe is it conueniente, ye and neces-



sarie to consider, what personages and what frendes we shall fyrste make preuie of this highe deuice and polliucke conclusion. By my truthe quod the duke we wyl begyne with my ladye of Rychemonde theles mother whiche knowethe where he is, either in captiuitie or at large in Brytaine. For I haide saie that y<sup>e</sup> duke of Brytaine restored him to libertie, immediately after the death of kyng Edward, by whose meanes he was restrayned. Syth yow wyl begyn that way (said y<sup>e</sup> byshop) I haue an old frend with y<sup>e</sup> countesse, a mā sobre, secreete, & well wytted called Reignold Bray whose prudēt pollicie I haue knowē to haue cōpassed thiges of great importaūce, for whom I shall secretly send yf it be your pleasure, & I doubt not he wyl gladly come, & y<sup>e</sup> with a good wyl. So with a lyttel diligēce, the byshop wrote a letter to Reignold Bray requyryng hym to come to Brecknocke with speede for great and vrgente causes touchyng his maistrisse: & no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire where Bray was with the coulesse & lord Thomas Stanley her husband, & deliuered the letter, which when he had red, he toke it as a signe or presage of some good fortune to come, & so with y<sup>e</sup> messenger he came to the Castel of Brecknock, where y<sup>e</sup> duke and the byshop declared what thing was deuised both for to set y<sup>e</sup> realme in a quiet stedefastnes, as also for y<sup>e</sup> high preferment of y<sup>e</sup> earle of Richemond sonne to his lady & maistrisse. Willyng her fyrst to cōpasse how to obteyne y<sup>e</sup> good will of quene Elizabeth, & also of her eldest daughter bearing y<sup>e</sup> same name & after secretly to send to her sonne into Britaine to declare what high honour was prepared for hym if he would sweare to mary y<sup>e</sup> lady Elizabeth as sone as he was kyng & in royal possession of the realme. Reignold Bray w<sup>as</sup> a glad hait for gettyng nothing geuen to hym in charge in great hast and with good sped returned to the countesse his lady and maistrisse. Whē Bray was departed & this great doubtfull vessell ouce sett a broche, the bishop thrustyng for nothing more then for lybertie. whē he sawe the duke pleasaunt and well mynded, toward hym he told the duke that yf he were in his yle of Elye he could make many frendes to further their enterpryse, and yf he were there and had but iii. daies warning he lytiell regarded the malice of kyng Richard, his country was so strong. The duke knew well all this to be trew, but yet litle he was that the byshop should departe, for he knew well that as long as the bishop, was with him, he was sure of politique aduise, sage counsayl, and circumspect proceeding. And so he gaue the byshop fayre wordes, sayng that he should shortly departe and that well accompanied for feare of enemyes. The byshop beyng as wytye as the duke was wylie, dyd not tarie tyll y<sup>e</sup> dukes compaignie were assembled, but secretly disguysed in a nyght departed (to the dukes great displeasure) and came to his see of Ely, where he found monye and frendes and so sailed into Flaunders, where he dyd the earle of Richemonde good seruice and neuer returned agayne tyll the erle of Richemonde after beyng kyng, sent for hym, and shortly prounoted him to the see of Cauntorbury. Thus the bishop wound him self fro the duke when he had moste nede of his ayde, for yf he had taried still y<sup>e</sup> duke had not made so many blabbes of his counsaill, nor put so muche confidens in the Welshmen, nor yet so temerariouly set forward without knowlege of his frendes as he did, which thynges were his sodaine ourthrowe as they that knewe it dyd reporte.

When Reignold Bray had declared his message, and preuie instruction to the countesse of Richemonde his maistrisse, no merueill though she were ioyous and glad, both of the good newes and also for y<sup>e</sup> obtaynyng of suche a high frende in her sonnes cause as the duke was, wherfore she wylling not to slepe this matter, but to farther it to the vitermost of her power & abilitie, deuised a meanes how to breake this matter to quene Elizabeth then being in sanctuarie at Westminster. And there vpon she banyng in her familie, at that tyme for the preseruacion of hei healtie a certayne Welshman called Lewes learned in phisicke, whiche for his grauntie and experiens, was well known and much esteemed amongst great estates of the realme. with whome she vsed somtyme liberally and familiarlye to talke, nowe hauyng opportunitie and occasion to breake her mynde vnto him of this weightie matter,

declared

declared that the tyme was come that her sonne shoulde be ioyned in marriage with lady Elizabeth daughter & heyre to king Edward, and that king Richard being takē & reputed of all men for the cōmon enēmye of the realme, shoulde out of all honour and estate be dejected, and of his rule and kyngedome be clerely spoyled & expulsed. and required him to goo to quene Elizabeth (with home in his facultie he was of counsaill) not as a messenger, but as one that came frendlie to visite and console her, and as tyme and place should require to make her preuie of this deuise, not as a thīg cōcluded, but as a purpose by him imaged. This phisician did not long lynger to accomplish her desyre, but with good diligens repaired to the quene beinge stil in the sanctuary at Westinminster. And when he saw tyme propice & conuenient for his purpose, he saide vnto her, Madame, although my imaginacion be verie simple and my deuyce more folishe, yet for the entier affection that I beare toward you and your childrē, I am so bold to vtter vnto you a secrete & preuie cōceite that I haue cast & compassed in my fantastical brayne. When I well remembre and no lesse conside the greate losse and damage that you haue susteyned by the death of your noble and louyng husband, and the great dolour and sorowe that you haue suffred and tolerated by the cruell murder of your innocent children. I can no lesse do both of bounden deutie and christian charite, then daily to studie and hourelly ymagen not onely howe to bryng your harte to comforte and gladnes, but also deuise howe to reuenge y<sup>e</sup> righteous quarel of you and your children on that bloody bloodsupper and cruell tyraunte kyng Richard. And firste conside, what battaile, what manslaughter, what mischiefe hath risen in this realme by the dissencion betwene the ii noble houses of Yorke and Lancaster, which ii families (as I haue contrnyed) if they may be ioyned in one, I thinke, ye & doubt not but your line shal be again restored to the pristin estate and degree to your great ioye and comfort, and to the vtter confusion of your mortall enemie the vsurper kyng. You know very well madame, that of the house of Lancaster, the erle of Richemond is next of blood, which is luyng and a lusty young batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters nowe are heires if you coulde agree & inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the youngerle of Richemōd in matrimony, no doubt but the vsurper of the realme should be shortly deposed, and your heire againe to her right restored.

When the quene had heard this frendly motion (which was as far from her thought as the man that the rude people say is in the moone) lorde howe her spirits reuyued, and how her hearte leapt in her body for ioye and gladnes. And firste geuyng laude to almightie God as the chiefe authore of her comfort, secondarely to maister Lewes as the deuiser of the good newes and tydings, instantly besought him that as he had bene the first inuēter of so good an enterprise, that now he would not relinquishe nor desiste to folowe the same. requirynge him farther (because he was apperteynyng to the countesse of Richemonde mother to the erle Henry) that he would with all diligente celerite resorte to her then lodgyng in her husbundes place within the cyte of London, and to declare on the Quenes behalfe to the countesse, that all the frendes and fautores of kyng Edward her husbunde, should assiste and take parte with the erle of Richemonde her sonne, so that he would take a corporall othe after the kyngedome obteyned to espouse and take to wife the ladye Elizabeth her daughter, or els lady Cecile, yf theldest daughter were not then luyng.

Master Lewes with all dexteritee so sped his busynes that he made and concluded a finall ende and determinacion of this entreprise betwene the ii. mothers, and because he was a phisician and oute of al suspicion and mysdeinyng, he was the common currer and dayly messenger betwene them, aidynge and setting forth the inuented conspuacye againste kyng Richard. So the ladye Margarete countesse of Richemonde brought into a good hope of the preferment of her sonne made Reygnolde Braie her moost faithfull seruante chiefe soliciter and preuie procurer of this conspuacie, geuyng him in charge secretly to entegle and attracte suche personnes of nobilite to ioyne with her and take her parte as he knew to be ingenions, faythefull, diligent and of actiuitie. This Reygnolde Breie within fewe daies broughte vnto his lure (firste of all taking of euery person a solemne othe



othe to be true and secrete) sir Gyls Daubenei, sir Ihon Cheiney knight, Richard Guylforde and Thomas Rame esquyers and diuerse other. The countesse of Richemonde was not so diligent for her parte, but Quene Elizabeth was as vigilaunte on the other syde and made frendes and appoynted counceilers to set forwarde and auance her busynes. In the meane reason the countesse of Richemond toke into her seruice Christopher Vrsuik an honest and a wise priest, and after an othe of hym for to be secret taken and sworne she vttred to him all her mynde & counsell, adhibityng to him the more confidence and truth that he al his life had fauoured and taken part with kyng Henry the. vi. and as a special iuell put to her seruice by sir Lewes her physician. So the mother studious for y prosperitie of her sonne appointed this Christopher Vrsuik to saile into Britayne to the erle of Richemond and to declare and to demonster to him all pactes & agementes betwene her and the quene agreed & concluded. But sodainly she remēbryng that the duke of Buckynghā was one of the first inuēturs and a secrete founder of this entrepryse, determined to sende some personage of more estimaciō then her chapelain, and so elected for a messenger Hugh Conwey esquier and sent hym into Britayne with a great some of money to her sonne, geuing him in charge to declare to y erle the great loue & especiall fauour y the most parre of the nobilite of the realme bare toward him, the louyng hartes & beneuolent myndes which the whole communaltie of then awne frewill frankely offred and liberally exhibited to him willing & aduisinge him not to neglect so good an occasion apparantly offred, but with al spede & diligence to addicte & settle his mynde and full entencion how to retourne home againe into England where he was both wished & looked for, geuyng him farther monicion & counsell to take land & arriual in y principallite of Wales, where he should not doubt to fynde bothe aide, comforte and frēdes. Richard Guylford least Hugh Conwey might fortune to be takē or stopped at plimmoth, where he intēded to take his nauigacion, sent out of kent Thomas Rame with the same instrucciōs & both made such diligence and had suche wynde and wether, y one by land from Caleys, and the other by water from plimmoth, that within lesse then an houre bothe arrued in the duke of Britaynes courte and spake with the erle of Richemond, which from the death of kyng Edward went at his pleasure and libertie, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effecte of their message and ambassade. When the earle had receaued this ioyefull message, whiche was the more pleasaunte because yt was vnloked for, he rendred to Iesu his sauour his mooste humble and hearty thanks, beyng in ferue credence and beleue that such thynges as he with busy mynde and laborious entente had wished and desyred, coulede neuer haue taken any effect withoute the helpe and prefermente of almighty God. And now beyng put in comfort of his long longyng he dyd communicate and breake to the duke of Britayne all his secretes and preuy messages whiche were to hym declared, aduertisinge hym that he was entred into a sure and a stedfaste hope to obteyne and get the crowne and kyngedome of the realme of England desyryng him bothe of his good will and frendely helpe toward the acheuyng of his offred enterpryse, promising hym when he came to his entended purpose, to rendre to hym agayne equall kyndenes and condigne gratulacion.

Although the duke before that daie by Thomas Hutton ambassador from king Richard had both by money & priers bene sollicite & moued to put agayne into safe custody the erle of Richemonde, he neuerthelesse promysed faithfully to ayde him and his promes he truly performed.

### ¶ THE. III. YERE.

WHeupon the erle w. all diligence sent into England agayn Hugh Conwey and Thomas Rame, whiche shoulde declare his commyng shortly into Englande, to thentent that all thynges whiche by counsell might be for his purpose provided shoulde be acceleratē and hasted, and that all thynges doubtfull shoulde of his frendes be prudently forseen, in aduoydng al engins  
and

and snares which kyng Richard had or might haue set in disturbaunce of his purpose, and he in the meane ceason would make his abode still in Britayne, till al thinges necessary for his iorney were prepared and brought in a redynes.

In the meane ceason the cheuetaynes of the coniuration in Englande began together many entreprises. Some in conueniente fortresses put strong garrisons. Some kept armed men preuely, to thentente when they should haue knowlege of the eyles landing, they would begynne to surre vp the warre. Other dyd societely moue & sollicite the people to rise and make an insurreccion. Other (emongeste whome Ihon Morton bishop of Ely then beyng in Flaunders was chefe) by preuie lettres and cloked messengers, did sturie and inuite to this newe coniuration, al such which they certeynely knew to haue a roted hatred or to beare a can-kard malice toward kyng Richard & his picedynges.

Although this greate entrepryse were neuer so preuely handeled and so secretly emongeste so circumspecte persones treated, compassed and conueyghed, yet knowlege thereof came to the eares of kyng Richard, whiche with the sodayne chaunce was not a lyttel moued and astonned. Fyrste because he had no host ready prepared and conscribed. Secundarely yf he shoulde reyse an army so sodaynely, he knewe not where to occurre and mete his enemies or whether to go or where to tarie. Wheretore he determined to dissimule the matter as though he knewe nothyng till he had assembled his host, and in the meane ceason either by the rumour of the common people or by the diligence of his exploitours and espialles to investigate and search out all the councelles, determinacions ententes and compasses of his close aduersaries, or elles by crafue pollecie to intercepte and take some person of the same coniuration, consideringe that there is no more secrete nor hyd espyall then that whiche lurketh in dissimulation of knowlege and intelligence, or is hidden in the name and shadowe of counterteite humanite and feined kyndenes. And because he knewe the duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe hed and ayde of the coniuration, he thoughte yt moost necessary to plucke hym from that parte either by fayre promyses or open warre. Whereupon he addressed his lounge letters to the duke, as full of mellifuous woordes, humanite and familiarite as the interior cogitacion and preuy meanyng was full of malice, rancor and poysongeuyng farther in charge to the messenger that caryed the letter to promys to the duke on his behalfe golden hilles and syluer ryuers, and with all gentle and pleasaunte meanes to perswade and exhorte the duke to come to the courte. But the duke as wyle as the kyng mystustying the fayre flatterying woordes and the gaye promyses to him so sodaynly without any cause offered, knowinge the crafue castes of kyng Richardes bowe, whiche in diuerse affayres before tyme he had sene practised requyred the king to perdon him, excusynge him selfe that he was so diseased in his stomacke that skante he coulde take either refection or rest. Kyng Richarde not beyng contente with this excuse woulde in no wise admytte the same, but incontynente directed to the duke other letters of a more rougher and hawter sort, not without minatorie termes and checkynge woordes, commaundynge hym all excuses set a parte to repaire without any delaie to his royall presence. The duke made to the messenger a determinate aunswere that he would not come to his mortall enemy, whome he neither loved nor fauouied: and ymmediately prepared open warre agaynst hym, and perswaded all his complices and partakers that euery man shoulde in his quarter with all diligence reyse vp the people and make a commocion. And by this meanes almooste in one momente Thomas Marques Dorcet came out of sanctuary where he sith the begynnynge of Richardes daies had contynued, whose life by the onely helpe of sir Thomas Louell esquier was preserued from all daungier and perell in this troubleous woulde, gathered together a greate bande of men in Yorkeshire. Sir Edward Courtney and Peter his brother bishop of Exsetter, reised another army in deuonsheire and cornewall. In kente, Richarde Gylfoide and other gentlemen, collected a great companye of souldyours and openly begaune warre. But kyng Richard which in the meane tyme had gotten together a great strengthe and puissance, thinkyng yt not moost for his parte beneficiall to disperse and deuyde his greate armye into small branches, and particulerely to persecute any one of the coniuration by hym selfe, determined



termed all other beyng set asyde, with hys whole puyssaunce to set on the chiefe hed whiche was the duke of Buckyngham. And so remouynge from London, he toke his iourney toward Salisbury, to thentente that in his iourney he mighte set on the dukes army yf he myghte knowe hym in any place encamped or in ordie of Battayle arrayed. The king was scacc. ii. daies iourney from Salisbury when the duke of Buckyngham accompanied with a greate power of wilde Welesmen, whome he beyng a man of that courage and sharpe speche in maner agaynste their willes had rather theto enforced and compelled by lordely and streite commaundeniente then by liberall wayges and gentle reteynoure, whiche thinge was the verie occasion why they lefte hym desolate and cowardely forsoke hym. The duke with all his power marshed through the forest of deane entending to haue passed the riuier of Seuerne at Gloucester, and theto haue ioyned in army with the courtneys and other Westernmen of his confederacy and affinite, which if he had done no doubt but kyng Richard had bene in greate reopardie either of puiacion of his realme or losse of his life or both. But se the chaunce, before he could attayne to Seuerne side, by force of continuall rayne and moysture, the ryuer rose so high that yt ouerflowed all the countrey adioynng, in somuch that men were drowned in their beddes, howses with the extreme violence were ouerturned, childre were caried aboute the feldes, swimming in cradelles, beastes were drowned on hilles, whiche rage of water lasted continually. x. dayes, insomuch that in the countrey adioynng they call yt to this daie, the greate water, or the duke of Buckynghams greate water. By this inundacion the passages were so closed that neither the duke could come ouer Seuerne to his complices, nor they to hym, duryng the whiche tyme, the Welshemen lyngerynge ydely and without money, vitayle, or wages sodaynely scaled and departed: and for all the dukes fayre promyses, inanaces and enforcements, they woulde in no wise neither goo farther nor abide. The duke thus abandoned and left almost post alone was of necessite cōpelled to flye, and in his flight was with this sodeyne of fortune meruelously dismayed and beinge vnpurueyed, what counsell he shoulde take and what waie he shoulde folowe, like a man in dispeire not knowyng what to do, of verie truste and confidence conueyghed him selfe into the house of Homfrey Banaster his seruauant beside Shrewsburie, whome he had tendrely broughte vp, & whome he aboue all men loued, fauoured and trusted, nowe not doughtyng but that in hys extreme necessitie, he shoulde fynde hym faythefull, secrete and trusty, entendinge there covertely to lurke till either he mighte reise agayne a newe armye, or elles shortly to saile into Britayne to the Earle of Richemond.

But when yt was knowen to his adherentes whiche were readye to geue battayle, that his hoste was scaled and had lefte hym almoost alone, and was fled and could not be founde, they were sodaynely amased and stricken with a soden feare, that euery man like persones desperate shifted for hym selfe and fled, some wente to sanctuarie and to solitarie places, some fled by see, whereof the mooste parte within a fewe dayes after arrayed sauely in the duchye of Britayne. Emonge whiche nombre were these persones, Peter Courtney bishoppe of Exceetre and sir Edmonde Courtney his brother, by kyng Henrye the vii. after created Earle of Devonshire, Thomas Marques Dorset, Ihon lorde Welles, Sir Ihon Burchier, Sir Edmonde Wooduile a valyaunte man in armes brother to quene Elizabeth, Sir Roberte Wyloughby, sir Gyles Dabene, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Ihon Cheyney and his twoo brethren, Sir Wylliam Berkeley, Sir Wylliam Brandon and Thomas his brother, Sir Rycharde Edgcombe, all these for the moost parte beyng knyghtes, and Ihon Halwell, Edward Pownynges a pollytike capitayne. At this verie ceason Ihon Morton bishop of Ely and Christopher Vrsuik priest and another compaignie of noble men sojourned in Flaunders, and by letters and messengers procured manye Ennemyes agaynste kyng Richard, whiche vsyng a vigilaunte ye and a quicke remembraunce, beyng newly come to Salisbury, hauyng perfight notice and knowlege howe the duke was fled, and howe his complices intended to passe oute of the realme. Fyrste he sent men of warre to all the nexte portes and passages to kepe streightely the see coast, so that no person shoulde passe outwarde nor take lande in the realme withoute their assent and knowlege. Secondaiely, he made proclamacion, that what person

person coulde shewe and reuele where the duke of Buckyngham was, shoulde be highly rewarded, yf he were a bondman he should be enfranchised and set at libertie, yf he were of fre blood he shoulde haue a generall perdon and be remunerate with a thousand poundes. Farthermore, because he vnderstoode by Thomas Hutton, whiche as you haue heard was newly retourned out of Britayne, that Fraunces duke of Brytayne not onely refused to kepe therle of Richemonde as a prisoner at his contemplacion and for his sake, but also was readie to aide and succoure thesaide Earle with menne money and all thinges necessarye for his transportyng into England. Wherefore he rigged and sent out shippes of warre wel furnished and decked with mē and artillery, to skoure and kepe that part of the see that lieth agaynst Britayne, to thentēt that yf the erle of Richemond woulde auenture to saile toward England either he shoulde be taken captiue or be profligate and dryuen from the coast of Englande. And moreouer, to thentent that euery coste, waye, passage and corner should be diligently watched and kepte, he set at euery dubious and suspected place men of warie, to seke, searche, and enquire yf any creature coulde tell tydynges of the duke of Buckyngham, or of any of his confederacyon, adherentes, fauoures or partakers.

While this Busy searche was diligently applied and put in execucion, Homfrey Banaster (were it more for feare of losse of lyfe and goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand poundes) he bewrayed his gest and master to Ihon Mitton then shrieve of shropshire, whyche sodaynely with a stronge power of men in harnes apprehended the duke in a litle groue adioynynge to the mansion of Homfrey Banaster, and in greate hast and euyl spede conueighed him appaieled in a pilled blacke cloke to the cytie of Salsburie where kynge Richard then kepte his houshold.

Whether this Banaster bewreyed the duke more for fear then couetous many men do doubt: but sure it is, that shortly after he had betrayed f̄ duke his master, his sonne and heyre waxed mad and so dyed in a boies sty, his eldest daughter of excellent beautie was sodaynelike stryken with a foule leperye, his seconde sonne very meruelously deformed of his limmes and made decrepite, his younger sonne in a small puddel was strāgled & drowned, & he beyng of extreme age arraigned & fōid gyltie of a murther and by his clergy saved. And as for his thousand pound kyng Richard gaue him not one farthing, sayng that he which would be vntiew to so good a master would be false to al other, howbeit some saie f̄ he had a smal office or a ferme to stoppe his mouthe with al. The duke beyng by certayne of the kynges counceyl diligently vpon interrogatories examined what thynges he knewe preiudicial to f̄ kynges person, opened and declaired frankly and frely all the coniuration without dissimulyng or glosyng, trustyng because he had truely & playnly reueled and confessed all thinges that were of hym required, that he should haue lycēce to speke to f̄ kyng which (whether it wer to sue for perdon and grace, or whether he being brought to his ptesence would haue sticked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he sore desyied and required. But when he had confessed the whole facte and conspiraeye vpon Allsoulens day without araignement or iudgemente he was at Salsburie in the open market place on a uewe skaffolde behedded and put to death. This death (as a reward) the duke of Buckyngham receaued at the handes of kyng Richard, whom he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had holdē susteyned and set fōward aboue all Godes forbode.

By thys all men maye easely perceauē that he not onely loseth bothe his labour, traueyle and industrie, and farther steynethe and spoteth his ligne with a perpetuall ignomony and reproche, whiche in euyl and mischiefe assisteth and aydeth an euyl disposed person, consideryng for the mooste parte that he for his fiendely fauoure shoulde receaue some greate displeasure or infōrtunate chaunce. Beside that God of his iustice in conclusion ap-poynteth to him a condigne payne and affliction for his meites and desertes. While these thynges were thus hādeled and ordred in England, Henry Earle of Richemond prepared an army of fyue thousande manly Brytons, and fortie well furnyshed shippes. When all thinges were prepared in aedynges and the daye of departyng and settinge forwarde was ap-poynted, whiche was the. xii. daye of the moneth of October in the yere of the incarnation



of oure redemei M. CCCC xlviii. and in the seconde yere of kynge Richardes reigne, the whole arinye wente on shipboorde and halsed vp their sailes, and with a prosperous wynde tooke the sea but towarde night the wynde chaunged and the wether tourned, and so houghe and terrible a tempest sodaynely roase, that with the veie power and strength of the storme, the shippes were disparcled, seuered and separate a sondre some by force were dryuen into Noimandye, some were compelled to retourne agayne into Britayne. The shippe wherein the Earle of Rychemonde was, associate onely with one other baicke was all nyght tossed and turmoyled In the mornynge after when the rage of the furious tempest was assuaged, and the Ire of the blusterynge wynde was some deale appeased, aboute the houre of none thesame daye, the erle approached to the southe parte of the realme of England euen at the mouthe of the haucn of pole in the countie of dorcet, where he mighte playnely perceauie all the se bankes and shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and souldioners appoynted and deputed there to defende his arryuall and landynge as before is mencioncd. Wherefore he gaue stieght charge and sore commaundemente, that no person should once presume to take land and goo to the shore, vntill suche tyme as the whole nauye were assembled and congregate. And while he expected and lyngered tariyenge for that purpose, he sente oute a shippe bote towarde the lande side to knowe, whyther they winche stooode there in suche a nombre and so well fuynyshed in apparell defensiuie were hys capitall foes and enemyes or elles his frendes fautoures and comforters. They that were sente in exploracion and message were instantly despyed of the men of warre kepynge the coast (whiche thereof were before instructed and admonished) to dissende and take lande, affirmynge that they were appoynted by the duke of Buckyngham there to awayte and tarie for the arryuall and landyng of the erle of Richemond, and to conduite sauely to the campe where the duke not far of laye encāped with a populous army and an host of great strength and vigor, to thentent that the duke and the erle ioynyng in puyssaunces and forces together, mighte prosecute and chace king Richard beyng destitute of men, and in maner desperate and fugityue, and so by that meanes and their awne laboures and industrie to obtene the ende of their enterpryse which they had before begonne

The erle of Richemonde suspectynge their flaterynge requeste to be but a fraud (as yt was in dede) after that he perceaued none of his shippes to apere in sight, he weied vp his ancors and halsed vp his sayles hauynge a prosperous and strenable wynde and a freshe gale sente euen by God to delyue him from that perell and ieopardie, arryued safe and in securitie in the duchy of Normandy, where he to refreshe and solace his souldyours and people, tooke his recreation by the space of iii. dayes, and clerely determyned with parte of his companye to passe all by lande agayne into Britayne. And in the meane ceason he sent oratoures to the frenche kynge called Charles the. viii. whiche newly succeded his father kynge Lewes the xi. not longe before depāited to God, requirynge hym of a safe conduite and licence to passe through his countrey of Normandye into Britayne. The younge kynge hauynge compassion of the misfortune and vnfortunate chaunce of the erle of Richemonde, not onely gently graunted and assigned to him a pasporte, but also liberally disbursed and departed to hym a conueniente somme of money for his conduite and expenses necessary in hys long iourney and passage. But the erle trusting on the Frenche kynges humanitee auentured to send his shippes home into Britayne, and to set forwarde hym selfe by lande on his iourney makynge no greate hast till his messengers were retourned, whiche beyng with the benefite so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe so encouraged, mer-shed towarde Britayne with all diligent celerite entendyng there to consulte farther with his louers and frēdes of his affaires and enterprises. When he was retourned agayn into Britayne he was certified by credible informaciō that the duke of Buckyngham had lost his bed and that the Marques dorcet and a great nombre of noble men of England had a lytle before enquiryed and searched for him there, & were nowe retourned to Vānes. When he had heard these newes thus reported, he first so rowed, & dolorously lamented the firste attempt and setting forwarde of his frendes, and in especiall of the noblyte not to haue more fortunatly

unately succeeded. Secundarely, he reioysed on the other part that God had sent hym so many valiaunte and prudent capitaines to be his companions in his martiall enterprises, trustynge surely and nothinge doubtyng in his awne opinion, but that all his busynes should be wisely compassed and brought to a good cōclusion. Whertore he determining with al diligēce to accelerate & set forward his new begonne busynes departed to Renes & sent certayne of his preuie seruitours to conducte and bryng f̃ Marques and the other noble men to his presence. When they knewe that he was sauely retorned into Britayne, lord how they reioysed and applauded, for before that time they missed him and knew not in what parte of the world to make inuestigacion or seache for hym. For they doubted and no lesse feared least he had taken land in Englad, and fallen in the handes of kynge Richard, in whose person they knewe well was neither mercy nor compassion. Wherefore in all spedye maner they galloped toward him, and him reuerently saluted, which metynge after great ioye and solace and no small thanks and gratificacions geuen and rendred on bothe partes, they consulted and aduisedely debated and commoned of their great busines and weighty enterprise, in the whiche ceason the solempne feaste of the natiuite of our sauour Christ happened, on whiche daie al thenglishe lordes went with great solempnyte to the chiefe church of the citee, and there eache gaue faythe and promyse to othe. The erle hym selfe fyrste tooke a corporall othe, and on his honour promysynge that incontynente after he should be possessed of the crowne and dignytie of the realme of Englande, he woulde be conioyned in matrymonye with the lady Elizabeth daughter to kynge Edward the fourth. Then all the companye sware to hym fealtie, and did to hym homage as though he had bene that tyme the crowned kynge and anoynted prince, promysynge faythefully and fermely assuryng that they woulde not onely lese their worldly substaunce, but also be priuated of their lyues & worldly felicitie, rather then to suffre kynge Rycharde, that tyraunt longer to rule and reigne ouer them. Whiche solempne othes made and taken, the Earle of Rychemonde declared and communicated all these doynges to Fraunces duke of Britayne, desirynge and mooste hartely requyrynge hym to ayde hym with a greater armye to conducte hym into his countrey, whiche so sore longed and loked for his retourne, and to the whiche he was by the more parte of the nobilitie and communitie called and desyred whiche (with Goddes ayde and the dukes comfort) he doubted not in shorte tyme to obteyne, requyrynge hym farther to prest to hym a conueniente some of money, affirmynge that all such somes of money which he had receaued of hys especiall frendes, were spent and exhausted in the preparacion of the laste iourney made towarde Englande, whyche somes of money after his enterprise once acheued, he in the word of a prynce faythefully promysed to repaye and restore agayne. The duke promised him ayde and helpe, vpon confidence whereof he rigged his shippes, and set forth his nauie well decked with ordynaunce, and waillykely furnyshed with al things necessary, to thentente to saile forwarde shortly, and to se no conuenient tyme slackely ouerpassed nor be pretermitted.

In the meane ceason, kynge Rycharde apprehended in dyuerse partes of the realme certeyne gentylmen of the carle of Rychemondes faction and confederacion which either intended to saile into Britayne towarde hym, or els at his landynge to assiste and ayde hym. Amongeste whome, sir George Browne, sir Roger Clyfforde and many other were put to execution at London, and sir Thomas Sentliger which had married the duchesse of Exceter the kyngs awne suster, and Thomas Rame and diuerse other were executed at exceter. Beside these persones, diuerse of his household seruauntes whome either he suspected or doubted, were by great crueltie put to shamefull death. After this he called a parlamente in the which he attaynted the erle of Rychemond & all other persones whiche were fled out of the realme for fear or any other cause, as enemies to him and to their naturall countrey, and all their landes, goodes and possessions were confiscate and seased to f̃ kynges vse. And yet not content with this pray which no doubt was of no small valour and moment, he laied on the peoples neckes a great tax and tallage, and surely necessite to that acte in maner him



him compelled For what with purgyng and declaryng his innocencie concernyng the murder of his nephewes toward the world, and what with cost to obtayne y<sup>e</sup> loue and fauoure of the comminaltie (whiche outwardely glosed and openly dissimuled with him) he gaue prodigally so many and so great rewardes that now both he lacked and skace wist honestly how to borowe. In this troubleous ceason, nothinge was more merueled at then that the lord Stanley had not bene taken and reputed as an enemy to the kyng, consideryng the workyng of the ladye Margarete his wife mother to the earle of Richemonde, but forasmuch as the enterprise of a woman was of hym reputed of no regarde or estimacion, and that the lord Thomas her husbanc had purged hym selfe sufficiently to be innocent of all dooynges and attemptes by her perpetrated and committed, yt was geuen him in charge to kepe her in some secrete place at home, without hauyng enie seruauante or compaignie, so that from thence foorth she shoulde neuer sende letter nor messenger to her sonne nor any of his frendes or confederates, by the whyche the kyng myghte be molested or troubled, or any hurte or prejudice might be attempted againste his realme and comminaltie. Whiche commaundemente was a while put in execution and accomplished according to his dreadfull commaundemente Yet the wilde worme of vengauce waueryng in his hed could not be contented with the death of diuerse gentlemen suspected of treason, but also he muste extende his bloody furye agaynst a poore gentleman called Collyngborne for making a small ryme of thre of his vnfortunate councelers, which wer the lord louell, sir Richarde Radclyffe his myscheuous mynion, and sir Wylliam Catesby his secrete seducer, whiche metre was.

The Rat, the Catte and Louell our dogge

Rule all Englande vnder the hogge

Meanyng by the hogge, the dreadfull wilde bore whiche was the kynges cognisaunce, but because the fyrste lyne ended in dogge, the metrician coulde not obseruyng the regimenes of metre ende the seconde verse in Bore, but called the bore an hogge This poetically schoolemayster corrector of breues and longes, caused Collyngborne to be abbreviate shorter by the hed, and too bee deuoyded into foure quarters.

Kyng Richarde beyng thus turmented and tossed in his awne concepte and imaginacion, called to his remembraunce that consideracions amities, and other honeste bondes and pactes, made, concluded and appointed betwene princes and politique gouernours are the cause efficiēt and especiall introduction that their realmes and countries are fortified and munited with a double power, that is to say, with their awne strength and the ayde of their frendes, deuysed with him self to practise a league and amitie with the kyng of Scottes, which not long before had made diuerse incursions and roodes into the realme of England, where although he gatte lyttel, yet surely he lost not much, and thereupō sued to haue a treuce or peace concluded, whiche came euen as kyng Richard had wished it. Wherefore commissioners were assigned for bothe partes to mete at Nothyngham the vii. daye next ensuyng at whyche tyme came thether for the kyng of England Ihon bishop of Lyncolne chaunceller of Englande, Richard bishop of sainte Asse, Ihon duke of Norffolke, Henrye erle of Northumberlande, Thomas lorde Stanley, George Stanley lord straunge, Ihon Gray lord Powes, Richard lord Fitzhughe, Ihon Gunthorpe keeper of the kynges preuie seale, Thomas Barowe master of the rolles, sir Thomas Bryane chiefe iustice of the common place, sir Richard Ratclyffe knyght, William Catesbey and Richard Salkeld esquiers And for the kyng of Scottes were deputed Colyn erle of Eigle lord Campell & lord chaunceller of Scotlande, William bishop of Aberdene, Robert lorde Lyle, Laurence lorde Olyphant, Ihon Drummond of Stobhall, Archibald Qwhitelator archedeacon of Lawdene and secretorie to kyng Iames, Lyon kyng of Aimes and Duncane dundas. These councllers dyuerse tymes mette, and after longe debatyng, demaundyng, and denyng, in the ende of September they fully concluded, and made a determination the effect whereof foloweth in articles.

Firste it was appoynted and concluded that a perfight amitie and an inuolable peace should be had and kepte betwene the realmes of Englande and Scotlande for the space of

iii. yeres, to begynne at the sonne rising the. xxix. daie of september in the yere of our lord. M. cccc. lxxxiii. and to endure to the settinge of the sonne the. xxix. daie of september in the yere of christes incarnation M. cccc. lxxxvii.

Item that duryng the said yeres, none of both the princés, nor their munsters shall make waire or invade  $\bar{y}$  realme or dominion of theother by sea or by land, or vexe, perturb., or molest the subiectes or vassalles of either of them, nor shall geue counsell, excite, or moue any other persone to make waire or inuasion on the territories of any of the said princes ii.

Item that the toun and castell of Berwake with all such boundes as thereto were belonging, which were in the Englishe mennes handes at the deliucraunce of thesame toun by king Henry. the. vi. to the king of Scottes, shall so peaceably remayne in the possession of the kyng of England during thesaide truce. iii.

Item that all other castelles, holdes and fortresses, shall peaceably remain in the handes of  $\bar{y}$  possessor and owner without chalenge or demaunde duryng thesaide truce, the castell of dumbarre onely excepte, (whiche was deliuered into thenglishe mennes handes by the appoyntment of the duke of Albany when he fled into Fraunce) iii.

Item yf the kyng of Scottes do intimate and declare to the kyng of England, within the space of. xl. daies next ensuyng  $\bar{y}$  date herof, that he will not suffre thesayde castell of Dumbarre to be possessed of thenglishe nacion aboute the terme of. vi. monethes, that then during thesaid vi. monethes, neither thenglishmen in the garison of Dumbarre, nor the Scottes dwellyng and inhabityng aboute the limites of thesame, shall do any huite, preiudice or damage to any of thesaide parties thesayde terme contynuyng. v.

Item yf after thesayde vi. monethes any variaunce or warie shall arise betwene thesaide twoo princes, either for the recoueryng or defendyng thesayde castell of Dumbarre, yet thesayde truce league & amitie for all other rightes and possessions, shall stand in force and be effectual and that it shalbe leful to eache of thesaid princes to do what they shall thinke necessary, bothe for the obtaynyng and defendyng of thesaid castell of Dumbarre, any thyng conteyned in the treaty of peace notwithstanding. vi.

Item it is concluded and apointed betwene the parties aforsaid, that duryng thesaide truce, none of bothe the princes aforsaide, shall receaue into his realme, territories, or dominions, any treytoure or rebel of theother prynce, nor shall maintayne, fauoure, aide or comforte any rebell or treytour which is already fled, or hereafter shall flye into either of thesaid princes dominions, nor there suffre him or them to tarye or make their abode. vii.

Item yf any suche rebell or treytoure shall fortune hereafter to arryue in the realme or territorie of any of thesayde princes, that then thesayde prince, in whose dominion thesaide treytour or rebel is so arryued, at  $\bar{y}$  instance & request of the other prince to whom  $\bar{y}$  offence and cryme was committed, shalbe bound incontinently to deliuei thesaid rebel or treytour to thesaide demaunder without fraude or male engyne viii.

Item that all Scottysmen now inhabityng in Englande, & sworne to the kyng of Englande, shall & may there inhabite and tarye, so that their names within. xl. daies after the date of this league be certefied to the kyng of Scottes, or to his Chauncelour, by the kyng of Englad, or the warden of the marches. ix.

Item yf duryng thesaide amite and peace, it shall fortune any of the wardeyns of thesaid princes without commaundement, assent or knowlege of his souereigne lord and master, to invade and reise an armye in the dominion of theother prince, and there to sley, burne or spoile.  $\bar{y}$  then thesaide prince, to whom thesaide wardeyn is or shalbe subiect & vassalle, shal within. vi. daies next after the facte done & perpetiate, declare thesaide wardeyn a treytour and rebell, and therof shal make certificate to the other prince to whom the iniurie was committed within. xii. daies after thesaide declaracion made and denounced. x.

Item that in every sauconduycte to be graunted by either of thesaid prynces, this clause xi.  
to



to be added: Prouided alwaies that the obteyner of this saueconduyte be no treytour nor rebell to his prince

- xii. Item yf during this amitie and truce, any of the subiectes of either prince do presume or attempt to aide, help, mainteine or serue any other prince againste any of thesaide contractoures Then yt shalbe leful to y prince and his subiectes against whom he shewed hym selfe enemy and aduersary to apprehende and attache thesaide subiect, goynge, cōmyng or taryeng, any acte, article or clause in this league to the contrary comprehended notwithstandinge.
- xiii. Item if is agreed apointed and accorded that in this treatie and amitie shalbe comprehended the frendes obghed and confederates of bothe the princes if they list to entre and accepte the league, and thereupon to declare their pleasures within. vi. monethes next ensuyng, and specially for the kyng of Englands part were named for confederates. The kyng of Castell and Lyon, The kyng of Arragon, The kyng of Portyngall, The Archeduke of Austriche and Buigoynce and the duke of Britayne. On the part of the kyng of Scottes were named for cōfederates, Charles the Fiench kyng, Ihon kyng of Denmarke and Norway & the duke of Geldres and Britayne
- xiv. Item it is agreed and concluded betwene the parties aforsaide that the lordship of Lorne in the realme of Scotland, nor the Iland of Londay lyng in the ryuer of Seuerne in the realme of Englande, shal not be taken nor comprised within this league, but to stand at large as they did before
- xv. Item that this concoide, peace and amitie shalbe published, proclaymed, and deu v'g the first day of October next ensuyng in the moost notable and famous cities and townes of both the Realmes & regions And conseruators were apoynted for the sure obseruaciō of this league and amitie on both partes, whose names folow.

For the kyng of England.

Ihon erle of Lyncolne	Sir Richard Ratchiffe
Henry erle of Northumberland	Sir Ihon Conyers
Raufe lord Neuell	Sir Edmond Hastynghes
Raufe lord Greystocke	Sir Robert Donstable
Richard lorde Fitz Hugh	Sir Hugh Hastynghes
Ihon lord Scrope	Sir William Euers
Thomas lord Scrope of Massam	Sir Ihon Huldeston
Sir Christopher Moresby	William Musgraue, esquier
William Clapton, esquier	Richard Salkeld, esquier.
Homfrey lord Daker	

For the kyng of Scottes.

Dauid earle of Crafford and lorde lynsey  
George Earle of Huntley, lorde Gorden and Badzenath.

Ihon lorde Dornely	Sir Robert Hamiltō of fingaltō
Ihon lorde Kynedy	Sir Williā Balze of Lamyngtō
Roberte lorde Lale	Sir Ihon Kynedy of Blarqhon
Patricke lorde Hales	Sir Ihon Wemes
Lawence lorde Oliphaut	Sir William Rochewen
William lorde Borthwike	Edward Crochton of kirke paty
Sir Ihon Rosse of Halkebed	Ihon Dundas
Sir Gilbert Ihonson of Elphynston	Ihon Rosse of Montgrenane
Sir Ihon Lundy	these. iii. last were esquyers.
Sir Iames Ogilly of Arly	

- xvi. Item it is farther condiscended and agreed that these commissioners whose names aue shal mete at Loughmabāstane the. xviii. day of Nouember next ensuyng aswell for redresse

to be had of certayne offences done on the westmerches us also for declaryng and publishynge of the peace and amitie.

Commissioners of the Englishe parte.

The lorde Dacie  
The lorde Fitz Hugh  
Sir Richard Radclyffe  
Sir Christopher Moresby  
Sir Richard Salkeld  
or thre of them.

Commissioners for the Scottishe part.

The lorde Kenedy  
The lorde Mountgomery  
The lorde Iile  
Ihon Maxwell stuaide of Annerdale  
Robert Crechton of sancquhane  
or thre of them

Item like commissioners were assigned to mete at Roydon boine for the East marches the firste day of December and also mete at haldanestanke the iii date of the sayde moneth for the middle marches.

xvii.

Commissioners for the kyng of Englande.

The erle of Northumberlande  
The lorde Greystorcke  
The lord Scrope of Massam  
Sir William Gastoyne  
Sir Robert Conestable

Commissioners for the kyng of Scottes.

The erle of Huntley  
The erle of Angus  
The erle of Eagle  
Chaunceller of Scotland  
The lorde wandale  
The lorde Seton  
The lorde Olyphaunt  
The lorde Stobhill

Item it is agreed that y commissioners aforesaid shall depute and assigne certeyne persones to viewe and declare the boundes and lymites apperteinyng to the toune of Berwike accordyng to the true meanyng of the league.

xviii.

Item it is agreed and apoynted that no person of England or Scotland shal duryng the said tiece, build, eare or sowe any landes or ground beyng within the boundes of the batable ground, but to suffre thesame to continue in the same condicion that it nowe remayneth.

xix.

When this league and amitie was thus concluded, finished and sealed with all dewe circumstaunces thereunto required. Although kyng Richard iudged and demed hym selfe somewhat the more stronger and quyeter by force of this newe amitie and concluded confederacie, yet to augmente more the familiarite begonne betwene the kyng of Scottes and him, and to haue a double styngge for his bowe, he entreated a new ahaunce and mariage to be concluded betwene the prince of Rothsaye eldeste sonne to the kyng of Scottes, and lady Anne de la poole daughter to Ihon duke of Suffolke and lady Anne suster to kyng Richard, whiche suster he so muche fauoured that he studyenge all the weies by the which he might auance her offsprynge and lignage, did not onely procure and seke meanes howe to make her daughter a pynesse, and consequently a Queene, but also after the death of his sonne, he proclaymed Ihon erle of Lyncolne his nephew and her sonne, heire apperaunt to y crowne of England, dishonouryng kyng Edwardes daughters, whose brethrien before you haue heard he shamefully killed & murdered

The kyng of Scottes hauynge nede of Frendes, but not so muche nede as kyng Richard whiche was of necessity compelled to seke aiders and to entreteyne fauours, the one for fauourynge of flatterers and base borne persones, and theother not onely for tyrannye and vnnaturall homicide, but also for the usurpacion of the crowne beyng of all the realme detested and disdayned, gladly accepted and ioyously concerted to kyng Richardes deuoyce and comuncion of amitie perfightely remembryng that emongest all bondes and obligacions of loue and amitie, that there is neither a surer nor a more perfighter locke, then the knote of comuncion in the sacrament of Matymony, which was in the very begynnynge of the



first age of man, ordeyned and instituted in the holy place of paradise terrestiall by God hym selfe: by reason whereof, the propagacion and succession of the humane nature; stablished vpon the sure seate of lawfull matrimony betwene princes, maye nourishe peace, concorde and vnite, aswage and breake the furious rage of truculente Mars and terrible battayle, and encrease loue, fauoure and familiarite. Wherefore thesayde prynces sente their ambassadours and counceillours agayne to the toun of Nottyngham, wher thesayde marriage was by writings and instrumentes couenañted, cōdiscended and agreed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on bothe partes, and she ymedietely called pryncesse of Rothsay, whiche name she shortly loste by the shorte life of kynge Richarde her louyng vnclē. Here may well be noted the vnnaturall loue and disordered affection whiche this kynde kynseman shewed to his blood: For he not remembryng the tyranny that he had excuted against his brothers sonnes, the wrong and manifest iniury that he had done to his brothers daughters, both in taking from them their dignyte, possessions and lyuynge, thoughte it shoulde redounde greatly to his honoure and fame, yf he promoted his suster's chylde (to whom he was nothyng bounde in conscience to make restitution) to the dignyte of a Quene, rather then to preferre his brothers daughter whom he had vntruely and by force dishonoured, and of all their righte depnyed, to the marriage of a meane esquier: suche was his fiaternall kyndenes towarde his brother, and suche was his large conscience towarde his brothers chyliden.

After this league and marriage thus concluded and agreed, the king of Scottes disdēignynge that the stronge castell of Dumbarre should remayne in thenglish mennes handes and possession, wrote a gentle letter to kyng Richard, declaryng to hym that where in the league concluded betwene them, it was agreed and appoynted that he should within xl dayes nexte ensuyng, expresse and declare his opynion and meanyng concerninge the castell of Dūmbarre, whether the sayde castell should be occupied and stand still in the handes of thenglishemen durynge the whole tyme of the truce, or elles for the terme of sixe monethes onely. He nowe certefyed kynge Rycharde by his letters, that he was contente that he and his shoulde enioye the possession of the sayde castell quietly and peaceably durynge thesayde truce and amitie. Neuerthelesse he requyred him for the loue and familiarite that now bothe by treatie and alyauce was spronge and knyght betwene them, that he woulde redelyuer thesayde castell into his handes, whiche was vntruely possessed of thenglishenacion by delynerye of rebelles and treytours, contrarie to all righte, equitie, and conscience. Kynge Richarde dalyed with pleasaunte letters and fayre wordes, and so foded forth the kynge of Scottes, that he neuer had Dumbarre deliuered while kynge Richard lyued, after whose death, whether it were by treason or by apoyntemente, the castell was rendred to the kynge of Scottes to his greate contentacion and reioysyng. Albeit this league & amitie thus couenañted and concluded, it mighte manifestely seme to all persons, that all coniurations and confederacies agaynst kynge Richard were extinct and put scyence, and in especiall consideringe that y duke of Buckingham and his alyes were made out of his waye, some by death, and some by banishment and exilyng into farre countreies & regions. Yet kyng Richard more doubtyng then trustyng to his own people and frendes was continually vexed, tossed and vnquieted with feare of the retourne of the erle of Richemond and his complices & fauours, which dailye dread and hourelly agony, caused him to lyue in dolefull misery, euer vnquiet, & in maner incontinual calamitie. Wherefore he entendynge to be releued and to haue all his dolorous imaginacion alleuyated, determyned cherey to extirpate and plucke al the mater and grounde of his feare and doubtēs. Wherefore after long and deliberate consultacion had, nothing was for his purpose and entente thought either more necessary or expedient then once agayne with price, praier and rewardes, to attempt y duke of Britaine in whose territorie y erle of Richemond then abode, to deliuer thesayde erle into his hādes, by whiche onely meanes he shoulde be discharged of all feare of perel, and brought to rest and quietnes bothe of body & mind. Wherefore incontynent he sent certēne ambassadours to y duke of Britayne, which tooke vpon them (beside the great and ample

rewardes & they brought with them into Britayne) that kyng Richard should yerely paie & answer the duke of all the reuenues, rentes and profites. of the seignories, lādes & possessions aswel belonging and apperteigning to the erle of Richmōd, as to any other noble or gentleman whiche then were in the erles company, yf he after that time would kepe them in continual prison and rēstreine them from libertie.

The Oratoures furnished with these and other instruccions, arrived in Britayne and came to the dukes house, where with him they coulde haue no manner of comunicacion concerninge their weightie affaires, by reason that he beyng fatigate and weakened by a longe and daily infirmite, beganne a lytle to waxe ydle and weake in his wyt and remembraunce. For which cause Peter Landoyse his chiefe treasurer, a man both of pregaunt wit and great autorite, ruled and adiudged al thinges at his pleasure and commaundemēt for the which cause (as men set into high autorite be not best beloued) he excited and prouoked against him the malice and euell will of & nobilitie of Britayne, which afterwaerd for diuerse great offences by him duryng his autorite perpetrate and committed, by their meanes was brought to death and cōfusiō. Thenglishe ambassadoures moued their message and request to Peter Landoyse and to him declared their masters commaundemente, instantly requiringe, and humbly desiryng him (in whose power it lay to do all thing in Britayne) that he woulde frendly assent to the request of kyng Richard, offering to him the same rewardes and landes, that they should haue offered to the duke.

This Peter whiche was no lesse disdeyned then hated almost of all the people of Britayne, thought that yf he dyd assent and satisfie kyng Richardes petycion and desyre, he shoulde be of powre and habilitie sufficiente to withstande and refell the malicious attemptes and disdeynfull inuencions of his enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he feithfully promysed to accomplishe kyng Richardes request and desyre, so that he kepte promise with him, that he might be hable to withstand & cancard malice of his secrete enemies. This acte that he promised to do, was not for any grudge or malice that he bare to the earle of Richmond, for as you haue heard before, he delyuered him from perell of deathe at saynt Malos when he was in great doubte of life and ieopardie but as cause riseth we euer offende, and that cursed hungre of gold and execrable thirst of lucre, and inward feare of losse of auctorite, driueth the blynde myndes of couetous men and ambitious persones to euilles and mischises innumerable, not remembring losse of name, obloquy of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merites and desertes. But fortune was so fauorable to the publicke wealth of the realme of England that this deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while postes ranne, and letters were sent to and fro for & finishing of this great enterprise betwene kyng Richard & Peter Landoyse, Ihon Morton bishop of Ely sojornyng then in Flaunders, was of al this craftie cōueighaunce certified by his secret & sure frēdes: wherfore he sent Christopher Vrsuik (whiche at that verie ceason was come out of Britayne into Flaunders) to declare to the erle of Richmōd howe al the decepte & craftie working was conueighed and compassed, geuyng him in charge to counsell and aduse & erle in al hast possible w al his cōpany to retire out of Britayne into Fraunce. When these newes were brought to the erle, he then kept house in Vannes, and incontinent dispatched agayne Christopher Vrsuik to Charles the French king, requyring him that he and his might sauely passe into Fraunce, whiche desyre, impetrated and obteyned, the messenger shortly returned to his lorde and prince. The erle well perceauyng that it was expediente and necessarie with al spede and diligence, to toke to this weightie matter, calling very few to counsell, he made exploracion and searche of all secret and by weyes and sent before all his noble men, as though for a certayne familiaritee and kyndenes they should visite and comforte & duke, which then for recreation and chaunge of ayre, laie on the borders and consynes of Fraunce. And secretly he gaue charge to the Earle of Pembroke which was the leader and conductor of his compaigny, that when they approched the marches and lymites of Britayne, they should dyuerse and take the next way into Fraunce. The noble men somewhat suspicious of thinges newly ima-



gened, without any taryng or by the iorney gasynge, scorning the weies as fast as there horse would iourne, or as they conveniently might beare & susteyne came out of the duchy of Britayne into the duchy of Anjou in the dominion of Fraunce, where they expected the earles commynge, whiche in daies after departed oute of Vannes onely accompanied with vi seruytours, as though he had gone secretly to visite a faunlier frende of his in a small village adioynnge. No man suspected that he woulde departe, consideringe that a greate multitude of Englishmen were lefte and contynued in the citee, but after that he had passed directly fyue myles forward, he sodaynly turned into a solitary wood nexte adioynnge, where clothinge hym selic in the symple coite of his poore seruante, made and apoynted his saide mynister leader and Master of his small compaignye, and he as an humble page dyligently folowed and serued his countrefeate gouernoure, neuer testyng nor them seloez refreshynge, excepte the baytyng of their horses, till they by wayes unknownen, nowe this way, now turnynge that way, came to their company abiding them in angiers.

The fourth day after the earle of Richemonde was thus departed, that craftie marchaunte Peter Landoyse, trustynge still after his praye promised by kyng Richard, was ready to set forwarde his crew of souldyours, whiche he piously had consigned with certayne trustye capiteynes for that onely purpose appoynted and elected to performe & achieve his pretended entrepryse, dissimulyng and feignynge them to be conducted and hyred by hym to serue the Earle of Richmond, and hym to conduyte in his retourne towarde his native countrey, meaning none other thyng but to apprehende him and the other noble men in his retinue, whiche no suche fraude suspectynge, nor yet any treason ymagenyng, vnware and vnprouided and destitute of all ayde, and them to cast and detruce sodaynly into continual captiuite and bondage, to theiende that by this facinorous and naughtie acte, he mighte satisfie the charitable request and lounge desyre of good kyng Richard, more for his awne profite then kyng Richards gayne. But when this crafty dissimuler Peter Landoyse, whiche was no Wylyer then an olde Foxe, perceaued that the earle was departed (thynkynge, that to be trewe that he ymagened) loyd howe curiourous rane into every coaste, howe lighte horsemen galloped to every streyt to folowe and deteyne him, yf by any possibillite he coulde be subsecuted and overtaken, and hym to incarcerate and bryng captiue into the citee of Vannes. The horsemen made suche diligence, and with such celerite set forward their iorney, that nothing was more likely then thei to haue obtained, ye & seized their pray. For the erle of Richmond was not entred into the realme of Fraunce scape one houre, but the folowers came to the lymites and confines of Britayne, and durst auenture no farther but veinly without their desyre sorrowfully retourned. At which season were left at Vannes aboute the nombre of iii Englishmen, which not beyng called to counsell and vnware of this entrepryse, but knowynge of the erles sodeyne departure were so incontinently astounded, that in maner thei were al in dispayre both of him and their awne secuite and sauergarde. But fortune toumed her saile, & otherwyse yt happened then there teare them encombred. For the duke of Britayne nowe beyng somewhat recovered, was sore displeased, and nothing contented that the erle of Richmond was in his dominion so vn-courteously tractred and entreated, that he shoulde be by fraud and vnturthe compelled to leaue and flye oute of his duchy and countrey contrary to his honoure. Wherefore he tooke greate displeasure with Peter Landoyse his treasurer, to whom (although he knew not & was ygnorante that all the drifte was dryuen and deuysed by hym) he laied the fault and imputed the cyme. Wherefore he sent for Edward Woodville, and Edward Pownynges vailaunte esquyers of England, and deliuered vnto them money sufficient for their conduyte, wyllinge them to conuey the rest of the Englishmen beyng in Britayne, to the earle of Richemondes presence. When the Earle was thus furnyshed & apoynted with his trusty company, and was escaped all the dangerous labirynthes and snares that were set for him, no meinel though he were iocunde and glad of the prosperous successe that happened in his affaires. Wherefore, lest he should seme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent

dyuise

dyuerse of his gentlemē to the duke of Britaine, the which should publishe & declare to him on the behalfe of the erle, that he and his, were ouely by his benefite and fauoure conserued and deliuered from the imminent daunger y they were like to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendred to him his moost hartie thankes in woordes, trustyng & not doubtyng but in tyme to come liberally to recōpence him with actes & dedes.

After this, the erle tooke his journey to Charles y French kyng, lyeng then at Langes vpō the riuēr of leyre, to whom after great thankes geuen for manifold gratuytes by him to the erle shewed, he disclosed and manifested y cause & occasiō of his accesse & repaire to his person. After that he requyred of him helpe and succour, to thentente that by his immortall benefite to him at that tyme shewed, he might sauely retourne to the noblrite of his realme, of whome he was generally called to take vpon him the croune and scepter of the realme, they so muche hated & abhorred the tyranny of kyng Richard. Kyng Charles promised him aide and comfort, and bad him be of good courage and make good chere, for he assured him that he would gladly shewe to him his beneuolent mynd and bountefull liberalite. Which kyng from thence remoued to Moūtaigis, leadyng with him the erle of Richemond, and all the noble personages of his retynue and faccion.

While the erle was thus attendaunte in the French court, Ihon Vere erle of Oxford (which as you haue heard beforc was by king Edward kepte in prison within the castell of hammes) so perswaded Iames blount capitayne of thesaine fortiesse, and sir Ihon Fortescewe porter of the tounē of Caley, that he him selfe was not onely dismissed and set at libertie, but they also abandonyng and leauynge their frutefull offices, condescended to go with him into Fraunce to the Earle of Rychmonde and to take his parte. But Iames Blount like a wise capiteyne, because he lefte his wyfe remaynyng in the castell before his departure, he fortified thesame both with newe inuencions and newe souldyours. When the Earle of Richemond sawe the Erle of Oxforde, he was rayshed with an incredible gladnes, that he beyng a man of so highe noblrite, of such knowlege and practyse in feates of waire, and so constant, trusty and assured (whiche alweie had studied for the maintenance and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by Gods prouision deliuered out of captiuite & imprisonmēt, & in time so necessary & cōuenient come to his aide, succour & auancement, in whome more surer then any other he mighte put his truste & confidence, and take lesse payne and trauayle in his awne person. For it was not ludfrō hym that such as had euer takē part w kyng Edward before this time, came to do hī seruice either for malice y they bare to king Richard, or elles for feare to tyme vnder his truculent rule and tempestuous gouernaunce. But this man which so often tymes had personally fought in mortal battayle in the querell of kyng Henry the. vi he iudged by deuyne powie and heavenly inspiration to be deliuered out of captiuite & imprisonment for the onely purpose, that he should haue a man of his awne faccion and schoole, to whome he might surely and faithfully communicate and credite all thinges as to his awne propre person, and therfore beyng enflamed with an immortall ioye for the earles commynge he beganne to haue a good hope of the happy successe of all his pretended entreprises.

Not long after, the French kyng returned agayn to Paris, whome the erle of Richemond folowed, intending there to solite his matter to y conclusion. Whereupon he besought king Charles to take vpon him y whole tuicyon and defence of him and his cause, so that he and his compaigny bryng by his meanes ayded and comforted, shoulde confesse & saye their wealth, victorie and auancement to haue flowed and budded foorth of his bountyfulnes and liberalite, whiche they would God wylling shortly reacquyte. In the meane ceason diuerse Englishemen whiche either fled out of England for feare, or were at Paris to leaue and studie good litterature and verteous doctrine came voluntarily and submitted them selues to the Earle of Rychmonde, and vowed and sware to take his parte. Amongeste whome was Richarde Foxe a priest, a man of great wyt and no lesse learyng, whome the erle incontinent receaued into secret familiarite & in briefe time erected &



auaunced him to high dignities and promotions, and in conclusion he made him bishop of Wynchester.

In the meane ceason kyng Richard was crediblye aduertised what promyses and othes the erle and his cōfederates had made and sworne together at Renes, and how by the erles meanes all thenglishmē were passed oute of Britayne into Fraunce. Wherefore beyng sore dysmaied and in maner desperate, because his craftie cheuesauce tooke none effect in Brytayne ymagined and deuysed how to infringe and disturbe the erles purpose by another meane, so that by the marriage of lady Elizabeth his nece he should pretende no clayme nor tyde to the crowne. For he thought if that marriage sayled, the erles chiefe combe had bene clerly cut. And because that he beyng blynded with the ambitious desyre of rule before this tyme, in obteynynge the kyngdome, had perpetrate and done many flagitious actes and detestable tyrannies, yet accordynge to the old prouerbe, let him take the bul that stale away & calfe, he thought all factes by him committed in tymes passed to be but of small moment and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischeuous ymagination whiche he nowe newlye beganne and attempted. There came into hys vngacious mynde a thinge not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more cruel and abhominable to be put in execucion. For when he reuolued in his wauerynge mynde how greate a founteyne of mischief towards hym shoulde sprynge, yf the erle of Richmond should be auaunced to the marriage of his nece, whiche thinge he hearde saye by the rumour of the people that no small nombre of wyse and wittye personages enterprised to compasse & brynge to conclusion. He clerely determined to reconcile to his fauoure his brothers wife quene Elizabeth either by faire woordes or liberall promises, firmly beleuynge her fauoure once obtained that she would not sticke to committe and louyngly credite to him the rule and gouernaunce both of her and her daughters, and so by that meanes the erle of Richemonde of the affinite of his nece should be vitterly defrauded and beguyled. And yf no ingenyous remedye coulde be other wise inuented to saue the innumerable mischieses whiche were euen at hand and like to falle, yf it shoulde happen quene Anne his wife to departe oute of this presente worlde, then he him selfe woulde rather take to wife his cousyn and nece the lady Elizabeth, then for lack of that affinite the whole realme should runne to ruyne, as who said, that yf he once fell from his estate and dignite, the ruyne of the realme must nede shortly ensue & folowe. Wherefore he sent to the quene beyng in sanctuaries diuerse and often messengers, whiche firste shoulde excuse and purge him of all thinges before agaynste her attempted or procured, and after should so largely promys promotions innumerable and benefites, not onely to her but also to her sonne lord Thomas Marques Doreett, that they should brynge her yf it were possible into some wau-shope, or as some men saie into a foles paradise. The messengers beyng men bothe of wit and grauitie so perswaded the quene with great & pregaunte reasons, then with fayre & large promises, that she began somewhat to relent & to geue to them no desse eare, in so muche that she faithfully promised to submyt & yelde her selfe fully and frankly to the kynges will and pleasure. And so she putting in obliuion the murder of her innocent children, the infamy and dishonoure spoken by the kyng her husbände, the luyng in auoutrie leyd to her charge, the bastardyng of her daughters, forgettyng also & feithfull promys & open othe made to the countesse of Richmond mother to & erle Henry, blynded by auaricious affection and seduced by flatteryng wordes, first deliuered into kyng Richards hādes her v. daughters as Lambes once agayne committed to the custody of the rauenyous wolfe. After she sente letters to the Marques her sonne beyng then at Parys with the earle of Richmonde, willyng him in any wise to leaue the earle and without delaye to reparaire into England where, for him were provided great honoures and honorable promotions, asseygnyng him farther, that all offences on bothe parties were forgotten and forgoen, and bothe he and she highly incorporate in the kynges hearte. Surely the inconstancie of this woman were muche to be merueled at, yf all women had bene sounde constante, but let men speake, yet women of the verie bonde of nature will folowe their awne kynde. After that

kyng

Kyng Rycharde had thus with glorious promyses and flatterynge woordes pleased and appeased the mutable mynde of quene Elyzabeth which knewe nothing lesse then that he moost entended, he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueighed into his palceys with solempne receauynge, as though with his newe familer and lonyng entreteynement they should forget, and in their myndes obliterate the olde committed iniurie and late perpetuate tyrannye. Nowe nothing was contrariant and obstacle to his pernicious purpose, but that his mancion was not voide of his wife, which thinge he in anywise adjudged necessary to be done. But there was one thing that so muche feared and dragged him from commyttyng this abhominable murther, because as you haue hearde before he beganne to countrefaycte the ymage of a good and well disposed person, and therefore he was afearde least y sodeine and immature death of his wife once openly knowen, he should lese the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without deserte conceaued and reported. But in conclusion, euyl counsell preuailed in a witt lately mynded to mischiefe, and tourned from all goodnes. So that his vngracious desyre ouercame his honest feare. And first to entre into the gates of his ymagined entrepryse, he absteyned bothe from the bed and compaignie of his wife. After, he compleyned to dyuerse noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterilitie and barrenes of his wife, because she brought forth no fruite and generacion of her bodye. And in especiall he accompted to Thomas Rotheram archebishop of Yorke (whome lately he had deliuered oute of ward and captiuite) these impedymentes of his quene and dyuerse other, thinkyng that he woulde enucleate and open to her all these thinges, trustyng the sequelle herof to take his effecte, that she herynge this gudge of her husband, and takyng therefore an inwarde thought, woulde not longe lyue in this worlde. Of this the bishoppe gathered (whiche well knewe the complexion and vsage of the kyng) that the quenes dayes were short, and that he declared to certene of his secrete frendes. After this he procured a common rumour (but he woulde not haue the author knowen) to be published and spread abroad amonge the common people that the quene was ded, to the intent that she takyng some conceipt of this straunge fame, should fall into some sodayne sicknes or greuous maladye, & to proue if afterward she should fortune by y or any other waies to lese her lite, whyther y people would impute her death to the thought or sicknes, or therof would laye y blame to him. When y quene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was sprong amongst the commynalte, she sore suspected and iudged y world to be almost at an ende with her, and in that sorofull agony, she with lamentable countenance and sorofull chere, repaired to the presence of the kyng her husband, demaundyng of hym, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to dye. The kyng aunswered her with fare woordes, and with dissimulyng blandimentes and flatterynge lesynges comforted her, biddyng her to be of good comforte, for to his knowledge she should haue none other cause. But howsoeuer y it fortunated, either by inward thought and pensyuenes of hearte, or by intoxicacion of poyson (which is affirmed to be most likely) within a few daies after, the quene departed oute of this transitorie lyfe, and was with dewe solempnite buried in the churche of seint Peter at Westminster. This is the same Anne one of the daughters of y erle of Warwyk, which as you haue heard before at the request of Iewes y French kyng, was married to prince Edward sonne to kyng Henry the vi.

The kyng thus (accordyng to his long desire) losed out of the boodes of matrimony, beganne to cast a foolyshe phantasie to Lady Elizabeth his nece, making much suite to haue her ioyned with him in lawfull matrimony. But because all men, and the mayden her selfe moost of all, detested and abhorred this vnlawfull and in maner vnnaturall copulacion, he determined to prolonge and deferre the matter till he were in a more quietnes. For all that verie ceason he was oppressed with great weightie and vrgent causes and busynesses on euery side consideryng that daileye parte of the nobilitie sailed into Fraunce to the erle of Richmond. Other preuely fauoured & aided certene of the conuracion, so y of his shorte ende, fewe or none were in doubte. And y common people for the moost part were brought to such desperaciō, y many of them had rather be reputed & taken of him in the nōbre of his enemies, then to abide



abide the chaunce and hazard to haue their goodes taken as a spoile of victorie by his enemies. Emongest the noble men whome he moost mystrusted, these were the principall, Thomas lorde Stanley, Sir William Stanley his brother, Gylbert Talbot and. vi hundred other, of whose purposes although kyng Richard were ignoraunt, yet he gaue nether confidence nor credence to any one of them, and least of all to the Lord Stanley, because he was ioyned in matrimony with the lady Margarete mother to the erle of Richmond, as afterward apparantly ye maie perceaue. For when the sayde lorde Stanley woulde haue departed into his countrey to visite his familie, and to recreate and refieshe his spiiites (as he openly sayde) but the truth was to thentent to be in a perfight readines to receaue the erle of Richmond at his first arriuall in Englād: the kyng in no wise woulde suffre hym to departe before that he had left as an hostage in the counte George Stanley lorde straung his first begotten sonne and here. While kynge Richard was thus troubled and vexed with ymaginacions of the tumultuous time that was like to come. Loo, euen sodenly he herde newes that fyre was sprong oute of the smoke, and the warre recently begonne, and that the castell of Hammes was deliuered into the handes of the eale of Rychemonde by the meanes of the earle of Oxenforde, and that not only he but also Iames Blount capiteine of the castel, were fled into Fraunce to aide the Earle Henry. Wherefore he thynkyng it great pollicie to withstand the fyrst brunt, sent the moost part of the garrison of Caleis to recouer again by force the castell of Hammes. They which were in the castell perceauing their aduersaries to approche, prepared municions and engins for their defence, and sent also to the Earle of Rychemonde, to aduertise hym of their sodeine obsession, requyringe hym of hasty ayde and speedy succoure. The erle slepyng not this first begonne assaule, sent the eale of Oxenforde with an elected company of souldiours to reise the siege & reskewe the castel. Which at their first arryuyng pitched their campe not farre from their enemies. And while kyng Rycharde men gaue vigilaunt iye, weytyng least the Earle of Oxforde shoulde take any aduantage of them that laie on that side of the Castell. Thomas Brandon with xxx. approued men of warre by a marishe whiche laie on the other syde entred into the castell. The souldiours within greatly animated and muche comforted by this newe succour and aide, greued thenemies by sholyng frō y walles more then they were accustomed to do. And they of the Castell vexed their enemies on the foreparte: the Earle of Oxenforde no lesse molested and vnquieted them on theother parte, whiche was the occasion that kyng Richardes men offred of their awne mere mocion licence to all beyng within the Castel to departe in sauetie with bagge and baggage-nothinge excepted: whiche condicion the earle of Oxenforde commynge only for that purpose to deliuer his lounge frendes oute of all perell and daunger, & chiefly of all, his olde hostesse Iane Blount wife to Iames Blount the capteine, would in no wise repudiate or refuse. And so leauyng the Castell bare and vngaihysshed bothe of vitale and artillery, came safe to the erle of Richmond soiournyng in Parys. Duryng this tyme, kyng Richard was credibly informed of his explorators & espialles y erle of Richmond was wlonge syte in the courte of Fraunce sore fatigate & wried, & desyryng greate aide coulde obtene small releue. In sō much y all thyng went so farre backward, that suche thinges as were with great diligence and no lesse deliberation purposed and determined to be set forward, were nowe dassed and ouerthowen to the grounde. Kynge Richard eyther beyng to light of credence, or seduced and deluded by his craftie taletellers, greatly reioysed as though he had obteyned the ouerhand of his enemyes with triumph and victorie, and thought hymselfe neuer so surely deliuered of all feare and dreadfull ymaginacions, so that he neded nowe no more once for that cause eyther to wake or breake his golden slepe. Wherefore he called home agayne his shippes of warre whiche he had apoynted to kepe the narowe sets, & dispatched al such souldiours as he had deputed to kepe certeine garnisons & to stoppe certeine passages as you haue heard before. Yet least he might for lacke of prouysyon be sodainly napped, he streightly charged and gaue in commaundemēt to all noble men & in especiall suche as inhabited nere to the sea coaste and on the frontiers of wales, that accordyng to the vsage of the countrey, they should kepe diligent watche & stronge warde, to y entent y his aduersaries

in no wise should haue any place apte or oportune easly to take lande withoute defence or rebuattyng back. For the custome of the countreys adioynnyng nere to ſ see is (especially in the tyme of war) on euery hill or high place to erect a bekon w̄ a greate lāterne in the toppe, which maie be sene and discerned a great space of And when the noyes is once bruted that the enemies appioche nere ſ land, they sodeinly put fyer in the lanthornes and make showtes & outrages frō toune to toune and from village to village. Some ronne in post frō place to place admonishyng the people to be ready to resist the ieopardy, and defende the perell. And by this pollecy ſ fame is sone blowen to euery citee & toune, in sompche that aswell the cytezens as the rural people be in short space assembled and armed to refell and put back the newe aryued enemies.

Nowe to retourne to our purpose, kyng Richarde thus alleuiate of his accustomed pen-suenes, beganne to be somewhat more merier & toke lesse thought & care for outwarde enemies then he was woont to do, as who saie, that he with polletique prouision shoulde withstand the desteny which hong ouer his hed, and was ordened in brieft tyme sodeinly to fall. Suche is the force and puissaunce of deuyne iustice, that euery man shal lesse regaide, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubte of al things, when he is moost neiest punshiment, and next to his mischaunce for his offences and crymes.

Aboute this ceason, while the erle of Richmonde was desiryng ayde of the Frenche kyng, certeine noble men were there apointed to rule the realme of Fraunce duryng the minoritye of kyng Charles, which emongest them selves were not of one opinion. Of whiche dissencion, Lewes duke of Orlyançe was the chiefe sturre, which because he had maryed lady Iohanne suster to the Frenche kyng, tooke vpon him aboue other the rule and administracion of the whole realme. By reason of whyche controuersie, no one manne only was suffred to rule al, wherefore the erle of Rychemond was compelled to make suyte to euery one of the counsell seuerally one after another, requiring and desiryng them of aide and releue in his weightie busynes, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. Duryng whiche time, Thomas Marques Dorset which was as you haue heard entised by his mother to retorne againe into Englad partely despayring in the good successe of the erle of Richmōd & partely oncrate and vanquesshed with the faire glosyng promises of kyng Richard secretly in the night ceason stole oute of Parys, and with all diligent expedicion tooke his iourney toward Flaunders. When relaciō of his departue was made to the erle of Richmond & the other noble men, no maruell though they were astonnyed & greatly amased. Yet ſ notwithstanding they requyred of the Frēch kyng that it might be letfull to them in his name and by his commaundement to take and steye their cōpaignon, confederate, and partaker of all their counsell, in what place within his realme and terri-toyes so euer they coulde fynde hym. Which peticiō once obtained, thei sent oute curriers into euery parte emongest whome Homifrey Cheiny pleyng the parte of a good blood hounde, foloed the tract of ſ flyer so euen by ſ sent, that he ouertooke and apprehēded hym not farre from Cōpeign & so what with reason & what w̄ faire promises beyng perswaded, he retourned againe to his cōpaignions. The earle of Richmond vburdened of this misauenture, leas by procrastinacion of daies & prolongyng of time he might lese ſ great oportunittee of things to him offred and ministred. also least he shoulde farther wounde or molest the myndes of his feithfull and assured frendes which daily did aspect & taie for his cōmyng, determined no lenger to protract & deferre ſ time, but with all diligence & scelerite to atteynpte his begonne entreprice and so obtaynyng of kyng Charles a small ciewe of men, and borowyng certeyn sommes of money of him & of diuerse other his pryuate frendes. For the whiche he lēft as debier or more likelier as a pledge or hostage lord Thomas Marques Dorsett (whome he halfe mistrusted) and Sir Ihon Buichier, he departed from ſ French court & came to the citee of Roan. While he taryed there making prouisiō at barfiete in the mouth of the ryuer of Seyne for all thinges necessary for his navy and nauigacion, ty-dynges were brought to him that kyng Richard beyng wout children and now wydower, intended shortly to mary with Lady Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the ladye Cicile her suster to a man founde in a cloude and of an vnknowne lignage and familie. He



tooke these newes as a matter of no small momente, and so all thynges considered, it was of no lesse importaunce then he tooke it for. For this thyng only tooke awyre from all his compaignions then hope and courage that they had to obteine an happie enterpryse. And therefore no maruell though it nipped hym at the very stomacke when he thought that by no possible he might attayne the mariage of any of kynge Edwardes daughters, which was the strongest foudacion of his buyldyng, by reason whereof he iudged that all his frendes in England woulde abandon and shrynke from hym. Wherefore makynge not many of his counsell, after dyuerse consultations he determined not yet to set forwarde. but to tarye and attempte howe to get more ayde, more frendes and more stronger succoures. And emongest all other, it was thought moost expedient to allure by affinite in his ayde as a compaignion in armes Sir Walter Herbert a man of an aunciente stocke and greate powre emongest the Welshemen, whiche had wyth hym a faire Ladye to his suster, of age mature and ripe to be coupled in matrimonie. And for the acheuyng of this purpose, messengers were societely sent to Henry Earle of Northumbreland (whiche had before married another suster of Sir Walter Herbertes) to thentent that he shoulde set forward all this deuyce and purpose, but the weies were so narrowly watched and so many spies laide that the messenger proceded not in his iourney and busynes. But in the meane ceason, ther came to the Earle a more ioyfuller message from Morgan Kydwelly learned in the temporall lawe, whiche declared that Ryce ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valyauntnes then actyuitee, and Ihon Sauage an approued Capteyne, woulde with all their powre be partakers of his quarell. And that Reigolde Brewe had collected and gotten together no small some of money for the payment of the wages to the souldiours and men of warre. admonisshynge him also to make quicke expedicion and to take his course directly into Wales. The Earle of Richmond because he woulde no longer lye in idleness and weery hys frendes lyuynge continually betweene hope and feare, determyned in all conueniente hast to sett forward, and caried to his shippes armour, weapons, vitayle and all other ordinaunces expedient for warre. And shortly to speake, all thynges he prepared whiche are wont to be necessary and profitable to the variable chaunces and incerteine accidents and teopardies of warre which requyred preparaciō of many instumētes and thynges chargeable

After that the erle had made his humble peticion, and deuoute praier to almighty God, beseechyng him not only to sende him moost prosperous wynde and sure passage in his iourney, but also effecteuosly desyryng his goodnes of aide & comforte in his necessite and victorie & supremacie ouer his enemies, only accompanied with ii. thousand menne and a small nombre of shippes, weyed vp his ancores and halsed vp his sailes and in the calendes of August he sailed from barflet with so prosperous a wynde that the. vii. daye after his departure he arryued in Wales in the euenyng at a porte called Mylford Hauen, and in cōtinēt tooke land and came to a place called Dalle, where he heard saye that a certeine company of his aduersaries were leyd in garrison to defende his arryual all the last wynter. And the earle at the sonne rysyng remoued to harfford west, beyng distant from dalle not fully ten myle, where he was applauded and receaued of the people with greate ioye, and he arryued there so sodeinly that he was come and entred the toune at the same tyme when the cytezens had but knowlege of his comynge. Here he heard newes whiche were as vntrue as they truly were reported to hym in Normandie, that Rice ap Thomas and Ihon Sauage wythe body and goodes were determined to aide kyng Richard. While he and his compaignie were somewhat appalled of these newe tydynges, there came such message from the inhabitants of the toune of Pembroke y<sup>e</sup> refreshed and reuyued their frosen hartes and daunted courages. For Arnold Buteler a valiaunt capitain, which first askynge pardon for his offences before tyme committed against the erle of Richmond, and that obteyned, declared to hym that the perbrochians were ready to serue & geue their attendaunce on their natural and immediate lord Iasper erle of Penbrooke. The erle of Richmond hauyng his armie thus encreased, departed from Herforde west to the toune of Cardygan beyng v. myle distant from thence. While the souldiours were refreshyng and trimmyng them selues

in their campe, straunge tydynges spronge emonge them woute any certeine authour, y  
 su Walter Herberd which laie w a greate crewe of menne at Carinaiden, was nowe with  
 a greate armye ready to approche and byd them battaile. With which newes the armie  
 was sore troubled, and euery man assaied his armure and proued hys weapon and were  
 prest to defende their enemies. And as they were in this tumerous doubte, certeine horse-  
 men which the erle had sent to make exploiacion and searche, retourned and reported all  
 the countrey to bee quiete and no let nor impedimente to be laied or cast in their iourney.  
 And euen at that same tyme the whole armye was greatly recomforted by reason that the  
 commynge of Rycharde Gryffyth, a man of greate nobilite, the whiche notwithstandinge  
 that he was confederate wyth Sir Walter Harbert and Richearde app Thomas, yet at that  
 venie instant he came to the Earle of Richemund with all his compaignie, whyche  
 were of no great nomber. After hym, the same daie came Ihon Morgan wyth his men.  
 Then the Earle auaunced forwarde in good haste, makynge no repose or abode in any one  
 place. And to thetent to passe forwarde with sure and short expedicion, he assauted euery  
 place where his enemies had set any men of waire, whiche with small force and lesse diffi-  
 cultie he briefly dyd expugne and vanquishe. And sodeynly he was by his espialles assertheyned  
 that Sir Walter Harbert and Rice app Thomas were in haines before hym ready to encountre  
 wyth hys armye and to stoppe their passage. Wherefore lyke a valyaunt capteyn he firste de-  
 termined to sett on them and eyther to destroye or to take them into his fauoure, and after  
 with all his powre and puyssaunce to geue battaile to his mortall enemye kynge Richearde.  
 But to thetent his frendes shoulde knowe wyth what dexterite his attempted entrepryce  
 proceded forwarde, he sente of his moost secrete and feithfull seruantes with letters and  
 instruccions to the ladye Margarete his mother, to the Lorde Stanley and his brother, to  
 Talbote and to other his trustie frendes, declarynge to them, that he succoured and holpen  
 with the ayde and releue of his frendes entended to passe ouer f y ruer of Seuerne at Shrews-  
 burye, and so to passe directly to the citee of London, requiryng them as his especiall  
 truste and confidence was perplanted in the hope of their fidelite, that they would occurre  
 & mete hym by the waye with all diligent preparacion to thetent that he & thei at tyme  
 propice and place conuenient might communicate together the profundyte and depnes of all  
 his dubious and weightye busynes. Whē the messengers were disparted with these com-  
 maundementes & admonitions, he marched forward toward Shrewsbury, and in his passynge  
 there met & saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bād of Welshmen whiche makynge  
 an othe and promyse to the erle, submitted himself whole to his oide and commaundement.  
 For the erle of Richemond in daies before made to him promes y if he woulde sweare to take  
 his part and be obedient to hym he woulde make hym chiefe gouernour of Wales; whiche parte  
 as he feithfully promised and graunted, so after that he had obteyned and possessed the  
 realme and diademe, he liberally performed and accomplished the same. In the meane  
 tyme, the messengers that were sent, diligently executed the thinges geuen to them  
 in charge, and laden with rewardes of them to whome they were sent, retourned to hym  
 the same daye that he entred into Shrewsburie, and made relacion to hym that his frendes  
 were ready in all poyntes to doo all thinges for him which either they ought or might do.  
 The erle Herry brought in good hope with his pleasaunt message continued forth his entend-  
 ed iourney and came to a litle towne called Newporte and pitchynge his campe on a lytle hill  
 adioynynge, reposed hym selfe there that nyght. In the euenynge, the same daie came  
 to hym Sir George Talbott with the whole powre of the younge Earle of Shrewsburye then  
 beyng in waide, whiche were accompted to the nombre of two thousand men. And thus  
 his powre increasyng he aryued at the towne of Stafforde and there paused. To whome  
 came Sir Wylliam Stanley accompaigned with a fewe persones, and after that the Earle and  
 he had communed no longe tyme together, he reuerted to his souldiours which he had  
 congregated together to serue the Earle, whiche from thence departed to Lachefelde and laie  
 without the walles in his camp all the nyght. The nexte mornynge he entred into the towne,  
 and was with all honour lyke a prynce receaued. A daie or two before the lorde Stanley



hauynge in hys bande almoste fyue thousande men, lodged in thesame towne, but berynge that the Earle of Richemonde was marshynge thetherward, gaue to hyin place, dislodgyng hym and hys and repaired to a towne called Adrestone, there abydyng the commyng of the Earle, and this wylde foxe did this acte to aduoyde all suspicion, beyng afraied least yf he shoulde he sene openly to bee a fautoure or ayder to the Earle his sonne in lawe before the date of the battayll, that kynge Richarde whiche yet dyd not vtterly put in him diffidence and mystruste woulde put to some cruell deathe his sonne and hence apparaunt George Lorde Stiaunge whome kynge Richarde as you haue heard before kept with hym as a pledge or hostage to thentent that the lorde Stanley his father shoulde attempte nothing prejudiciall to hym.

Kynge Rycharde at this ceason keypyng his howse in the Castell of Notyngham was informed that the Earle of Richemond with such hannysshed men as fled oute of Englande to hym were nowe arryued in Wales, and that all thynges necessarie to his enterpryse were vnprovided, vnprueyed and verie weake, nothyng mete to withstande the powre of suche as the kyng had apoynted to resist him. This rumour so enflated his minde, that in maner disdeignyng to here speke of so poore a compaignye, determined at the first to take lytle or no regarde to this so small a sparckle, declaryng the earle to be innocente, and vnyse because that he temerariouly attempted suche a greate enterpryse with so small and thynne a nombre of Warlyke persoues, and therefore he gaue a definitiue sentence, that when he came to that poynte that he shoulde be compelled to fight agaynst his will, he eyther shoulde be apprehended a lyue, or elles by all likelyhode he shoulde of necessite come to a shamefull confusion, and that he trusted to be shortly done by Sir Walter Harbert and Rieu ap Thomas, whiche then ruled Wales with egall powre and lyke authoritee. But yet he reuoluyng and castyng in hys mynde that a small warre begonne and wynted at and not regarded, maye tourne to a greate boyle and tumultuous trouble, and that yt was prudente pollicie not to asperne and disdeyne the lytle small powre and weakenes of the ennemye, be it neuer so small, thought it necessarye to prouyde for after clappes that might happen and chaunce. Wherefore he sent to Ihon duke of Norfolke, Henry earle of Northumberlande, Thomas Earle of Surrey and to other of hys especiall and trusty fiendes of the nobilitie, whyche he iudged muche more to prefeire and esteeme his wealthe and honoure then their awne riches and priuate commodite, wyllynge them to mustre and viewe all their seruantes and tenentes, and to elect and choose the moost courageous and actiue persones of the whole nomber, and with them to repaire to his presence with all speede and diligence. Also he wrote to Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the towre, commaundyng hym with his powre to come to his armye and to bryng with hym as felowes in armes Sir Thomas Burchier and sir Walter Hungerfoide and diuerse other knyghtes and esquiers in whome he had cast no small suspicion. While he was thus ordyng his affaires, tydynges came that the Earle of Richemond was passed Seuerne and come to Shrewsbury without any detrymente or encombreance. At which message he was sore moued and broyled with Melancolye and doloure and cried out, askyng vengeance of them that contrarie to their othe and promes had fraudulently deceaued hym. For whyche cause he beganne to haue diffidence in other, in so muche that he determined hym selfe oute of hande thesame daye to occurre and resyste hys aduersaries. And in all haste sente oute explorators to viewe and espie what waie his enemies kept and passed. They diligently doynge their dewtie, shortly after retourned, declaryng to the kyng that the Earle was encamped at the toun of Lichfelde. When he had perfighte knowledge where the Earle with his armye was sojourynyng, he hauynge continuall repaire of his subiectes to hym, beganne in contynently withoute delai to marshall and collocate in order his battailes (lyke a valyaunt capteine and polletique leader) and firste he made his battayles to set forward foure and foure in a ranke, marchyng towarde that waie where his enemyes as was to him reported entended to passe. In the myddle parte of the armye he apoynted the trafficke and cariage apperteignyng to the armye. Then he (enuirooned with his satellytes and yomen of the crowne) with a frownyng countenaunce and truculente aspect mounted on a greate white courser, folowed with his footemen, the  
wynges

wynges of hofemen coastyng and rangyng on euery syde: And keepyng this araye, he with greate pompe entred the toune of Lecester after the sonne set. The Earle of Ryche-  
 monde reised his campe and departed from Lychefelde to the towne of Tomwoorth the to-  
 nere adioynynge, and in the myd waye passyng, there saluted hym Sir Walter Hungerforde  
 and Sir Thomas Burchier knyghtes and dyuerse other whiche yelded and submitted them  
 selves to his pleasmie. For they beyng advertised that kyng Richard had them in suspi-  
 cion and gealosye, a lytle beyonde stony stratforde left and forsooke preuely their Capteyne  
 Robert Brakenbury, and by nocturnall wandryng, and in maner by vnkowen pathes and  
 vncerteine waies seachyng, at the last came to the earle Henry. Diuerse other noble per-  
 sonages whiche inwardely hated kyng Richard worse then a toade or a serpent, lykewyse  
 resorted to him wyth all their powre and strength. There happened in this progression to  
 the Earle of Richmond a straunge chaunce worthy to be noted. for albeit that he was a man  
 of haute and valyaunte courage, and that his army encreased, and dayly more & more he  
 waxed puyssant & stronger, yet he was not a lytle afearde because he in no wise could be  
 assured of his father inlawe Thomas Lorde Stanley, whiche for feare of the destruction of  
 the Lorde straunge his sonne (as you haue heard) as yet enclyned to neyther partie. For  
 yf he had gone to the Earle, and that notified to kyng Richard, his sonne had shortly been  
 executed. Wherefore syth the earles feare sprang not of nothyng, he accompaynyed with  
 twenty lyght horsemen lyngered in his iourney as a man disconsolate, musyng and ymagyn-  
 yng what was best to be done. And the more to aggrauate his melancoly pensyueues, yt was  
 shewed hym that kyng Richard was at hand with a stronge powre and a populous armye.  
 Whye he thus pensyue dragged behynde his hoost, the whole armye came before the toune  
 of Tomwoorth, and when he for the depe darcknes coule not perceaue the steppes of them  
 that passed on before, and had wandred hether and thither, sckynge after his compaignie  
 and yet not once hearyng any noyse or whysperyng of them, he dyuerted to a very lytle  
 village beyng aboute. iii. myles from his armye, takyng greate thought and muche fearyng  
 least he should be espied, and so trapped by kyng Richardes skoute watche. There he  
 taried all nyght, not once auenturyng to aske or demaunde a question of any creature, he  
 beyng no more amased wyth the ieopardye and perell that was passed, then wyth this pre-  
 sente chaunce, sore feared that it shoulde bee a prognosticacion or prodygall sygne of some  
 infortunate plague afterward to succede. As he was not merye beyng absent from hys com-  
 paignie, lykewyse his armie muche marueled and no lesse mourned for hys sotheyne and in-  
 tempestuous absence

The next morenyng early in the dawninge of the daye he retourned, and by the conduyte  
 of good fortune espied and came to his armie, excusyng hym selfe, not to haue gone oute  
 of hys waye by ignorance, but for a pollecie deuysed for the nones he went from his campe  
 to receaue some glad message from certeyne of his preuy frendes and secret alies. This ex-  
 cuse made, he preuely departed agayn from his host to the toune of Aderstone, where the  
 lord Stanley and sir William his brother with their bandes were abidyng. There the Earle  
 came firste to his fatherinlawe in a lytle close, where he saluted hym and Sir William his  
 brother, and after diuerse congratulacions and many frendely embracynges, eache reioysed  
 of the state of other, and sodenly were surpised with great ioye, comfort and hope of  
 fortunate successe in all their affaires and doynge. Afterward they consulted together howe  
 to geue battaile to kyng Richard if he woulde abide, whome they knewe not to be furre of  
 with an houghe army. In the euenyng of thesame daye sir Ihon Sauage, Sir Bryan San-  
 forde, Sir Symon Digby and many other, leuyng kyng Richard, turned and came to the  
 parte of the erle of Richmond with an elect company of men. Whiche refusall of kyng  
 Richardes parte by men of suche experience, did augment and encrease bothe the good hope  
 and the puissaunce of the erle of Richmond.

In the mean ceason kyng Richard (whiche was appoynted nowe to finyshe his last laboure  
 by the very deuyne iustice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne punyshe-  
 mente for his scelerate mentes and myscheueous desertes) marshed to a place mete for twoo  
 battayles



The dreame  
of kyng Ri-  
chard the  
first

battayles to encountre by a village called Besworth, not farre from Leycester, and there he pitched his felde, & refreshed his souldiours and toke his rest. The same went that he had the same night a dreadful & a terrible dreame, for it semed to hym beyng a slepe y he sawe diuerse ymages lyke terrible deuilles whiche pulled and haled hym, not sufferynge hym to take any quyet or rest. The whiche straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart with a sodeyne feare, but it stuffed his hed and troubled his mynde with many dreadfull and busy Imaginacions. For incontynent after, his heart beyng almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battaile to come, not vsyng the alacrite and myrth of mynde and of countenaunce as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the battaile. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his encmyes, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recyted and declared to hys famylyer frendes in the morenyng hys wonderfull visyon and terrible dreame. But I thynke this was no dreame, but a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience, for the conscience is so muche more charged and aggrauate as the offence is greater & more heynous in degre, whiche prycke of conscience althoughe it strike not all waye, yet at the last daie of extieme life it is wont to shewe and represent to vs our faultes and offences and the paynes and punishementes which hang ouer our heddes for the comyttyng of thesame, to the intent that at y instant we for our desertes being penitent & repentaunt may be compelled lamētyng & bewalyng our synnes like forsakers of this worlde, to cōfesse and departe out of this miserable life. Now to retorne againe to oure purpose, y next daie after, kyng Richard beyng furnished w men & all abillmētes of warr, bringyng all his men out of there camp into y plaine, ordered his forward in a marueylous lēgth, in which he appoynted both horsemen & footmen to the intent to empynte in y hartes of the y loked a farre of, a sodeyne terror & deadlie feare, for y great multitude of y armed souldiours. & in the fore Frount he placed y archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwarke. ouer this battaile was captain Ihon duke of Norfolke with whom was Thomas erle of Surrey his sonne. After this lōg vātgarde folowed kyng Richard hi self, w a strōg cōpaigny of chesen & approued mē of warr, hauyng horsmen for wynges on both y sides of his battail.

After y theale of Richmond was departed from y cōmunicaciō of his frendes as you haue harde before, he began to be of a better stomake & of a more valiant courage, & w all chylgēs pitchid his felde ruste by y cāp of his enemies, & there he lodged y night. In the morning be time he caused his men to put on there armure & appareyl thē selves redy to fight & geue battail, & sent to y lord Stanley (which was now come w his bade in a place indifferently betwene both y armies) requyryng him w his mē to approche nere to his army & to help to set y souldiours in array, he answered y therle should set his awne mē in a good order of battaile while he would array his cōpaigny, & cōme to him in time conuenient. Which answere made other wise then therle thought or would haue iudged, considering y oportunitie of the time & the waite of y busines, & although he was there w all, a litle vexed, began somewhat to hang y hedde, yet he wout any time delayng compelled by necessity, after this maner instructed & ordred his men. He made his forward somewhat single and slender, accordyng to y small nōber of his people. In y Frount he placed the archers, of whome he made captain Ihō erle of Oxford to the right wyng of y battail he appoynted, sir Gylbert Talbott to be y leder: to y left wyng he assigned sir Ihon Saunge, & he w y aide of y lord Stāley accompaigned with therle of Penbroke hauyng a good cōpaignie of horsmen and a small nōber of footmen. For all his hole nōber exceedid not v. thousande men beside the powr of the Stanleys, wherof. iij. thousande were in the felde vnder the stādard of sir William Stanley: The kynges nōber was doble as muche & more. When bothe these armies were thus ordered & al men redy to set forward, kyng Richard called his Chevetains together & to thē sayde. Most faithfull & assured felowes, moste trusty & welbeloued frendes and elected captains, by whose wisdom & pōlecie, I haue obteyned the crowne & tye of this famous realm & noble regiō by whose puissaūce & valiauntnes I haue enioied & possessed thestate roial & dignite of y same, maugre y yl wil & sediciōs attempts of all my cancaide

The oraciō  
of kyng Ri-  
chard the  
first.

cancardé enemies & insidious aduersaries, by whose prudēt & politike cōsail I haue so gouerned my realm, people & subiectes, y I haue omitted nothing appertēnig to y office of a iuste price, nor you haue pretermitted nothing belōging to y duty of wise & sage counsaileis. So y I may saie & truly affirme, that your approued fidehte & tied constancye, maketh me to beleue firmly & thinke, y I am an vndoubted kyng & an indubitate prince. And although in y adepcion & obtēnyng of y Garlāde, I being seduced & prouoked by sinister cōsail and diabolical temptaciō did commyt a facynorous and detestable acte. Yet I haue with straye penaunce and salte teryes (as I trust) expiated and clerely purged the same offence, which abhominable crime I requie you of friendship as clerely to forget, as I dayly do remember to deploie and lament thesame, yf you wil now diligently call to remembrance in what case and perplexite we nowe stand, and in what doubtfull perell we be now intricked? I doubt not but you in hart will thinke and with mouth confesse, that yf euer amitie and faythe preuailed betwene prince and subiectes or betwene subiecte and subiecte. or yf euer bond of allegians obliged the vassal to loue and serue his naturall souereigne lorde, or yf any obligation of dewtie bound any prince to ayde and defende his subiectes? All these loues, bondes and duties of necessite are this daie to be experimented, shewed and put in experiēce. For if wyse men say trew, there is some pollycie in gettyng, but much more in keepyng. The one beyng but fortunes chaunce, and the other high wyt and pollicie, for whiche cause, I with you and you with me, must nedes this daye take labour and payne to kepe and defend. with force, that preheminnence & possession which by your prudent deuises I haue gotten and obteyned. I doubt not but you know, howe the deuel continually enemye to humane nature, disturber of concordie and sower of sedicion, hath entered into the harte of an vnknown welshman, (whose father I neuer knew nor hym personally sawe) excitynge him to aspire and couet oure realme, crowne and dignitie, and thereof clerely to depriue and spoyle vs and our posterite: ye se farther how a compaignie of traytors, thefes, outlawes and ronnegates of our awne nacion be ayders & partakers of his feate and enterprise, redy at hand to ouercome and oppresse vs. You se also, what a nōber of beggerly Britons & faynte harted Frenchmen be with hym arriued to distroy vs our wyfes and children. Which Imminent mischies & apparaunt incoūenientes, if we wil withstoud & refet, we must liue to gether like brethern, fight together like hōs, & feare not to dye together lyke men. And obseruyng and keepyng this rule and precept, beleue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faster before the gredy greyhōūd, nor y sylue lark before y sparow hauke, nor the symple shepe before the rauēous wolfe, then your proud bragging aduersaries astōned & amased with y only sight of your manly visages, will flee, rōune & skyr out of the felde. For yf yow consider and wisely ponder al things in your minde, you shall perceyue that we haue manifeste causes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie. And to begyn with the earle of Richmond Captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh wylkesoppe, a mā of small courage and of lesse experience in marcyall actes and feates of war, brought vp by my brothers meanes and myne like a captiue in a close cage in the court of Fraunces duke of Britaine, and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in marciall affaires, by reason whereof he neither can nor is able on his awne will or experience to guyde or rule an host. For in the wyt and pollicie of the capitaine, consisteth the chefe adepcion of the victory and ouerture of the enemies. Secundarely feare not and put a way all doubtēs, for when y traitois & runagates of our realme, shall see vs w banner displayed come against them, remēbryng there oth promise & fidelitie made vnto vs, as to ther souereigne lord & annoynted kyng, they shal be so pricked & stimulate in y botome of there scrupulous consciences y they for very reniorce & dread of y diuine plage will either shamefully flye, or humbly submitte them selves to our grace and mercie. And as for the Frenshme & Brytons, there valiaūtes ys suche, y our noble progenitors & your valiaunt parētes, haue them oftener vāquished & ouercome in one moneth, then they in y beginnyng imaged possible to cōpasse & fynishe in a hole yere. What wil you make of thē, braggers wout audacite, drunkards wout discrecion, rybaudes wout reason, cowardes wout resistyng & in conelusion y most effeminate



effeminate & lasciuious people, y euer shewed them selves in Frunt of battaile, ten tymes more coragious to fly & escape then ons to assault y brest of our stronge & populous army. Wherefore, considering al these auauitages, expell out of your thoughts all doutes & auidoie out of your mindes al feare, & like valiaunt chāpions auauce furth your standards, & assaye whither your enemies can decide & trie y title of battaile by dent of swerde, auauce (I say againe) forward my captains, in whom lacketh neither pollicie wisdom nor poussaunce. Every one gyue but one suer stripe, & suerly y iorney is ours. What preuayleth a hādfull to a hole realme. desirying you for y loue y you beare to me, & y affeccion y you haue to your natue and naturall cōtreie, & to y sauegard of your prince & you self, y you wyll this day take to you your accustomed corage, & couragious spiritus for y defence & sauegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this day I wil triūphe by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortal fame. For thei be mahmeed & out of y palice of fame disgraded, diēg wout renoune, which do not as much preferre & exalte y perpetual honor of their natue cōtreie, as ther awne mortal & transitorie life. Now sent Georice to borowe, let vs set forward, & remēber well y I am he which shall w high auaucementes, rewarde & preferre y valiaunt & hardy chāpions, & punishe and turment the snameful cowardes & dreadfull dastardes. This exhortacion encouraged all such as fauoured him, but suche as were present more for dreade then loue, kissed the openly, whome they inwardely hated, other swaie outwardely to take part with suche, whose death they secretly compassed and inwardly imageaned, other promysed to inuade the kynges enemies, whiche fled and fought with fyce courage against the kyng: other stode stil & loked on, entendinge to take part w the victors and ouercommers. So was his people to him vsure and vnfaithfull at his ende, as he was to his nephewes vntrew and vnnaturall in his beginnyng.

When therle of Richmond knew by his forrideris that the king was so nere embattayled, he rode about his armye, from ranke to ranke, from wyng to wyng, geuyng comfortable woides to all men, and that finyshed (beyng armed at all peces sauynge his helmet) mounted on a lytell hyll so that all his people myght se and beholde hym perfity to there great reioysyng: For he was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gyftes and lyniamentes of nature that he semed more an angelical creature then a terrestriall personage, his cōtēnaunce and aspecte was cherefull and couragious, his heare yelow lyke the burnished golde, his eyes gray shynyng and quicke, prompte and ready in aunswerynge, but of suche sobriete that it coule neuer be iudged whyther he were more dull then quicke in speakeyng (such was hys temperaunce). And when he had ouer loked hys army ouer euery syde, he pawsed a while, and after with a lowde voyce and bolde spirit spake to his compaignions these or lyke wordes folowyng.

If euer GOD gaue victorie to men fightyng in a iust quarell? or yf he euer ayded such as made warre for the welthe and tuicion of ther awne naturall and nutritiue countrey? or if he euer succoured them whyche aduentured there lyues for the relefe of innocentes, suppressyng of malefactores and apparaunt offenders? No doubt my felowes and frendes, but he of hys bountefull goodnes wyll this daye sende vs triump haunt victorie and a luckey iourney ouer our prowde enemyes, and arrogant aduersaries. for yf you remember and consider the very cause of our iust quarell, you shall apparantlye perceyue the same to be trewe, Godly, and vertuous. In the whiche I doubte not but GOD wyll rather ayde vs (ye and fyght for vs) then se vs vanquished and profligate by suche as neyther feare hym nor his lawes, nor yet regaie iustice or honestie. Our cause is so iuste that no enterpryce can be of moie vertue, bothe by the lawes diuine and ciuile, for what can be a moie honest, goodly or Godly quarell then to fight agaynste a Caputayne, beyng an homicide and murderer of hys awne bloude and progenye? An extreme destioyer of hys nobyltye, and to hys and oure countrey and the poore subiectes of the same, a deadly malle, a fyrre brande and a burden vntollerable? besyde hym, consider who be of his bande and compaignye, suche as by murder and vntreuthe committed agaynste there awne kynne and lynage, ye agaynste theyr Prynce and souereygne Lorde haue disheryted me and you and wrongefully deteyne and

vsurpe ouer lawfull patrymonye and lyneall inherytaunce. For he that calleth hym selfe  
 lyngge, kepeth from me the Crowne and regynente of this noble realme and countrey con-  
 traie to all iustice and equitie. Lykewyse, hys mates and frendes occupie your landes,  
 cutt downe your woddess and destroy your manners, letting your wifes and children range  
 a brode for their liuyng. which persones for ther penaunce and punishment I doubtē not  
 but GOD of his goodnes will eyther deliuer into our handes as a great gayne and booty, or  
 cause them beinge grieved and compuncted with the pricke of ther corrupt consciences cow-  
 ardely to flye and not abyde the battaill: besyde this I assure you that there be yonder in  
 that great battaill, men brought thither for feare and not for loue, souldiours by force com-  
 pelled and not w<sup>th</sup> good will assembled: persons which desyer rather the destruccoon then  
 saluacion of ther master and captayn And fynally a multitude. wnerof the most part will  
 be our frendes and the lest part our enemies. For truely I dout whiche is greater the ma-  
 lice of the souldiours towards there captain, or the feare of hym conceyued of his people:  
 for suerly this rule is infallible, that as il men daily couyte to destroy the good, so God ap-  
 poynteth the good to confounde the yll, and of all worldly goodes the greatest is, to sup-  
 presse tirauntes, and releue innocences, wherof the one is euer as muche hated as y<sup>e</sup> other  
 is beloued If this be true (as clerkes preche) who will spare younder tyaunt Richard  
 duke of Gloucester vntreuely callyng hym self kyng, considering that he hath violated, and  
 broken both the lawe of God & man, what vertue is in him which was the confusion of  
 hys brother and murtheier of his nephewes, what mercy is in him that sleithe hys trustie  
 frendes aswell as his extreme enemies Who can haue confidēs in him which putteth diffi-  
 dens in all mē. Yf you haue not redde, I haue hard of clerckes saie, y<sup>e</sup> Tarquyne y<sup>e</sup> proude  
 for the vice of the body lost the kyngdome of Rome, and the name of Tarquyne bannysh-  
 ed the Citee for euer yet was not his fault so detestable as the facts of cruell Neio, which  
 slew his awne mother and opened her entrayles to be holde the place of his conception.  
 Beholde younder Richarde whiche is bothe Tarquyne and Neio: Yea a tyraūt more then  
 Nero, for he hath not only murdered his nephewe being his kyng and souereigne lord,  
 bastarded his noble brethern and defamed the wombe of his verteous and womanly mother,  
 but also compased all the meanes and waies y<sup>e</sup> he coulede inuent how to stuprate and carnally  
 know his awne nece vnder the pretence of a cloked matrimony, whiche lady I haue swoine  
 and promised to take to my make and wyfe as you all know and beleue. If this cause be  
 not iuste, and this quarel Godly, let God the geuer of victorie iudge and determine We  
 haue (thankes be geuen to Christ) escaped y<sup>e</sup> secrete treasons in Brytaine, and auoyded the  
 subtyll snares of our fraudulēt enemies there, passed the troublous sees in good and quiet  
 sauēgarde, & with out resistance haue penetrate the ample region and large countrey of  
 Wales, and are now comine to the place which we so much desyred, for long we haue  
 sought the furious bore, and now we haue found him Wherefore, let vs not feare to enter  
 in to the toyle where we may suerly sleigh hym, for God knoweth y<sup>e</sup> we haue liued in the  
 vales of myserie, tossynge oure shippes in daungerous stormes let vs not now dread to  
 set vp our sailes in fayre wether hauyng with vs bothe hym and good fortune. If we had  
 come to conquer Wales and had acheued it, our praise had bene great, and our gayne  
 more. but yf we wyn this battaill, y<sup>e</sup> hole riche realme of England with the lordes and ru-  
 lers of the same shall be oures, the profit shall be oures and the honour shall be oures.  
 Therefore labour for your gayne and swet for your right. while we were in Brytaine we had  
 small liuynges and lytle plentye of wealth or welfare, now is the time come to get abun-  
 dauce of riches and copie of profit which is the rewarde of your seruice and merite of  
 your payne And this remēber with your selues, that before vs be our ennemies, and on  
 ether syde of vs be suche as I neither suerly trust, nor greatly beleue, backward we cannot  
 fly. So that here we stande like shepe in a folde circumcepted and cōpassed betwene our  
 enemies and our doubtful frendes. Therefore let all feare be set a syde and lyke sworne  
 brethern let vs ioyne in one, for this day shalbe thende of our trauayle and the game of  
 our labour eyther by honorable death or famous victory: And as I trust, the battaill shall



not be so sowre as þy profyt shalbe swete. Remember þy victorie is not gotten with the multitude of men, but with the courages of hartes and valhauntnes of myndes. The smaller that our nombre is, the more glorie is to vs yf we vanquishe, if we be ouercome, yet no laude is to be attributed, to the victors, consydering that. x. men fought agaynst one. and yf we dye so glorious a death in so good a quarell, nether fletyng tynne, nor cancarding obliuio shal be able to obfuscate or race out of the boke of fame ether our names or our Godly attempt. And this one thyng I assure you, that in so iuste and good a cause, and so notable a quarell, you shall fynde me this daye, rather a dead carion vppon the coold grounde, then a fie prisoner on a carpet in a laydes chamber. Let vs therfore fight like inuincible gyantes, & set on our enemies like vntimerous Tigers & banish all feare like rāping lions. And now auauce forward trew men against traytors, pitifull persones against murtherers, trew inheritors against vsurpers, þy skorges of God against tūaūtes, display my banner with a good courage, marche furth like strong & robustious champions, & begyn þy battaill like hardy conquerers, the battaill is at hande, & þy victorie approacheth, & yf we shamfully recule or cowardly flye, we and all our sequele be destroyd & dishonored for euer. This is þy date of gayne, & this is þy tyme of losse, get this day victorie & be cōquereis, & lese this daies battail & be villains & therfore in þy name of God & saict George let every mā coragiously auauce forth his stāard.

These cherefull wordes he sett forthe with suche gesture of his body and smilng cōte-nance, as though all redye he had vanquysed hys enemies and gotten the spoyle

The battaile  
betwene  
king Ri-  
chard and  
kyng Henry  
the. vii.

He had scantly finyshe his saienge; but the one armye espyed the other, lord how hastily the souldiours buckled their healmes, how quickly the archers bent their bowes and frused there feathers, how redely þy byllmen shoke there bylles and ploed there stauces, redy to approche & ioync when the terrible trompet should sownde the bluddy blast to victorie or death. Betwene both armies ther was a great marrysse which thele of Richemond left on his right hand, for this entent that it should be on that syde a defence for his part, and in so doying he had the sonne at his backe and in the faces of his enemies. When kynge Richard saw the earles compaignie was passed the marresse, he commaunded with al hast to sett vpon them, then the trompettes blew & the souldiours showted and the kyngs archers couragiously let fly there arrowes, the eyles bowmē stode not still but paied the home againe. The terrible shot ons passed, the armies ioyned, & came to hande strokes, where nothei swerde nor byll was spared, at whiche encounter the lord Stanley ioyned with therle. The erle of Oxorde in the meane season feryng lest wile his cōpaigne was fighting, they should be compassed & circūuented w þy multitude of his enemies, gaue cōmaūdemēt in every ranke þy no mā should be so hardy as go aboue. x. fote from þy standard, whiche cōmaundement ons knowen, they knit the selves together, & ceased a littel frō fighting the aduersaries sodainly abashed at the matter and mystrustyng some fraude or deceate, began also to pause and left strikyng, and not against the wylls of many whiche had leuer had the kyng destroyed then saued, and therfore they fought very faintlye or stode stil. Therle of Oxorde bringing all his hend together on the one part, set on his enemies fleshy, agayne, the aduersaries perceiuyng that, placed ther men slender and thynne before and thicke and brode behynde, begynnyng againe hardely the battaill. While the two forwardes thus mortallye fought, eche entending to vanquishe & conuince þy other, Kyng Richard was admonished by his explorators and espialles, þy therle of Richmōd accompaigned with a small number of men of armes was not faie of, & as he approached and marched toward him, he perfetely knew his personage by certaine demonstracions & tokens whiche he had learned and knowen of other. And being inflamed with ire and vexed w outrageous malice, he put his spures to his horse & rode out of the syde of þy range of his battaile, leuyng the auantgardes fighting, & like a hungry lion ran with spere in iest toward him. Thele of Richmonde perceyued wel the king furiously commyng toward him, and by cause the hole hope of his welth and purpose was to be determined by battaill, he gladly proffered to encountre with him body to body and man to man. Kyng Rychard

set

set on so sharpely at the first Broūt y he ouerthrew therles standarde, and slew Sir William Brandon his standarde bearer (whiche was father to sir Charles Brandon by kynge Hēry y viii created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand w sir Ihon Cheynyē, a man of great force & strength which would haue resisted him, & the said Ihon was by him manfully ouerthrowen, and so he making open passage by dent of swerde as he went forward, therle of Richmond with stode his violence and kept him at the swerdes pointē without auantage longer then his compaignions other thought or iudged, which beyng almost in dispaire of victorie, weie sodainly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, whiche came to succours with iii. thousand tall men, at whiche very instant kynge Richardes men were dryuen backe and fledde, and he him selfe manfully fyghtyng in the mydell of his enemies was slayne and brought to his death as he worthely had deserued

In the meane season therle of Oxforde with the aide of the Lord Stanley, after no long fight disconfited the forward of king Rychard, whereof a greate nomber weie slayne in the chace and flight, but the greatest nomber whiche (compelled by feare of the kyng and not of there mere voluntarie mocion) came to the feld, gaue neuer a stroke, and hauyng no harme nor damage sauely departed, whiche came not thither in hope to se the kynge prosper and preuaile, but to here that he shoulde be shamefully confounded and brought to ruyne.

In this battaill died fewe aboue the nomber of a thousande persones And of the nobilitie weie slayne Ihon Duke of Norfolke, whiche was warned by dyuers to refrayne from the felde, in so much that the nyghte before he shoulde set forwarde towarde the kynge, one wrote on his gate

Iack of Norffolke be not to bolde

For Dykon thy maister is bought and solde.

Yet all this notwithstandinge he regarded more his othe his honour and promyse made to king Richard, lyke a gentleman and a faythfull subiecte to his prince absented not him selfe from hys mayster, but as he faythfully lyued vnder hym, so he manfully dyed with hym to hys greate fame and lawde There weie slayne besyde him Water lorde Feriers of Chartley, Sir Rychard Ratclyffe, and Robert Brakenburie Leutenaunt of the Tower and not many gentlemen mo Sir Willyam Catesbey learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the cheffe counsailers to the late king, with diuers other were. ii. daies after beheaded at Leycester. Amongest them that ran away weie Sir Fraunces Vicount louell and Humfrey Stafford and Thomas Stafford his brother which toke sanctuary in saynct Ihones at Gloucester Of captiues and prysoners there was a greate nomber, for after the death of kynge Rycharde was knowen and publyshed, cuery man in manner vnarmyng hym selfe and castyng a waye his abilimentes of warre, mekely submitted them seltes to the obeyssaunce and rule of therle of Richemond of the whiche the more parte had gladly so done in the beginnyng yf they myght haue conueniently escaped from kyng Richardes espialles, whiche hauyng as clere eyes as lynx and as open eies as Mydas ragēd and serched in every quarter Amongest these was Henry the iii. erle of Northumberlande, whiche whither it was by the commaundement of kyng Rycharde puttyng diffidence in him, or he dyd it for the loue & fauor that he bare vnto the Earle, stode still with a greate compaignie & intermitted not in the battaill, whiche was incontinently receyued in to fauour and made of the counsaill. But Thomas Haward erle of Surrey whiche submitted hym selfe ther, was not taken to grace by cause his father was cheffe counsaillor & he greatly familiar with kyng Richard, but comitted to the Tower of Londō, where he long remained & in conclusion deliuered, & for his treuth and fidelity after promoted to high honors offices & dignites. On therle of Richmōds part weie slaine scace one hundred persones, amongst whome the pryncipall was Sir William Brandon his standard bearer.

This battaill was fought at Bosworth in Leycester shire the xxii. daye of August in the yere of our redempcion a M CCCC. lxxxvi. the hole conflicte endured lyttell aboue two howres. Kyng Richard as the fame went might haue escaped and gotten sauegarde by fli-  
3 H 2
yngē.



yuge. For when they which were next about his person saw and perceyued at the first ioyning of the battail the souldiours faintly and nothing courageously to set on their enemies, and not only that, but also that some withdrew them selves pryuely out of the prease and departed. They began to suspect fraude and to smell treason, and not only exhorted but determinatly aduysed hym to saue hym selfe by flyght: and when the losse of the battayle was imminent and apparante, they brought to hym a swyfte and a light horse to conuey hym away. He which was not ignorant of y<sup>e</sup> grudge & yll will y<sup>e</sup> the cōmō people bare toward him, casting away all hope of fortunate successe & happy chaūce to cōme, answered (as men saye) that on that daye he woulde make an end of all batailles or els ther finish his lyfe. Suche a great audacitie & such a stowte stomake reigned in his body, for suerly he knew y<sup>e</sup> to be the day in the which it should be decided & determined whither he should peaseably obteyne & enioye his kingdom duryng his life, or els vtterly forgo & be depriued of thesame, with which to much hardines he heying overcome hastily closed his helmet, and entered fiercely in to the hard battail, to thentent to obtene that day a quiet reigne & regiment or els to finishe there his vnquiet life & vnfortunate gouernaūce. And so this miser at y<sup>e</sup> same very point had like chaunce & fortune, as happeneth to suche whiche in place of right iustice & honesty folowyng ther sensuall appetite, loue, vse, and embrace, mischief, tyranny, and vnthriftines. Suerly these be examples of more vehemencye then mans tonge can expresse, to feare and astūne suche yuell persones as wil not lyue one houre vacant frō doying and exercisyng crueltie myschiefe or outrageous luyng.

When therle had thus obtayned victorie and slain his mortal enemye, he kneeled doune and rendred to almightie God his harty thākes w<sup>th</sup> deuoute & Godly orisons, besechyng his goodnes to sende hym grace to auance & defende the catholike fayth & to mayntaine iustice & cōcorde amōgest his subiectes & people, by God now to his gouernaūce cōmitted & assigned. Which prayer finysched, he replenyshed w<sup>th</sup> incomperable gladnes, ascended vp to the top of a littell mountaine, where he not only praysed & lawded his valiaunt souldiours, but also gaue vnto them his harty thankes, w<sup>th</sup> promyse of cōdigne recompence for their fidelite & valiaūt factes, willing & commaundyng al the hui<sup>t</sup> & wounded peisones to be cured, and the dead carcases to be deliuered to y<sup>e</sup> sepulture. Then y<sup>e</sup> people reioysed & clapped hādes cryng vp to heauen, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. When the lord Stanley sawe the good will and gratuite of the people he toke the crowne of kyng Richard which was founde amongst the spoyle in the felde, and set it on therles bed, as though he had byne elected kyng by the voyce of the people as in auncient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath been accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicitye. I must put you here in remembraunce how that kyng Richard puttyng some diffidence in the lord Stanley, which had w<sup>th</sup> hym as an hostage, the lorde straunge his eldest sonne, which lord Stanley as you haue hearde before ioynd not at the firste with his sonne in lawes armye, for feare that kyng Rycharde woulde haue slayne the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When kyng Rycharde was come to Boswoorth, he sent a purseuaūt to the lord Stanley, commaundyng hym to auance forward with hys compaignie and to come to his presence, whiche thyng yf he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion that he woulde stryke of his sonnes hedde before he dined. The lorde Stanley answered the pursuaunt that yf the kyng dyd so, he had more sonnes a lyue, and as to come to hym he was not then so determined: when kyng Rycharde harde this aunswere he commaunded the lorde Straunge incontinent to be beheaded, whiche was at that very same season when both the armyes had sight eche of other. The counsaillers of kyng Rychard pondering the tyme and the cause, knowyng also the Lorde Straunge to be innocente of his fathers offence, perswaded the kyng that it was now time to fight and not time to execucion, aduysyng him to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a prisoner till the battayll were ended, and then at Leyser his pleasure might be accomplished. So as God woulde kyng Rycharde enfynged hys holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the keepers of the kynges tentes to be kept as a prisoner, whiche when the felde was done and their master slayne and proclamacion made to knowe were the childe was, they

they submitted them selves as prysoners to the Lord Straunge, and he gently receyued them and brought them to the newe proclamed king, where of him and of his Father he was receyued with greate ioye and gladnes. After this the hole campe remoued with bagg and baggage and thesame nyght in the euenyng kynge Henry with great Pompe came to the towne of Leycester. Where aswell for the refreshyng of his people and souldiours as for preparyng all thynges necessarie for hys iourney toward London, he rested and reposed hym selfe twoo dayes. In the meane season the deade corps of kynge Rycharde was as shamefully caryed to the towne of Leycester as he gorgiously the daye before with pompe and pryde departed owte of the same towne. For his bodye was naked and despoyled to the skyne, and nothyng left aboue hym not so muche as a clowte to couer hys pryue members, and was trussed behynde a persuaunt of armes called blaunche senglier or whyte bore, lyke a hogge or a calfe, the hed and armes hangyng on the one syde of the horse, and the legges on the other syde, and all by spryncled with myre and bloud, was brought to the gray fryers church within the towne, and there laie lyke a miserable spectacle but suerly considering his mischeuous actes and Facinorous doynges, men may worthely wonder at such a caytue, and in the sayde church he was with no lesse funeral pompe, and solempnitie entered, then he woulde to be done at the beryng of his innocent nephiwes whome he caused cruellie to be murdered and vnaturally to be quelled.

When his death was knowe, few lamented, & many reioysed, y<sup>e</sup> proude braggyng white bore (whiche was his badge) was violently rased and plucked doune from euery signe and place where it myght be espied, so yll was his lyfe that men wished the memorie of hym to be buried with his carren corps. He reigned. ii. yeres ii. monethes and one daie.

As he was small and litle of stature so was he of body greatly deformed, the one shoulder higher then the other, his face small but his cōtenaunce was cruel, and such, that a man at the first aspect would iudge it to sauor and smel of malice, fraude, and deceite when he stode musing he would byte and chaw besely his nether lippe, as who sayd, that his fyerce nature in his cruell body alwaies chafed, sturred and was euer vnquiete: beside that, the dagger that he ware he would when he studied with his hand plucke vp and downe in the sheathe to the middes, neuer drawing it fully out, his wit was pregaunt, quicke and redy, wyly to fayne and apte to dissimule, he had a proud mynde and an arrogāt stomacke, the whiche accompaigned him to his death, whiche he rather desyryng to suffer by dent of swerde, then beyng forsaken and destitute of his vntrewe compaignions, woulde by coward flight preserue and saue his vncertaine liffe. Whiche by malice, sickenes or condigne punishment might chaunce shortly after to come to confusion.

Thus ended this prince his mortall life with infamie and dishonor, whiche neuer preferred fame or honestie before ambicion tyranny and myschiefe. And yf he had continued still, Protectoure and suffered his nephewes to haue lyued and reigned, no doubt but the realme had prospered and he muche praysed and beloued as he is nowe abhorred and vilpended, but to God whiche knewe his interior cogitacions at the hower of his deathe I remitte the punishment of his offences committed in his lyte.

The dispersion  
of kyng  
Richard y<sup>e</sup>.  
iiij.



# THE POLITIQUE GOUERNAUNCE OF KYNG

## HENRY THE. VII.

**C**ONSIDERING now that I haue sufficiently declared what mischiefe kyng Richard the third wrought with in this realme after  $\hat{y}$  death of his noble brother kyng Edward the fourth and how the nobilitie of his kyngdom maligned and conspired against him, and abandoned and left him in maner desolate at the day of his most nede & tribulaciō. Also how miserable he ended his lyfe at  $\hat{y}$  toune of Bosworth, and how vnreuerētly he was enterred at  $\hat{y}$  toune of Leicestre which I doubt not but is sufficiently declared vnto you. And now only resteth to shewe you what happened after his fall and confusion to him, that both vanquished & deprived him from his princely powre & royall dignitie.

When kyng Henry had not only obtained this triumphant battaile at the plain of Bosworth against his malicious enemy kyng Richard, but also by the glorious victorie gatt the diademe and possession of thestate royall and princely preheminance of this famous Empire and renoumed kyngdome. He hauyng both the ingenious forcast of the subtil serpent, and also fearyng the burning fire like an infant that is a litle synged with a small flame and farther vigilantly forseyng & prudently prouidyng for doubttes that might accidentally ensue: deuysed, studyed and compassed to extirpate and eradicate all interior sedicious & apparant presumptions whiche might moue any tumultuous route or sedicious coniuration against him within his realme in tyme to comē. And to obsist the first likely mischiefe, he sent before his departure from Leycestre Sir Robert wylloghby knight to the maner of Sherybhton in the county of Yorke, for Edward plantagenet Erle of Warwike sonne and heire to George duke of Clarence then beyng of the age of. xv. yerres, whom kyng Richard had kept there as a prisoner duryng the tyme of his vsurped reigne. And suely  $\hat{y}$  kyng was not afearde without a cause, for he much mistrusted least by this yōng man, some euill disposed and enuiours persones of his glory and auaucemēt might inuent some new occasion of reuuyng of battaill against him, which beyng euen from his infancy with many encombrances and troubles vexed & endaungered desired nothyng more hartely then nowe to lyue in quietnes, peace and tranquility. Sir Robert wylloghby accordyng to hys commission receaued of the conestable of the castle the Erle Edward, and him conueighed to London, where the youngelyng borne to perpetuall calamitie was incontynent in the towre of London putt vnder safe & sure custody. There was beside him in thesame Castell of Sherybhton the lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to kyng Edward, whom kyng Richard foolishly phantasyng and deuelyshly dotyng did entende to mary as you before haue heard, but the damosell dyd not alonly disagre and repudiate that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abhominable desyre. At whiche most impōrtunate and detestable cōcupiscence, the cōmon people of the realme so much grudged and maligned that they did not only attribute  $\hat{y}$  faute & cryme to the kyng, but much more culpate & blame his preuy coucellers which did not dissent, but consent to so pernicious a counsaill & so shamefull a conclusion. But God of his only goodnes preserued  $\hat{y}$  christē mynde of that verteous & immaculate virgin, & from their flagitious & facinerous acte, did graciously protect and defende: The which lady not long after accōpanyed with a great nombre aswell of noblemē as honorable matrones was with good spede conueighed to London and brought to her mother.

In the meane ceason the kyng remoued forward by iorneyes toward London, and euen as he passed, the rusticall people on euery syde of the wayes assembled in great nombres & with

great ioye clapped their handes & showted, crying, kyng Henry, kyng Henry But whē he approached nere the cytie, the Mayre, the Senac & the magistrates of thesame beyng all clothed in violet, met him at Shordiche, & not only saluted and welcomed him with one voyce in generall, but euery person perticularly pleased and aduanced him selfe, gladly to touche and kysse that victorious handes whiche had ouercome so monstruous & cruell a tyraunt, geuyng laudes & prayssynges to almighty God, and reudryng immortall thanks to him, by whose meane & industry the cōmen wealth of the realme was preseued frō finall destruction & perpetual calamite, and the aucthores of y mischiefe sublated & plucked awaye. And with great pompe & triumphe he rode through the cytie to the cathedral church of S Paule wher he offred his iii. standardes In the onc was the ymage of S. George. in the secōd was a red fyre dragō beaten vpō white and grene sarcenet, y third was of yelowē tarterne, in the which was painted a dōne kowe. After his prayers saide & Te deum song, he departed to the bishoppes palays & there sojourned a ceason, during whiche time, playes, pastymes & pleasures were shewed in euery parte of the cytie. And to thentent that their good mynd toward God should not be put in obliuion, they caused general processions solely to be celebrate to rendre and yelde to God their creator & redemer their hartye and humble thanks whiche had deliuered them frō miserable captiuite & restored them to libertie and freedom. Besyde this, they that fauoured and loued the kyng were inwardly ioyous to se & perceauē that their aduersaries and back frendes were all redy or like to be suppeditate & ouerthrowen.

When these solempnities & gratifications were done & passed accordyng as other kynges had been accustomed, he cōgregated together the sage counclers of his realme, in which cōsail like a prince of iust faith and true of promes, detesting all intestine & cyuel hostility, appointed a daye to ioyne in matrimony y lady Elizabeth heyre of the house of Yorke, with his noble personage heyre to y. lyne of Lancastie: whiche thyng not onely reioysed and comforted the hartes of the noble and gentlemen of the realme, but also gayned the fauour & good myndes of all the cōmen people, much extollyng and prayssyng the kynges constant fidelityte and his polletique deuyce, thinkyng surely that the daye was now come that the seede of tumultuous factions & the fountayne of cyuel dissencion should be stopped, euacuate and clerely extinguished

After this he with great pompe was cōueighed to Westmynster, and there the thirte daye of Octobre was with all ceremonies accustomed, enoynted & crowned kyng by the whole assent as well of the cōmons as of the nobilitie, & was named kyng Henry the vii of that name, which was in the yere of our redemption M cccc. lxxxvi. Frederyke the iiij. then beyng Emperour of Almayne, Maximilian his sonne then beyng newly elected kyng of Romanes, Charles the. viij. reinyng ouer the Frenche nacion, & James the iiij. rulyng the realme of Scotland Which kyngdome he obteyned & enioyed as a thyng by God elected & prouided, and by his especiall fauoure & gracious aspecte compassed and acheued In so muche that mē cōmonly reporte that vii C. xcviij. yeres passed, it was by a heavenly voyce reueled to Cadwalader last kyng of Brytons that his stocke and progeny should reigne in this land and beare domynion agayn. Wherupō most men were perswaded in their awne opinion that by this heavenly voyce he was prouided & ordeyned longe before to enioye and obtaine this kyngdom, whiche thing kyng Henry the vi did also shewe before as you haue heard declared. Wherefore he beyng by right and iust tyle of temporal inheritance, & by prouision of deuyne purueyance thus crowned and proclaimed kyng: First of all vsyng the antique example of the Athenienses, whiche is to perdon and put out of memory all crymes and offences before tyme agaynst hym or his lawes perpetrated or cōmitted, he called his high court of parliamēt at Westmynster the vii. daye of Nouembre for the establishyng of all thynges aswell cōcernyng the preseruacion and maintenaūce of his roial person, as the admynistracion of iustice and preferment of the cōmon wealth of this realme and dominion, in the which he caused to be proclaimed that all men were pardoned, acquitted & clerely discharged of all offences, peynes of death and execncions, and should be restored to their landes and moueable goodes whiche woulde submit them selues to his clemency



mency and hy othe be obliged truly to serue and obeye hym as their souereigne lorde, & who woulde be obstinate & reſuse to retuine to his parte, ſhould be accepted and taken as a public enemy to hym and his countrey By reſon of which proclamacion, a great nombre that came out of diuerſe ſanctuaries and priuiledged places obteyned grace, forgetting clerely the diſmeiſit of factions & voyce of partakyng After this he began to remembre his eſpeciall frendes & ſantours of whome ſome he auanced to honoure & dignite, & ſome he enriched with poſſeſſions & goodes, euery mā according to his deſert & merite. And to begynne, Iaſpar his vncler Erle of Penbrooke, he created duke of Bedforde, Thomas lorde Stanley he promoted to be erle of Darby, & J̄ lord Chandew of Britene his eſpeciall fiende he made erle of Bathe, Sir Gyles Dawbeney was made lorde Dawbeney, Sir Robert Willoughby was made lord Brooke which be in their degre barons and peeres of the realme. And Edward Stafford eldeſt ſon to Henry late duke of Buckingham, he reſtored to his name dignitie and poſſeſſions, which kyng Richard did conſiſcate and attaynted. Beſide this in this parliamēt was this notable acte aſſented to and concluded as foloweth.

"To the pleaſure of almighty God, wealth, proſperite & ſuretie of this realme of England, and to the ſynghuler comfort of all the kynges ſubiectes of theſame, in aduoyd-  
yng all ambiguyties & queſtions. Be it ordeyned, eſtabliſhed and enacted by this preſent parliamente, that the inheritaunce of the croune of this realme of England and alſo of Fraunce with all the prehemynēce and dignitie royall to theſame apperteigulyng and all other ſeignories to the kyng belonging beyond the ſea with the appurtenaunces therto in any wyſe dewe or apperteignyng, ſhall reſt, remayne and abyde in the moſt royal perſon of our nowe ſouereigne lorde kyng Henry the vij and in the heires of his body lawfully cōmyng, perpetually with the grace of God ſo to endure, and in none other."

And beſide this acte al attainders of this kyng, enacted by kyng Edward & kyng Richard were adnichilated, and the record of theſame adjudged to be defaced & put out of memory, and al perſons attainted for his cauſe & occaſion, were reſtored to their goodes, landes & poſſeſſions And in cōcluſion, diuerſe of the actes made in the tyme of kyng Edward and kyng Richard were adnulled & reuoked, & other more expedient for the vtilite of the cōmen wealth were ſubrogated and concluded When all thynges neceſſary were diſcretely ordred and the parliament for the tyme diſſolued, the kyng thought it not neceſſary to put in obliuion his frendes and hoſtages beyng beyond the ſea, wherfore with all diligent celeritie he redeemed the Marques Dorcet & ſir Ihon Bouchier whom he had leſte as pledges at Parys for money there before borrowed. And ſent alſo into Flaunders for Ihon Morton biſhop of Ely.

Theſe actes perſormed, he eſtabliſhed in his houſe a graue counſaill of wyſe and polittique men, by whoſe iudgement, ordre & determinacion the people might be gouerned accordyng to iuſtice and equitie, and that all cauſes might be finiſhed and ended there, without great bearyng or expence in long ſute And for hearyng & decydyng theſe cauſes muſtly and ſpedely, he ſware of his counſaill dyuerſe noble and diſcrete perſones, whiche for their pollecy, wit & ſnguler grautie, were highly eſtimated and renowned, whoſe names folowe, Iaſpar duke of Bedforde, Ihon Erle of Oxford, Thomas Stanley erle of Darby, Ihō biſhop of Ely, Sir Wylliam Stanley lord Chamberleyn of his houſholde, Sir Robert Willoughby, lord Brooke, lord Stuard of his houſhold, Gyles lord Dawbeney, Ihon lord Dynham after made treſorer of England, Sir Reignold Brey, Sir Ihon Cheney, Sir Richard Guylford, Sir Richard Tunſtall, Sir Richard Egecombe, Sir Thomas Louell, Sir Edward Pownynges, Sir Ihō Ruſley, with diuerſe other wyſe men, whiche as the tyme required he called to his counſayll and ſeruyce nowe one and nowe another.

Although by this eleccion of wyſe and graue counſellers all thynges ſemed to be brought to a good & perfight conſluſion, yet there lacked a wreſt to the harpe to ſet all the ſtrynges in a monacorde and tune which was the matrimony to be finiſhed betwene the kyng and the lady Elizabeth daughter to kyng Edward, which lyke a good prynce accordyng to his othe and promes, he did both ſolempniſe and cōſummate in brief tyme after, that is to ſaye on the

the xvij daye of Ianuary By reason of whiche marriage peace was thought to discende oute of heauē into England, considering that the lynes of Lancastie & Yorke, being both noble families equalēt in ryches, fame and honour, were now brought into one knot and connexed together, of whose two bodyes one heyre might succede, which after their tyme should peaceably rule and enioye the whole monaichy and realme of England.

These thynges thus passed, albeit that apparauntly all thynges semed to be reduced to a good poynte and set in a sure steve. Kyng Henry beyng made wyse and expert wyth troubles and myschiefes before past, remembered that it was wisdomē to feare & provide for the crafty wyles and lurking trappes of his secret enemyes, rememoring all mē for the moost parte embriued & exercysed in plantyng of dyuision and sowynge dissencion, can not lightly leaue their pestiferous appetite & sedicious occupacion. Wherefore, for the sauegarde and preseruacion of his awne body, he cōstituted & ordeyned a certayn nombre aswell of good archers as of diuēse other persons being hardy, strong and of agilitie to geue daile attendaunce on his person, whome he named Yomen of his garde, which president men thought that he learned of the Frenche kyng when he was in Fraūce. For men rememore not any kyng of England before that tyme whiche vsed such a suite of daily souldyours. Yet forasmuche as to auoide and eschewe all doubtfull daungers and perelles vnloked for, lye auayleth outward warre, except there be a sure stave, and a stedfast backstande at home, aswell for the sauegard & secuite, as for the good gouernaūce of such as be left behynde. Therefore sommoned agayne his great couite of parliament, wherto he would that there should be elected the most prudent & grauous persons of euery countie, cytie, porte and borough, and in especyall such as he in all his daungers, calamities, miseries and tumultuous affaires, vsed, trusted and fauoured as partakers, councelers, and companions both of his woo and aduersitie, and also of his triumphe & glorious victory, whose myndes and studyes he perfitly knewe to be fixed and set in the poletique regiment and prudent gouernaūce of the publique wealthe of his realme and dominion. Not forgettyng, but hauyng in fresh memory that he for that cause principally was so sore desyred, and instantly called of the Englishe nacion his naturall countreyemen: Estemyng it as a chiēte and principall parte of hys duetie to se his realme both adourned and decored with good and profitable lawes and statutes, and also to florish in vertuous operacions and good and cyuile maners, which should be an occasion to cause all men to hope, that all thyng would continually amend, from euyll to good, from good to better, and from better to the best. This sure foundation kyng Henry layde at the beginning of his reigne, entēdyng thereon continually to buylde.

The first  
Yomen of  
the garde

## THE SECOND YERE.

In this same yere a newe kynde of sicknes came sodenly through the whole region euē after the first entryng of the kyng into this Isle, which was so sore, so peynfull, & sharp that the lyke was neuer harde of, to any mānes remembraūce before that tyme. For sodenly a dedly & burnyng sweate invaded their bodyes & vexed their bloud with a most ardet heat, infested the stomack & the head greuously by the tormentyng and vexacion of which sickness, men were so sore handled & so painfully pangued that if they were layed in their bed, beyng not hable to suffre the importunate heat, they cast away the shetes & all the clothes lyng on the bed. If they were in their apparell and vestures, they would put of all their garmētes euen to their shertes. Other were so drye that they dranke the colde water to quenche their importune heate & insaciable thirst. Other that could or at the least woulde abyde the heate & styntche (for in dede the sweate had a great and a strong sauoure) caused clothes to be layed vpon them asmuch as they coulde beare, to dryue oute the sweate if it might be. All in maner asone as the sweate toke them, or within a short space after, yelded vp their ghost. So that of all them that sickened ther was not one emongest an hundreth that escaped in somuche, that beside the great nombre which deceased within the cytie of London, two Mayres successiue dyed of the same disease within viij. daies and vi.

The Sweate  
or sicknes



Aldermen. And when any person had fully and completely sweat. xxiij. houres (for so long did the strength of this plague hold them) he should be then clerely delyuered of his disease Yet not so cleane ryd of yt, but that he might shortly relaps and fall agayn into the same euyl pit, yea agayne & twyse agayne as many one in dede did, whiche after the thyrde tyme died of the same. At the length by study of the Phisicians & experience of the people, dryuen therunto by dreadfull necessity, there was a remedy inuented: For they that suryued, considering the extremyte of the payne in them that deceased, deuised by thynges mere cōtrariaunt, to resist and withstand the furious rage of that burning fuinesse, by luke waim drynke, temperate heate, & measurable clothes For such persons as relapsed again into the flame after the first delyueraunce, obserued diligently & marked suche thynges as did them ease and cōfort at their first vexacion, & vsyng the same for a remedy & medicine of their payne, addyng euer somewhat therto that was sanatyue & wholsome. So that if any person euer after fell sicke agayn, he obseruyng the regymēt that emongest the people was deuised could shortly helpe him selfe, & easely tempre and auoyde the strength and malyce of the sweate. So that after the great losse of many men, they learned a present & a speddy remedy for the same disease and malady, the whiche is this. If a man on the daye tyme were plagued with the sweate, then he shoulde streyght lye downe with all his clothes & garmētes and lye styll the whole. xxiij. houres. If in the night he were taken, then he should not ryse out of his bed for the space of xxiij. houres, & so caste the clothes that he myght in no wyse prouoke the sweate, but so lye temperately that the water myght distille oute softly of the awne accorde, & to abstayne from all meate if he might so longe susteyne and suffre hunger and to take no more drynke neither hote nor colde, then wyll modeately quentche and delaye his thrustye appetyde. And in this his amendinge, one poynte diligently aboue all other is to be obserued and attended, that he neuer put his hand or foote out of y bed to refreshe or coole him selfe, the which to do is no lesse peine then shoit death. So you may plainly see what remedy was by the daily experience excogitated and innēted for this straunge and vnknownen disease, the which at that tyme vexed and greued only the realme of England in euery toun, & village as it dyd dyuerse tymes after. But lv. yere after, it sayled into Flaunders and after into Germany, wher it destroyed people innumerable for lack of knowlege of the English experience This cōtagious & euell plague chaunced in the first yere of kyng Henryes reigne as a token and a playne signe (if to the vaine iudgemēt of the people whiche cōmonly cōmen more fantastically then wisely, any faith or credite is to be had geuē or attributed) that kyng Henry should haue a harde and sore beginning, but more truly if vayne supersticion can set furth any truth, it pretended & signified that kyng Henry to the extreme poynte and ende of his naturall life should neuer haue his spirite and mynde quyet, consideryng that nowe in the very begynnyng of his new obteyned reigne he was (as you shall shortly heare) with sedicion and cōmocion of his people, troubled, vexed and vnquyeted, and it was in maner a manifeste profe that hereafter he should lyue in small rest and great mistrust of suche rebellious and sedicious cōspiracies. These were the phantasticall iudgementes of the vnlettred persons whiche I ouerpasse, and retourne to my purpose.

When al thynges by y kyng were appeased at London & that he had set & appoynted all his affaires in good ordre and sure state, as he with him self cōiectured, he thought it best to make a peregrinaciō & take his progresse into y other quarters of his realme, y he might wede, extirpate and puidge the myndes of mē spotted & cōtamine with the cōtagious smoke of dissension, & preuy faccions, & especially the countie of Yorke which were preuy fautoures and cōforters of the cōtrary part, and not without a cause. For kyng Richard more loued, more esteemed & regarded the northern mē then any subiectes within his whole realme, which thyng to kyng Henry was not vnknowē. Wherefore he the more studied to kepe thē in dew obeisaunce & faithfull obsequy, whō he knew of long custome to haue borne then hartes & fauourable myndes to his aduersaries. therfore in y prime tyme of theyere he toke his iorney towards Yorke, & because the feast of Ester approched, he diuerted to the cytie of Lincōln. where he taryed duryng the solēpnite of that

that high feast. & making there his abode, he was certified y<sup>e</sup> the lord Louel & Homfrey stafforde were departed out of Sanctuary in Colchestre: but to what place or whether, no man as yet could tell. For which cause the kyng lytle regardyng the tale went forth his appointed iorney to Yorke. And assone as he was there receaued & settled, it was bruted, and openly shewed to the kyng him selfe that Fraunces lorde Louell was at hand with a strong and mightie powre of men, and would with all diligence inuade the cytie. also that the forenamed Homfrey Stafford & Thomas his brother were in worcettre shyre and there had rayseed a great bande of rude and rusticall people, & had cast lottes what parte should assaute the gates, what mēne should scale the walles of the cytie of Worcestre, & who should kepe the passages for lettynge of reskewes and aiders.

At the first beryng of this the kyng esteemed it for vaine & vncertain, and therefore was with it but litle moued: but after that he was certified by the letters of credēce sent frō his frendes, that all was true that was by the cōmen voice spoken and published, he was afflicted with no small feare. And surely not without a cause for he wisely cōsidred that he had neither a competēt army ready prepared, nor harneys nor weapons for them that were present. And also he was now in such a doubtfull place, where he nether might nor could cōtēntly gather an hoost together, cōsideryng that in the same cytie, the memory of kyng Richard his mortall enemy was yet recent and lyuely & not all forgottē of his frendes, but because the matter requyred diligent celerytie, least that by long taryng the powre of his aduersaries by daily aides might be encreased and multiplied, he cōmaunded the duke of Bedforde with iii. thousand men not strongly armed to do a great enterpryce (for their brest plates for the moost part were made of tanned lether) to encountre & set vpon them with all hast and diligence, and made him prey what he him selfe intended to doo. After this, the kyng congregated together an hoost in euery place where he might retayne them. The duke setting forwarde after the fassion of an eger & fierce captaine came nigh to the tentes and campe of his enemyes where he consulted and cōmunycated his mynde with certayne capitaynes & sage souldiours of his compaigny, by what waye he might treyne & allure them to peacc, without battaill or bloodsheddyng. After whiche deliberacion and aduysement had, yt was decreed that the Herauldes should proclayne openly, that all such should haue grace and pardon that would cast downe their weapons and harneys, and as faithfull subiectes submyt them selves to their naturall souereigne lord. The which proclamacion auayled & muche profitted. For the lord Louel, either for some feare or diffidence that he had in his people and souldiours, or fearyng hym selfe on his awne behalfe, fled preuily in a night from his compaignye and left them without a head, as a flocke of shepe without a shepard, which departure when it was to his armye disclosed, they put of their armure and came directly to the duke, euery man humbly submyttyng hym selfe and desiryng pardon for their offences, wholly trusting in the kynges mercy & fauourable goodnes. So by this pollitique wisdomē & ingenious meanes of the good duke, this great rage and herce route of sturdy and valyaūt traytours which was prepared againsf the kyng, and were lyke to haue been the slaughter of many a man, were pacified & repressed and brought to good conformitye and obedient subieccion. And the loide Louell cheueteyne and chiefe leader of this tumult & rebellion, fearyng more perell and daungier, then desiryng renoune or fame of cheualry, neuer taryng y<sup>e</sup> doubtfull chaunce of battaile, fled in all post haste into Lancashire, and there for a certayne space loytred and lurked with sir Thomas Broughton knyght, whiche in those quarters bare great swynge, and was there in great aucthoitie. Homfrey Stafford also hearyng of this myschaunce happened to the lord Louell, in a great dolor and agony, and for feare, in lyke maner fled and tooke sanctuary in a village called Cunnaham, two myles from Abyndon. But because the sanctuary was not a sufficient defence (as it was proued before the iustices of the kynges benche) for traytours, he was taken by force from that place, & brought to the towre, and from thence conueyghed to Tyborne and there put to execucion. but his younge brother Thomas that was with him, was perdoned & remitted because he was thought not to haue done it of



his awne wyll and malicious mynde, but thorowe the euell counsaill and mischeueous perswasion of his Eldre brother.

The birth  
of prince  
Arthur.

After that the kyng had thus by pölecy of his cöusaill appeased and repressed this tumultuous sedicion whiche greatly vexed & vnquyeted his spirites, and had reduced to reason and cöformitie the rude and bablyng people of the north parties, and in especiall inhabitautes of the countye of Yorke, he returned to London, & shortly after that to Wynchestre, where quene Elizabeth his wife was deliuered of a fayre prince named Arthur at his baptyne. Of whiche name Englishemen nomore reioysed then outwarde nacions & foreyne prynces trymbled and quaked, so muche was that name to all nacions terrible & formidable. And from Wynchestre he returned back agayn to London.

A Proverbe.

In this meane tyme, of a smal matter and thesame altogether beyng false & feyned, there was an open pathe & a apparaüt high weye made for a greater inconueniency to ensue. The which matter for the subtyl iuggelyng & craftie cöueighaunce of thesame, no lesse deceytfull then ligier de meyne in the hand of a iuggeler, was to be esteemed emögest all wysemen at the first a very bold & ouer presumptuous an acte to be attēpted: but y tyme well weyed & considred it was not so möstreous that it were worthy great wondering & admiration, cösydering that many persons of late, either borne in the wöbe of cötinual dissencion, or norished with the mylke, or suckyng the pappes of quile sediciö, could not lyue well in rest, & lesse forbear their vsual custome of mouing strife & daily debate. But they somtime sitlyng at home cöpassyng & ymaginyng hurte & dāmage toward suche as they in their hartes disdeyned, somtyme remembryng that by the libertie & priuilege of warre, all is fishe that cömeth to the net, euer delitynge in spoylyng, robberyng & reuyng, vehemently thrystyng for the distruccion & losse of such as they would be reuēged of, willyng to lyue without lawe in tyme of peace & waire, wisshyng the world neuer to be at a better staye. And as persons only dedicate & geuē to mischief & scelerous inuenciōs, either for hatred, euell wyl or malice of thē that they fauoured not, or for some emolumēt, profite and cömoditie of such y they thought to set vp & auance, were by fraude, couyn & crafty collusiō prone & ready to disquiet euery day the kyng & his whole realme, thinking y heauē had to much peace & quietnes, & hel to litle trouble and vexaciō. And there was furtherers & setters on, none lackyng, in so much that. xx persons would soner pricke them forward with a sharpe spurre, then one plucke thē back w a dull snaffle. Among the which möstres & lynbes of the deuell, there was one sir Richard Symond priest, a man of a base & obscure familie, which frō his birth delited in fraude and craftie conueighyng, & yet was he well learned, but not so well learned as wilye, nor so wilye as vngracious. Which sir Richard Symond had elected a scolar called Lambert Symenell, one of a gentle nature and pregnaüt wyt to be the orgāne & conduyte by whom he would conuey his false feigned enteiprice and attempt. The deuell chiefe master of mischief put in the wicked mynde and venemouse braynē of this moost pernicious disloyall and trayterous person, to cōmence, feigne & deuise how he might make his childe and scolar Lambert to be the right inheritor to the crowne of England, & so therof to make him kyng & to promote him self to the chiefe Archebishopricke or some high potestate in the realme. The chiefe foundation of his occasion was (by thewhich he was the more bolde) that the fame went & many menne surely supposed kyng Edwards chylde not to be dead, but to be fled secretly into some straunge place & there to be luyng, and that Edward erle of Warwike, sonne & heire to y duke of Clarēce, either was or should be put to death shortly. These rumoures although they were frielous & yayne & with out all likelyhode of verite or truthe, animated & encouraged this priest much, to thinke and iudge the tyme to be come that this Lambert might assume & take vpon hym the person & name of one of kyng Edward the fourthes chyl dren, and to clayme and make title vöth to the realme and kyngdome, hauyng sure knowlege that neither frendship should want nor aide shoulde lacke and considering that cancard hatred rooted and founded vpō facinorouse faccions & sedicions deuysions be so perdurable and in maner euerlastyng that they can neuer be clerely extirpate or digged out  
of

of their rottē hartes, but that they wylle with hand & foote, toothe and nayle further if they can their pretended entrepryce. And this poore priest brought into this foolishe paradise through his awne fantasticall ymaginacion, informed & taught the chyld diligētly at Oxenfoide where he went to scoole, both instructyng him with princely behaueour, ciuyle manner & fruitefull literature, declaring to him of what high parentage and of what noble progeny he was lyneally descended, thus perswadyng and teachyng hym his lesson clerckly and craftely, for his purpose, that y people hearing the chyld thus rehersyng his stocke so sagely, might the rather geue credite to his deceitfull pretēce & false coloured inuencion. Sone after the rumour was blowen abroade that Edward y younge erle of Warwike was brokē out of prison. And whē sir Symōd heard of this, he now intēdyng therby to bring his inuētēd purpose to a cōclusion, chaūged y childe name of baptyme & called him Edward after y name of the yōūg Erle of Warwike, y which were both of one yeres & of one stature, & then he w his pupille sailed into Irelād, there openyng his mynd, & declaring his matter to certain of the Irishe nobilitie, whō he knew by true fame & reporte to beare but litle fauour to kyng Henry, nor his partakers, & hauyng othe and promes of aide to him sworne & made, he shewed them that he had saued and preseued the duke of Clarēce son frō death, & had for very good will brought him into that countrey & region where he knew that both kyng Edward and all his stock were fauoured & loued aboue all other. This matter beleued straight of the nobilitie which so shewed & published this feigned fable and ymagined iuggelynge from one to another tyll at the last it was accōpted to be as true as the Gospell without any cōtrouersye, ambiguitie or question. In so much that the lord Thomas Gerardyne chauncelour of all y countrey defrauded by his illusion vndre the colour of plaine truthe receaued him into his castell and with honoure & reuerence him entreteyned as one that descended frō the high progeny of the sangue royall, and begā much to aide & helpe him. First calling together all his frendes & louers & suche other as were of bande or affinitie, declaring first to them the cōmyng of this child, & after affirmyng that the cioune and sceptre of the realme of right apperteyned to this yōūg pynce as sole heyre male leste of the ligne of Richarde duke of Yorke. Exhortyng and desiryng them bothe for the childe sake and his awn, as he was true inheritoure to the cioune, to helpe and assyst hym to obtaine the garland and possession of thesame by his graundfather to him lyneally descended. And so after communicatyng thesame matter with other of the nobilitie, euery man promysed accordyng to hys powre, aide of monye, menne and municyons. By thys meanes the same was shortly bruted throughout all Irelande, and euery man was willynge to take his parte and submyt them selves to him, callyng him of all handes kyng. So that nowc they of this secte thus compassed and sortyd, thought to haue in other places their compaignyons and furtherers of their malicious purpose & most pestiferous faccion, and straight forth they sent to England certayne preuy messengers to desire them, whome they knewe to haue been true faythfull and frendes to kyng Richarde, now to cōtinue in their accustomed loue and faithfull frendship toward his nephewe and to helpe the childe with treasure & substaunce as farre as they conueniently might. And that his powre might be the stronger to ouercome his enemies & to obteyne his pretended purpose, he and his confederates sent messengers into Flaunders to the lady Margaret suster to kyng Edward and late wyfe to Charles the duke of Bourgoyne to further his purpose with all her powre and helpe. This duke Charles hauyng no chyl dren by this lady Margaret, left one sole daughter named Mary behynde hym, begottē of his first wyfe daughter to the duke of Bulbone, whiche was married to Maximilian sonne to Frederick the Emperour, on whiche wife he had engendred two children, the one Philp, and the other Margaret. The whiche two chyl dren after the deathe of the lady Mary their mother this lady Margaret late wyfe to duke Charles so entirely be loued, so tenderly brought vp, and so motherly norished, beside the dailye payne that she toke in ordryng their affaires and busynes for the mayntenance of their honoure and prefeiment of their proffite, that she both for her motherly loue toward the yōūg children, & also for the good administracion of iustice in their coun-



tries was highly reputed and esteemed & bare gréat auctoritie & swynge through all Flaunders and the lowe countries therto adiacēt. This lady Margaret, although she knewe the familye and stocke of the house of Yorke to be in maner distroyed & vterly defaced by her brother kyng Richard, yet not beinge saciate nor content with the long hatred & continual malice of her parentes which subuerted and ouerthrew almost the progeny and lineage of kyng Henry the vi and the house of Lancaster, nor yet remembryng the newe affinitie & strong alliance that was lately concluded, by the whiche the heyres of bothe the houses and progenies were vnited & comoynd together in lawfull matrimony, lyke one forgetting bothe God & chaite, inflamed with malice diabolicall instinction, inuented & practised all mischiefes, displeasures and dānages that she could deuise against the kyng of England. And farther in her fury and frantike moode (accordyng to the sayng of the wise man, there is no malice equivalent nor aboue the malice of a womā) she wrought all the wayes possible how to sucke his bloud and cōpasse his destruccion as the principal head of her aduerse parte & contrary faccion, as though he should be a dewe sacrifice or an host immolated for the mutuall murder & shamefull homicide cōmitted and perpetrated by her brother and progeny. So vehemēt, so full of poyson and so strong is the powre of cruyle dissension and pieuy hatred, that sometyme it wyll auerte and withdrawe the wisest and moost sapient men from goodnesse, honestie & their bounden allegaunce. Therefore this lady knowyng of this tumultuous secte and conspiracye, prepared and sodenly deuysed against kyng Henry (although she knewe it to be but a feigned & painted mattie & not worth two strawes) yet (hauyng suche an occasion to worke her malice vpon) she promised gladly to the messengers not only to maynteyne, aide, further and succoure their purposed entent with money and substaūce, but with all the laboure & payne that she might, to encourage, stomacke and entyce many other to be aiders, assisters & partakers of thesame conspiracy, and shortly to ioyne with the cheuteines of thesaide enterpryce.

Whē king Henry was certehed of these doynge by messengers sent into England, no meruell although he was none other wise then he had occasion, sore vexed & moued, cōsideryng that by the disceate and fraude of suche a dongehyll knaue and vyle borne villeyne, so great a sedicion should be excited and sturred against him: Neuertheles, he lyke a circūspect, ingenious and prudent prynce, well cōsideryng and pollitiquely forseynge, ymagined that if this enterpryce came to passe, that the finall ende would be the bluddy darte of mortall warre, & yf they should ioyne and combate in open battaile, in the which for the moost parte, the large campe of all mischiefe is commonly opened and shewed, many innocent menne on both partes should perishe and come to ruyne and confusyon without desert or offence. For which reason, befoie all thynges he determyned to attempt and proue yf that he might without anye battayle or stroke stryken (thende whereof is euer ambiguous and doubtful) pacesye and reduce these rebels to rule, reason, & dewe subieccion, before that this euell newly planted weede should straye and wander ouer the good herbes of his whole realme. Therefore he called his whole cōsaill together at the Chartrehouse besyde his royall manner called Richemonde, and there consulted how to pacesye this sodeyn rage secretly begonne, without any more disturbaunce or open trouble: whiche mocion of all menne was thought mete, necessary & profitable to be assayed and prosecuted with celerite and effecte. And that before any other thyng were attempted and begonne, that a generall pardon should be published to al offenders that were content to receaue thesame & after would be true, louyng & obedient to the kyng their soueraigne lord accordyng to their bounden dutie and allegaunce: Thinkyng that if that pardō were any lenger space procrastened or prolonged, that in the meane ceason (as the prouerbe sayth, taryenge draweth and leopaideth perell) Sir Thomas Broughton knyght whiche had hyd and kept the lorde Louell from the kyng a great ceason, and was at hand with diuerse of his frendes, in so troubleous & perelous a tyme vterly dispeiryng of pardon and remission, and as men without hope of any grace settyng all on. vi. and vii. should sodeynly moue a newe insurrection against him, & vnquyet him in some place where he had left least resistaūce. For although

though they were thought to haue been conferates and Iurates of this newe conspiracy, yet because there was no sure profe nor apparaunt argument therof, yt was supposed to be moost profitable for that tyme present, to extende no maner of extremyte nor crueltie agaynste them by anye coloure or pretence, partly that by suche lenytie and gentle sufferance, the rebellious powre should not augment and increase, and partly that it hereafter they shoulde be founde to drawe backe, and be negligent in doynge their due duetye and allegiaunce, that then by this polletique prouision they shoulde be rewarded with punyshmēt accordyngly as they had deserued, and accordyng to the cōmen saynge, suche breade as they bake, suche muste they eate: Whereupon the kyng gaue a generall pardon throughout all Englande (without exception of any offence) yea euen to them that had comynnt high treason agaynst hys maiestie and royall person. Furthermore, after longe consultacion had and all thynges maturely decyded, it was thought by the whole senate for the tyme then present moost necessarye and conuenient to auoide that erronious rumoure, rumblyng and blast-ynge abroad, that the sonne of the duke of Clarence was in Englande, and that he personally shoulde be shewed abroad in the cytie and other publique places whereby the vntreue opinyon falsly affyrmyng that he was in Irelande mighte be emongest the cōynaltye repressed, put downe, and accompted as a comment and vayne ymagyned fable.

In this solempne counsaill dyuerse and many thynges of the realme were there debated and concluded. and emongest other, yt was determyned that the lady Elizabeth wyfe to kyng Edward the iij. shoulde loase and forfeyte all her Landes and possessyons, because she had voluntarily submytted her selfe and her daughters wholly to the handes of kyng Richard, contrarye to the promes made to the lordes and nobles of thys realme in the begynnyng of the conspiracy ymagyned agaynst kyng Richard, which at her desire and request left all that they had in England and fled to kyng Henry into Briteyne, and there receaued a corporall othe of him to mary her eldest daughter, whiche offre she abode not by, but made it frustrate and voyde, through whose double doynge yt had lyke to haue succeeded, that neyther the mariage coulde take place, nor yet the noble men whiche at her request toke kyng Henryes parte, might not returne agayne without iopardie of lyfe, but lyue styll in perpetuall banyshment and myserable exyle. This was a greuous offence and a heynous cryme: howbeyt the sequele thereof well dygested, yt was thought by some man that she deserved not by equitye of iustyce so great a losse and so great a punysshment. For surely she dyd not so great hurte or hynderaunce to kyng Henry and hys confederates by her reconciliacion to kyng Richard, but tenne tymes more she proffyted them and auanced theyr cause. For her submyssion made to hym, he neglectyng Goddes lawes, honest order and Christyan religion, presumyng to accumulate myschiefe vpon myschiefe, desyred of her the mariage of her daughter hys naturall nyce, whiche thyng he woulde not haue thought lykely to haue obtained: The quene and her daughters styll for feare of him contynuyng in sanctuary. Whiche vnlawfull desyre (consyderyng for that entent he had ryd his wyfe oute of the worlde) prouoked the Ire of God and the swoorde of vengeance agaynste hym, whereby hys synall ruyne and fatall falle shortly after ensued and succeeded to hys myserable confusyon and to the exaltacyon of Kyng Henry and auaucement of hys whole company.

Hereby a manne may perceaue that wycked and maligne persones be not brought to ruyne by the hande of a temporall iudge, but by the wyll of God led and thereto apoynted, as manne that make hast to approche and to come to that ende that they haue deserued. By thys folye and inconstancy of the quene, she incurred the hatred and displeasure of many men, and for that cause lyued, after in the Abbey of Barmandsey besyde Southwarke a wretched and a myserable lyfe, where not many yeres after she decessed and is buryed with her husbände at Wyndsore. Suche are all worldly chaunces, nowe in prosperyte and aboundaunce, mutable and chaungeable and full of inconstancy: and in aduersitye often change from euell to good and so to better, to the entent that they that be in wealth and flowe in the aboundaunce of all thynges, shall not thynke them selves in suretye to tarye styll in that degree and state: and that they that be in misery and calamitye shall not despayre nor mistrust



trust God, but lyue in hope, that a better daye of comfort and gayne wyll once apere and come. And yet although fortune ruleth many thynges at her wyll and pleasure, yet one woorke that this queene hathe made cannot bee forgotten nor put in obliuion. At what tyme that kyng Edward her husband reigned, she founded and erected a notable Colledge in the vniuersyte of Cambridge for the fyndyng of Scholers desyrous of good litterature and learnyng, and endued it with sufficient possessions for the longe mayntenaunce of thesame, whiche at this daye is called the queenes Colledge, a name surely mete for suche a place, wherin Scholers diligently studyng in all doctryne and sciences, proue excellent clerckes and come to great honoures.

When all thynges in this counsaill were seriously concluded and agreed to the kynges mynde, he returned to the cytie of London, geuyng in commaundement that the nexte sonday ensuyng, Edward the young Erle of Warwike to be brought from the towre through the moost publyke and vsuall stretes of London, to the cathedrall church of saynt Paule. This younge gentleman (as he was comaunded) shewing him selfe openly to euery body in the procession tyme, taried there the high masse, hauyng communicacion openly with many noble men, and with them in especially that were suspected and thought to haue been partakers of the commociō agaynst the kyng, to this purpose and effect, that they myght perceaue the fonde Irishemen, for a vayne shadowe and vntue fyccyon vnaduyedly to excytate and inoue warre agaynst him and his realme, without any iust cause or lauffull occasion. Howbeit to cuell dysposed persones or brayneles men, thys medecyne nothyng auayled nor profyted. For the erle of Lyncolne sonne to Ihon de Lapoole duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth syster to kyng Edward the fourth, thinkyng it not mete to neglect and omitt so open an occasion of new trouble & mischiefe offred and exhibited, determined to vpholde; fortifye, & bolster the enterpryce of the Irishemen, least that they might be seduced, and caused to desyst & leaue of their incepted enterpryce, and attempted purpose. And doubtes the man beyng of great wyt and intelligence, and of no small iudgement, but halfe infected with the venomous skabbe of the late ciuyle battaile, coude not with a quyet mynde suffice kyng Henry beyng principall head of the contrary faccion to reigne in quyet, but cōsultyng with sir Thomas Broughton, and certeyne other of his trusty frendes, purposed to saile into Flaunders to his aunte the lady Margaret duchesse of Bourgoyne late wyfe to duke Charles, trustyng by her healpe to make a puyssaunt army of men, and to ioyne with the compaignyons of the newe raysed sediciō. Therefore, after that the kyng had dissolved the Parliament, which then was holden he fled secretly into Flaunders to the lady Margarete, where Fraunces lorde Louell landed certeyne dayes before. And there they beyng altogether, euery man accordyng to his mynde reasoned, argued, and debated what was best to doo. After longe cōmunicacion had, this fynall conclusyon was agreed vpon, that the erle of Lyncolne and the lorde Louel should go to Irelande, and there attende vpon her countrefeate nephewe, and to honor him as a kyng, and with the powre of the Irishemen to bryng hym to England, and sendyng for all their frendes, should without delaye geue battaile to kyng Henry: So that if their doynge had good and prosperous successe, then the forsayde Lambert (mysnamed the Erle) shoulde by the consent of the counsaill be deposed, and Edward the true Erle of Warwyke to be deliuered oute of pryson, and after by the authoritie and aide of his frendes of the nobilitie, should be published, proclaymed, and anoynted kyng.

But kyng Henry thynkyng his nobles to be well appeased with the syght of Edward the very sonne of the duke of Clarence, nothyng mystrustyng any man to be so folishe to inuent, feigne, or countrefeate any thyng more of him, or any so mad or vdiscrete (especially of his realme) as to beleue that Lambert was very Edward, onely myndyng the suppressing of the flagitious Irishmē, studied how to subdewe and repress their bolde enterpryce and sedicious comuracion. And hearing sodeynly that the Erle of Lyncolne with other were fled & gone to his aduersaries, beyng therewith sodeynly moued: thought euen with stronge hand and marciall powre, to overcome hys enemyes and euell wyllers, whose

maliciousnes he could by no counsaill nor pollecy eschewe nor auoyde: And beyng thus determynd, he commaunded certeyne of his capitaynes to prepare an hoste of men oute of euery parte of his realme, and them to bryng and conduyte into one place assygned, that when his aduersaries shoulde come forward, he might with his populous multitude & great powre sodeynly set on them, & so ouercome and vanquishe them altogether. And mistrustynge that other would folowe the erle of Lyncoln into Flaunders, he caused the East partes, and all the borders theraboutes to be diligently kept, that none other might escape or geue them succoure. And cōmyng to the toun of saynt Edmondes bury, he was certified that the lord Thomas Marques of Dorcet was cōmyng to excuse & purge hyin selfe before him, for certeyne thynges that he was suspected to haue doné lightly when he was in Fraunce. To whom the kyng did sende the Erle of Oxenford to intercept him ridyng on his iorney and to conueigh him to the Towre of London, to trye his truth and pious his paciēce. For if he were his fiende as he was in dede, he should not be miscontented to suffre so lytle a reproche & rebuke for his princes pleasure. If he were not his frend there to tary in sauetye that he might do no dānage nor hurt to him. And from thence the kyng went furth to Norwiche, & taryng there Christmas day, departed after to Walsyngham, and cōmyng there into the churche of oure lady, prayed deuoutly and made supplicaciōs to almighty God, that by his diuine powre and through the intercession of our lady, he might eschew the snares & preuy workynges of his enemies, and preserue him selte and his country from the imminēt daungier, and to reduce agayne the streiynge shepe to their right folde and true shepard, that be amysse: his orysons fynished, from thence by Cambridge he returned shortly to London.

In this meane tyme the Erle of Lyncolne and the lord Louell, had gotten by the aide of the lady Margaret, aboute twoo thousand Almanyes, with Matyne Swarde a noble man in Germany, and in marciall feactes verry expert, to be their cheueteine, and so sailyng into Ireland. And at the cytie of Dyuelyn, caused younge Lambert to be proclaymed and named kyng of England, after the most solempne fassyon, as though he were there of the verry heyre of blood royall lyneally borne and discended. And so with a great multitude of beggerly Irishemen, almost all naked and vnarmed sauynge skaynes and mantelles, of whom the lord Thomas Gerardine was capiteine and conductor, they sayled into England with this newe founde kyng, and landed for a purpose at the pyle of Fowdreie within lytle of Lancaster, trustyng there to be ayded with mony by Sir Thomas Broughton one of the chiefe companions of this unhappy conspiracy.

The kyng not slepyng his matters, but mistrustynge and smellyng the storme that folowed, before the enemies arryued, he dispatched certeyne horsemen throughout all the west partes of the realme, chieflly to attende the cōmyng and anyuall of his enemyes, secondarely to wayte for suche espialles as came out of Ireland, & them to apprehend & compell to shew & declare the secretes of their enemies. When he had gathered all his hoste together, ouer the which, the duke of Bedforde & the erle of Oxenforde, were chiefe capiteynes, he went to Couentry, where he beyng, his light horsemen acordyng to their duetie returned & certified him that the erle of Lyncoln was landed at Lancaster with his new king. Thewhich when the kyng vnderstode was so, he consulted with his nobilitie and counsellors to knowe if it were for the best to encountre with them oute of hand, or let them dragge awhile, for this matre bothe requyred counsaill and also celerite. After they had layed their heades together and well debated the matter, it was determynd that they should set vpō them without any further delaye, least that their powre by longe sufferance & delayng of tyme myght be augmented & greatly multiplied. And so after such aduysemēt takē, he remoued to Nottyngham, and there by a lytle wood called Bowres he pyched his feelde. to whom shortly after came the lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, the lorde Straunge, Sir Ihon Cheyney valeaunt capitaynes, with many other noble and expert men of warre. For the kyng had cōmaunded and geuen in charge before, that all persons of the counties adioynng that were hable & of strengthe to cary weapon should be ready in an houres warn-



ynge, in case that any nede should requyre. Therfore pyoked felowes and hardy personages and suche as were lyke menne, were chosen in all the haste, and of this sorte a great armye was coacted and gathered together. So the kynges army was wondrefully encreased, & from tyme to tyme greatly augmented.

In this space, the erle of Lyncolne beyng entred into Yorkeshire, passed softly on his iourney without the spoyling or hurtyng of any man, trustyng therby to haue some company of people resorte vnto him but after that he perceaued fewe or none to folow him, and that it was to no purpose to retorne backe, considryng his enemyes were all ready to set vpon him, he determined firmly to ioye the fortune of battaile, remembryng that the chaunce of Mars dothe stande euer vpō vi or vii. & that kyng Henry not ii yeres before with a small powre of men vanquished kyng Richard & all his mightie army And he upon puttyng a sure confidence vpō his compaigny directed his waye from Yorke to Newarke vpō Tient, to thientent that there he (as he trusted) augmētyng his cōpaigny might set vpon the kyng, whō he knew to be but ii daies iorney from him. Albeit, before he came there, kyng Henry was in his bosome and knewe euery houre what the Erle did, came the night before that he fought, to Newarke, and there approached nere hys enemyes soner then they loked for him, and there taryng a lytle went ij myles further and pitched his feelde & lodged there that night The erle of Lyncolne certefyed of his commyng, was nothyng afearde, but kepte styll on hys iorney, and at a lytle village called Stoke nygh to the kyng and his armye planted hys campe. The next daye folowyng, the kyng deuyded hys whole nombre into three batailes, and after in good arraye approached nygh to the toune of Stoke, where was an equall and playne place for bothe parties to daraigne the battaile.

When the place was apoynted and ordeined to trye the vitermost by stroke of battaile, the erle set furth his army, and geuyng a token to his compaignie, set upon his aduersaries with a manly courage, desiryng his souldyours that daye to remembre his honoure, and their awne lyues And so both the armyes ioynd and fought earnestly and sharply, in so muche that the Almaynes beyng tryed and expert menne in warres and marciall feates, were in all thynges, aswell in strengthe as pollecye egall and equyualent with the Englishemen: but as for Martyne Swarde theyr chiefe capitayne and leader, not many of the Englyshemen, bothe for valyaunt courage of a stoute stomack and strengthe and aglyte of body was to be compared or resembled with hys manhoode. Of the othersyde, the Iryshemen, although they foughte hardely and stucke to it valyauntly, yet because they were after the manner of theyr cōuntry almost naked, without harneys or armure, they were stryken downe and slayne lyke dull and brute beastes, whose deathes and destruccyons was a great discouragyng and abashement to the residue of the company Thus they fought for a space so sore and so egrely of bothe partes, that no man coulde well iudge to whome the victory was, lyke to enclyne But at length, the kynges forward beyng full of people and well fortifyed with wynges, whiche onely bothe beganne and contynued the fight, set vpon the aduersaries with suche a force and violence, that fyrst they oppressed and kyld suche capitaynes one by one as resysted theyr myght and puyssaunce, and after that put all the other to fearfull flight, the whiche were eyther apprehended as captiues and prysoners in theyr flight runnyng awaye, or elles slayne and brought to confusyon in a small moment. But when this battaile was fynished and fought oute to the extremyte, then it well appered what high prowes, what manly stomakes, what courageous hartes and what valyaunt courage was in the kynges aduersaries. For there their chiefe capitaynes the erle of Lyncolne and the lorde Louell, Syr Thomas Broughton, Martyn swarde & the lord Gerardyne capitayne of the Irishemen were slayne and founde dead Howbeyt, some affyrme that the lorde Louell toke his horsse & would haue fled ouer Trent, but he was not hable to recouer the farther side for the highnes of the banke and so was drowned in the ryuer There were kyld at that battaile with their fyue capitaynes before rehersed of that partye aboute foure thousand Of the kynges parte there were not halfe of them which foughte in the forward and gaue the onset slayne or hurt Then was Lambert the yonglyng which was falsely reported to be the dukes sonne of Clarence, and his master

The battle of Stoke.

Martyn Swarde slayne

sir

sir Richard Symond prieste bothe taken, but neither of them put to death, because that Lambert was but an innocēt poore soule, a very chylde, and was not o iuge to do any suche entrepryce of his awne deuyce, and the other was a priest, which yet to thentēt he might remēbre that the stone oftā tymes falleth on the head of hym that casteth it into ſ̄ ayer, & that many a man maketh a rod for his awn tayle when he entendeth it for another, this priest for penaunce was cōmitted to perpetual pryson & miserable captiuitie. But this Lambert in cōclusion was made the kynges faulkener, after that he had been a turne broche and executed such vile officies in the kynges kytchyn & suyllarye for a space. And thus was all the high entrepryce that lady Margaret had deuised & set furthe at this tyme, turned to nought and brought to none effect, & to an euell cōclusion. Of which chaunce, when she was aduertysed & enformed in the countrey of Flaunders, she was very sorye at the haite & much lamented and deploied, that her ymaged purpose sorted to suche an infortunate ende & effect, incontinently deuising, practising and ymagenyng some greate and more difficile enterpryce, by the which she might vex and perturbe yet once agayne the kyng of England and his whole region: Whiche purpose, euen as she inuented yt, so she set yt forwarde as shalbe shewed hereafter plainly.

After that kyng Henry had thus asswaged and appeased these matters beyng of so great a moment and weight, with no great mocion, tumulte or trouble, & had not only escaped and defaced the apparant and ymmīnēt perell with a small conflict, and no great daungerous brunt or ieopardy, but also repressed & suppeditate the cyuile dissencion and interior styfe, in maner as he woulde haue wished it, he might thynke hym selfe at one tyme cleane ryd & deliuered from two euell together, both from feare present & also that was to come. For certeynly when he pondred & diligently considered his aduersaries (whose poussaunce he both in nombre and force, farre did suimount and precell) at the very poynte so fiercely to ioyne and to byd him battaile, he much suspected & no lesse mistrusted that they had some preuy fautores and secret cōcēleis (the which when tyme and place should requyre or expostulate) would with their strength, aide, succoure and assyst them agaynst him and his puysaunce. But when he perceaued and sawe the hoost of his enemyes manifestly vanquished and put to flight, he cōmaunded that no mā should kyll or sleye the Erle of Lyncolne, but that he should be brought to hym alyue, to thentent that he might shewe & bewraye bothe the fouūayne and originall begynnynge, and also the confederates, aideis and comtorters of his late practysed sedicious cōspiracy. But the fame is, that the souldyours woulde not so do, fearynge least peraduenture the sanyng of his only lyfe (as yt should haue been in dede) the lyfe of many other should haue been lost, or at the least in ieopardye. This battaile was fought on a saturdaye beyng the xvj. daye of Iuyn the yere of our lord thousand foure hundredreth lxxxix. and towaide thende of the second yere of the reigne of this kyng: In the whiche yere also Thomas Burchier Archebischopp of Cauntourbury dyed, into whose rōme Ihon Moorton late bishop of Ely, a manne of egall learnyng, vertue and pollecy with hys predecessours, whome Alexander of that name the vi. bishop of Rōme created Cardinal, and the kyng preferred hym to thoffyce of the highe Chauncelour of England. Now to retorne to my purpose.

After this victory obteyned, & after the kyng had gathered and collected the prayes and spoyle of the Feelde together, and buied them that there were slayne, he remoued to Lyncolne, and there reposed hym selfe thre dayes, and caused euery daye one processyon to be celebrat, to rendre humble thanks to almightie God, for his triumphant victory and ouerthrowe of his enemyes. Then dyd he execucion of suche rebelles and traytours as were taken in the felde, either at the battaile, or in the chace. And shortly after he went into Yorkeshyre, and there cōsted the country ouerthwart, seachyng by exploratours and preuy enquiryes, where hys aduersaries gathered theyr army agaynst hym, entendyng earnestly to wede oute, and purge his land of all sedicious seede, and double harted fruite yf yt were possyble and suche as were founde culpable in any one poynte, were commytted to pryson, and other mulcted by fyne or extinct by deathe.



## ¶ THE THIRDE YERE.

IN the myddest of August entrynge into the. ij. yere of his troubelous reigne, he by iorneyng arriued at Newcastle vpō Tyne a very propre towne, situate on the hether part of Northumberland, where he taryed the remnaunt of the somer, and beyng there, sent in Ambassade into Scotland to kyng Iames the thyrd kyng of Scottes, Richard Foxe whiche not longe before was made bishoppe of Excetre, and with him syr Richard Edgecombe knyght comptroller of hys house. The summarie of their comyssion was to conclude a truce for a tyme, or a longe league and an amytie. For kyng Henry esteemed it bothe honorable and profittable yf he myght haue persyght peace and assured amytie with prynces adioynng and his next neighbours. And before all other with kyng Iames of Scotlande to thetent that his subiectes hauynge knowledge of the amytie, and despairing vterly to haue any refuge, comfoite or succoure of the Scottes, or other their neighbours circumuosyn & adioynng cōtrary to their old vsage trust and expectacion, might the better be cōtinued in the faithe, dueue & loyalte towards their prynce and souereigne lorde. The Ambassadors whē they were come into Scotland to the kyng, were of him both gently enteteined & after the most louyng fassyō receaued & fully harde. To whom at the fyrst he shewed his good hart, his true mynde, tendre zeale, and fraternall affeccō, that he hym selfe contynually bare, and yet dyd entende to shewe towards kyng Henry, although his subiectes were of a contrary mynde and opynion, playnly protestyng & declaryng to them his vasselles to be bothe by nature and wylfull disposicion, diuerse and cōtrary euer to the English nature and English naciō. thinkyng surly that they for the most part, would neuer cōsent & longe agree with the Englishmen, accordyng to their olde vaffrous varietie: wherfore least that he should offend or minishe cause of occasiō to them (as in dede all mē were not his frendes in Scotlād at that tyme) he desyred y Ambassadors to cōsent w truce & abstinēce of warre for seuen yeres, not onely in open audience, but on his honor he promysed firmly in secret communication (as secret as a confession made to a priest) that he for his parte would kepe contynuall peace with the kyng of England duryng their lyues, but apparauntly he promysed that or these vii. yeres should be passed and fully fynished that he would renewe agayne the truce for other vii. yere, so that kyng Henry & he should be and lyue in peace, concorde, and moste assured amytie, duryng their naturall lyues. And this dyd kyng Iames conclude with kyng Henry, because that he knewe hym selfe, his actes, yea and hys name to be had in suche despyte and hatred of the more parte of hys dysloyall people, that nothyng (whatsoeuer he dyd) was esteemed, regarded, well spoken of or had in anye pryce. Suche was the malicious hartburnyng of the Scottes against their naturall lorde. The ambassadors perceauyng the hartye mynde and faithful beneuolence of this kyng towards their master kyng Henry, accepted and assented to his offre, and ratefyed thesame: And returnyng home shewed the kyng all the matter in ordre as yt was proponed assented and concluded. With whiche tydynges, he perceauyng the kyng of Scottes good mynde towards hym, and apparauntly perceauyng that as that tempestuous and stormy ceason requyred, yt was not to hys small commoditie and proffyte, reioysed meruelously that hys Ambassade came to so good an effecte. and shortly after reculed backe agayne from Newcastle to Yorke, and so towarde his cytie of London. And in the way beyng at Leycestre, diuerse ambassadors sent from Charles the Frenche kyng came to his presence, whiche declared and shewed to hym that theyr kyng Charles had reconered manye Townes, Cyties and garrysons whiche before that tyme were possessed and holden of Maximilian kyng of Romanes and Archeduke of Austryce, and that he nowe moued battaile against Fraunces duke of Briteyne, because he kepte, ayded and succoured in his territorie and dominion diuerse noble prynces and high personages of the realme of Fraunce, whiche were treytoures and rebelles againste hym, his realme and seignory, of the which the chief leader was Lewes duke of Orlyanues. And

therefore he desired hym for the olde frendshyp and familiarite practysed betwene them, that he woulde either aide, assyst and helpe hym, or elles stand neuter betwene bothe parties, neither helpynge nor hurtynge any of bothe partes, lyke a cypher in algarisme that is ioyned to no figure but onely occupieth a place

Kynge Henry well remembryng that although he had founde muche frendshyp at the Frenche kynges hand in his necessitie and that by him partely and his he obteyned his kyngdome, yet forasmuche as he espyed vpon what vnsure ground this querell was begonne against the Brytones, with this message was not well contented nor yet pleased. For he whiche save as farre in the Frenche kynges brest as hys Phisicion did in his vryne, knewe perfightly that he had neyther occasyon by any iust tyle to inuade the duchy of Briteyne, nor yet any displeasure mynistrd to hym, by reason whereof he might iustly haue any shadowe to make a quarell to the duke of Briteyne, but onely to delate, amplyte and propagate farther his auctoritie, domynion and possession. For the Frenche kyng and his counsaill knewe well that duke Fraunces was an impotent man, lytargious, sore deasead and well stryken in age, and had neuer anye heyre male to inheret and possede hys duchy, wherefore they determyned by some meanes easely to compasse that the duchy of Briteyne should breuely come vndre their lure and subieccio, and so withoute grounde, without cause or reasonable demonstration, vncompelled, he intymated and made open warre against the duke and Brytanicall nation. Kyng Henry perceauynge that this newe attempted enterpryce nothyng sounded to his profit or emolument, calling to mynd and consyderynge that yt the Duchy of Briteyne and the people of thesame whiche had been euer trendly & louyng to Thenglishe nacion, and was alwaies for their entrecourse to his realme bothe necessary and proffitable, should come vndre the thraldome & subieccion of the Frenche kyng that dammage more then profite were likely to ensue and folowe, determyned with him selfe to aide and take parte with the duke, perceauynge well that all his affaires was nowe in perell and sett in a broyle and basard. The occasion that moued him therunto was, the kyndelyng of the paternall loue and tendre affection whiche the duke euer shewed hym, with his fyrst annuall and entryng into Briteyne, and his fidelite to him alwaie apparauntly shewed duynge the tyme of hys there abydinge and resydence. On the other parte, when he remembred the greate benelyte that he had accepted and receaued at the Frenche kynges hand by his bountyfull and pryncely liberalitie, thought it bothe necessary, honest and consonant to reason to forgett the vngrate offence agaynst the duke of Briteyne commytted and perpetrated, and to perswade and aduise the Frenche kyng to desyste from vixynge or inuadyng the duke of Briteyne, least anye scruple or sparke of ingratitude might insurge or kyndle betwene them two. This matter was so doubtfull and so full of ambyguities that the kyng in longe consultation lefte no questyon nor doubt vnasked nor vndiscussed, and yet no aunswere nor no conclusyon coulde satysfye or please hys doubtfull mynde and gentle harte, lothe to offende anye of them, of whom he had receaued eyther benefite or frendshyp. But in conclusion, he fell to this ful determination that yf bataille should nedes succede and folowe, then he of very duetie was bounde and obliged not to denye nor to forsake the duke of Briteyne, to whom he was so much beholdyng, but to aide, assist & comforte him with all his powre, and openly to kepe from him all wronges and iniuries, and to defende & resiste all his aduersaries & enemyes. Yet in the meane season, least he should of the other parte make his high frend his extreme enemy, his aunswere was to the Ambassadors that he woulde take trauayle & study both to his great payne & coste, that betwene the Frenche kyng their souereigne lorde & the duke of Briteyne both beyng hys indifferent frendes, some gentle pacificacion or amicable accorde might be concluded and accepted. And so assone as the kynges Ambassadors were dimysed, he sent on message Christopher Vrsuicke to Charles the Frenche kyng. First to gratulate in his behalte the victoie that he had obteyned vpon Maximilian kyng of Romanes. Secundarely, and after to declare what tumulte and insurreccion was here in England, and howe by mere force and manhood he had vanquished and repressed the rebelles and traytours, and eyther dystroyed or brought to subieccion, the whole rablement and nombre. Thyrddy, offryng him selfe



selfe as a meane and intercessor of peace and amytie betwene the Frenche kynge Charles and the duke of Briteyne. geuyng hym farther in charge that yf he should perceauce the Frenche kyng to geue open eare to his request and to encline to hys desyre, that then he shoulde withoute delaye resorte to the duke of Briteyne and desyre him to be contented at his desyre to endeuer him self to an honorable peace and concorde, rather then to warre and dubious dissencion, which peace with Goddes grace he lytle doubted, the duke beyng wylling shortely to compasse and brynge to conclusion. Whyle Christopher Vrswicke was traueylinge in thys cōmissyon, kyng Henry returned with great tryumphe to his cytie and chambre of London, hauynge the victory and ouerhand of hys enemyes and rebellious aduersaries, wherof the cytezens were very glad & reioysed hartely, considering that such damages, such oppression, such perel and losse as they thought to haue susteyned, was by the death of such disturbers of peace & trāquillitie, as the kyng had late overcome, cleane takē away, auoyded & suppressed. Also the kyng hym self trustyng faithfully that all the brādes of mischiefe kyndled before against him, was by this victory vtterly extinguished & brought to ashes, could not but be iery & reioyce. For which cause, he shewed him selfe both lowely & courteous towardes all, rewardyng & promōtyng most bountifully & liberally all such persones, which not only did hasarde their goodes, their possessiōs, liuynges and substance, but also their lyues and bodyes in his defense and quarell. And not longe after, he deliuered lord Thomas Marques Dorset out of the Towre of London, acceptyng him to his high fauour and olde familiaritie, because his truth and fidelitie had been tyed and proued by sondry & dyuerse argumētes and assaies, In which pastyme, the kyng for the perfyght loue and syncre affeccion that he bare to his quene and wyfe lady Elizabeth, caused her to be crowned and enoynted quene on saynt Katherynes daye in Novembre withall solempnytie to suche a high estate & degree apperteignyng. In the meane ceason Christopher Vrswicke was come to the Frenche kynge liuyng at Tholouse, & of him after the most louyng and frendely fassyon that coude be, receaued and entreteined. And assone as he had shewed and declared his message, the Frenche kyng shewed hym selfe outwardly, althoughe inwardly he otharwyse entended, to be therewith contended and that very well pleased that the kyng of Englande shoud be the meane of peace and Arbitr indifferēt betwene the duke and him. Thus answere made, the English Ambassadour tooke his iorney streyght thēce as he was cōmaūded into Briteyne, and shewed the duke vpon hys Masters behalfe all thynges geuen him in charge and cōmissyon: But the duke (because him selfe had bene longe sycke and theby his memory and wyt was decayed and appaired) he appointed to heare the message with other of his councelers, Lewes duke of Orleauce whiche was fled thether out of Fraūce. When this duke had hearde the Ambassadours declare their message, perceauynge that it touched a peace whiche he thought sounded neither to hys proffyt nor pleasure, wherfore he beyng somewhat tyckeled with the message answered and sayed, that it was more mete & conuenient that kyng Henry (consideryng and remembryng the great kyndenes & humanitie that he had receaued at the dukes hand) shoulde with all the powre and strength he might, helpe the duke of Briteyne beyng by the Frenchemē inuaded with yron, fyre and bloude, then to attempt to procure any fryuelous or vayn composycion or cōcorde. Yea and although he had neither receaued nor remembred any benefyte done to him by the duke, yet should he consydre that the countrey of Briteyne was in maneie a bullwerck and a stoung wall for the Englishmen in defence of the Frenchemen, the which yf yt should come into the handes of the Frenche nacion, then were his continuall enemyes next to the gate of his realme, whiche thyng he would not suffre if he remēbred the Prouerbe that sayth, when thy neighboures house is a fyre, thy staffe stādeth nexte the doie. Thus muche was the duke of Orlaunce beyng of the French blood, an enemy to hys naturall countrey, because that he beyng next of the blood royal to the crowne of Fraunce, was repulsed from the chiefe estate and gouernaunce of the realme, and the kynges suster put in highest authoritie, duryng the minorite of the kynge, he abandoned his awne natieue countrey, and hauynge only refuge in the duchy of Britayne for hys awne sauēgarde, profyt and emolumēt, spake

these woordes that he declared and opened. For wel he knew, that kyng Henry was not therof all ignorant, that it was neither profitable nor cōmodious for y realme of England, to haue the duchy of Briteyne possessed of the Gaules, considering the sea costes of bothe the countreys, to lye directelye one agaynst the other. Then returned this Christopher agayne into Fraunce, and there taried certayne dayes, declaryng to kyng Charles what aunswer was made to hym by the Briteynes, & shortly after returned into England agayn. While these thinges were thus in doynge, the Frēche kyng beseged with a great puissaunce the stronge cite of Nautes in Briteyne. And the more giedyer that he was of hys purpose, & the more hast he made for gayning hys praye, so moch the more did he exhorte y kyng of England with letters, wrytynges and blandymētes, by sondre and diuers messengers, for to treate and conclude a peace, vnytie & concoide betwixt the duke of Britene and hym, fearing least when he had almost wonne hys race, kyng Henry woulde put hym beside his saddle, whome he did halfe suspect to be a backe frende of hys, and prone and ready to take the Brytones parte.

Wherefore he sent in Ambassade Bernarde a Scotte borne, called y lorde Daubeney, in all the hast to kyng Henry, to desire hym in any wise to make some ende whatsoeuer it were, of this warre and controuersy. And therupon the kyng beyng desirous of the same, whiche had rather all thinges might be ended by peace rather then by dynt of sweard, least that he should be driven to take parte with the Brytons agaynste the French naciō, elected among all other. In oratours. The first was Ihon saint Abbot of Abyndon, Ihon Lilye boine in Luke, the bishop of Romes collector, doctor of lawe, and Rychard Edgecōbe knyght, both for age and prudent sagactie, fatherly, a wyse & a graue personage, which for ienuyng of the olde amitie, were commaunded first to go to repaire to the Frenche kyng, and after that to the duke of Briteyne, to whome he gaue a longe commission with sufficient instruccions. But or euer these Ambassadors proceded ouer their iorney, Ihon Lilye fel sicke on the gowte, so that he was not able to traueyle in so long a iorney, and so weightye a busynes, for whome was elected and choosen Christopher Viswike, and so they in sayled into Fraunce (as they were cōmaunded) and when they had communed a space with the Frenche kyng, concernyng the forme of the peace & concoide to be concluded, Rychard Egecombe, and Christopher Vrsuicke, departed straight to the duke of Britene, thinkinge ye and nothing doubting, but they there shoulde knyt vp the knot, and finall conclusiō of their Ambassade, according to their awne request and desyre, but all their hope was vayne, and turned to a vanitie. For the duke, vpon great deliberacion, constantly repudiated and refused euery condicion by them offred or demaūded. Which thinges, when they succeded not accordyng to their expectation, the Ambassadors deposinge and relinquishyng all hope and esperance of any peace or concord to sorte to any good effect or purpose, reculed backe to the Frenche kyng agayne defrauded and spoyled of their entent and purpose, and there to hym declared what was their aunswere and finall resolucion, and yet makinge there abode in Fraunce, they intimated to the kyng of England by their letters all their actes and exployt. But, or their letters came to the kynges hādes, syr Edward, lord Woodville vncle to the Quene, a valyaunt Capitayne, and a bolde Chāpion, either abhorryng ease and ydlenes, or inflamed with adient lone and affectiō toward the duke of Britayne, desyred very earnestly of kyng Henry, y if it were hys will and pleasure, that he with a conuenient number of good men of waire woulde transport hym selfe into Britene, for y aide and defence of duke Fraunces, the kynges assured and proued frende. And least it should sowe or kyndle any dissencrō or ingratitūde betwene the Frenche kyng and him, he sayde that he woulde steale priuely ouer, and without any licence or pasporte, as though no man shoulde thinke or doubt but he were fled, & abandoned the realme without any fraude or male engyn. But the kyng, which had a firme confidence, that peace should be made by the polletique prouision and wyse inuencion of hys elected Ambassadors, woulde in nowise geue the brydle to hys hote, hasty and wilde desyre, but straightly prohibited hym to attempte anye suche strategeme or enterpryce, thinkyng that it stode not with hys honor to offende the Frenche kyng, to whome he would shewe as  
muche



muchē amitie and humanitie as he might, for suche a matter that coulde neither greatly profite the Bryttones, nor yet cause hym to sureasse of his appoynted inuasion and pretended enterpryce. Yet this lord Woodville hauyng playne repulse and denyall of the kynge, could not thus rest, determined to worke hys busynes secretly without any knowlege of ꝑ kyng, and went streyght into the Isle of wight, wherof he was made ruler and capytayne, and there gathered togeiner a crewe of tall & hardye personages, to the number of. iij. C. and with prosperous wynde and wether aryued in Briteyne, and ioyned hym selfe with the Brytons agaynst the Frenche power and nacion. The rumor of this doying was sone blowen into the courte of Fraunce, whiche made the Ambassadors of Englande not smally abasshed, which knowing perflyghtly ꝑ Frenche hautes to be prone and ready at all tymes to reuenge and do outrage to suche as displeased them, were sodainly afiaied least the commō people coulde not withoolde their hādes from quorcling or fraiying. Albeit the lawe of armēs, and the treuth it selfe did defende and preserue them from injury. But whiles the oratoures were in this perplexite and fear of daungier, and whiles the Frenchmen suspected this facte to be done by a cautell of kyng Henry, there came other new messengers from him to the French kyng, to puidge hymself to his frend of the suspected ingratitude, certefiying hym and declaring (by most eident tokens & apparant argumentes) that the lord Woodville without his knowlege or consent, was sayled ouer into Britayne with so small a number of men, which smal handfull, neither it becōmed a prince to sende or set forward, neither yet coulde do to the Brytaynes any great aide or succoure. To the which message and excuse, albeit the Frenche kynge adhibited but small credence, yet he some what initigate of his angre and furious agony, dissimuled the matter (accordyng to the Frēch nature) with a flatterying countenance. So the Ambassadors renewynge a league and amitie betwene their kyng and hym for. xii. monethes, returned into Englande againe, and shewed the kyng al such thinges that they had either heard or sene there. The kyng of England well perceyued by the report of hys newly returned Oratoures, that the Frenche kynge wrought all hys teates by subtyll craft and cloked collusion, treatyng and motionyng peace and concorde, when he desyred nothing so much as discorde and warie, and that purpose he auanced and set forwarde with sayle & ower, to the vttermost poynt of his habilitie. Wherefore kyng Henry beyng assured of all the French kynges actes and cogitaciōs, determined now with all cele-rite to set forth out of hand al such thinges as here before had cōcluded, cōcerning the warre of Britayne, as you haue heard. Whertore he called his high courte of Parliament, and there fyrst consulted with the peres and cōmynaltie of hys realme, for the aidyng of ꝑ duke of Britayne. Then for the maintenaunce of ꝑ warres, diuers summes of money were graūted and geuen, beside certayne decrees & actes made for the vtilite of the common wealth. And assone as the Parhament was ended, he caused mustres to be had in certayne places of hys realme, and souldiours mete for the waire to be put in a redynes. Yet least peraduenture he might seme willingly to breake the amitie, which was betwene the Frenche kynge, and hym, he sente diuers notable Ambassadors into Fraunce, to certefye the Frenche kynge, that of late he hadde kepte a solempne Parliamente, in the which it was condiscended and agreed by the lordes temporall and spirituall, and knyghtes of counties, and magistrates of cities, and boroughes of his realme not onely considering the relief, comforte and aide that he had receyued at the dukes hande, bothe for the sauegard of his lyfe, and for the recoveryng of hys enheritaunce and kyngdome, but also remembryng that Brytaync of auncient tyme was subiect & vassal to the realme of Englande, which countrey also hath been frendly, and aiders to the English nacion when it was vexed, bothe with foreyne powers and domesticall sedicion, to aide, comforte and assist the Brytische nacion with all their strength, might and habilitie agaynst all their eneyes, frendly adimonisying hym that he should either desist from hys warre in Brytayne newly incepted, or els not be greued if he did agre (as reason woulde) to the myndes, iudgement and determination of the princes and prelates of hys realme, assuryng hym in the woorde of a kynge, that hys armye should onely discende in the duchy of Brytayne, not to inuade or make warre in the Frenche kynges

kynges realme or territoiyes, but onely to defend the duchy of Britayne, and to profigate and expell all the intrudors & inuasours of the French nacion, whiche iniustly occupied and invaded the Brytannicall tytles and seignories. With these commaundemētes the English Ambassadors departed, and declared to the Frenche king all the mynde and will of their kyng and souereigne lord. Whiche message he dissimuled as litle to regarde as the bytyng of a flee, as though the Englishmen in the battaile, whiche he knewe to be at hande, coulede do no enterpryse (as it happened in dede) either necessary to be feared or worthy to be remembred. The cause of hys so sayng was thys, he knowynge that hys army was puissant and stronge in Britayne, and that the Britaynes had but a few Englishmen with the lorde Wooduile, of whome he passed litle, and seyng that Englād had not yet sent any army thither for the dukes succour, iudged surely that hys army woulde do some great exployte (as they did in dede) before either the duke shoulde be purueyed or any aide ministred. And as he imaged so it folowed, for the Frenchmen so sore oppressed the countrey of Britayne and brent and distroyed cities, and beseged the toune of Fôgeres, so that the duke of Britayne was encouraged by the duke of Orliance, and other rebelles of the Frenche kyng, manfully to fight and geue battaile to ŷ Frēch army. And so the xxv. daye of Iuly they set forward, & came to a toune whiche the Frenchmen had gotten, called saint Aulbyne. The Frenchmen were not ignoraunt of their comynge, but put them selves in a redynes. Of whiche armye was Capytaines, The lorde Lewes of Treuoyle, vyscount of Thonars, a Gascoyn, Adryan lorde of Mountfalcysse. On the Brytones parte were cheuetaynes, Lewes duke of Orliance, and the prynce of Orenge, whiche because they and other of the Frenchmen were all on horsebacke, were mistrusted of the Brytones, least they woulde at their moost nede flye.

Wherefore they disconded on fote, and the duke and the prince put thē selves in the battaile of the Almaynes: The Marshal of Rieux was appoynted to the vauntgarde. The middle warde was deliuered to the lord Dalehret, and the rereward to the lorde Chateaw Bryand, and to make the Frenchmen beleue that they had a great number of Englishmen (notwithstandinge there wete but foure hundreth with the lorde Wooduile) they appareled a thousand and seuen hundred Brytons in cotes with red crosses after the English fasshion. When bothe the armyes were approchyng to the other, the ordinaunce shot so terribly and with suche a violence, that it sore dammaged and encombred bothe the parties. When the shot was finished, bothe the vanguardes ioyned together with suche a force that it was maruell to beholde. The Englishmen shot so fast, that the Frēchmen in the forward, were fayne to recule to the battaile where their horsemen were. The rereward of the Frenchmen, seyng thys fyrst discōfiture began to flye, but the Capytaynes retired their men together agayn, & the horsemē set fiercely on ŷ Brytaines, and slewe the moost parte of the fotemē. When the forward of the Brytones perceaued that their horsemē nor the Almaynes came not forward they provided for thē selves & fled, some here, and some there, where they thought to haue refuge or succour. So that in conclusiō the Frenchmē obteyned the victory, & slew all such as ware red crosses, supposyng thē all to be Englishmē. In thys cōflict were slayn almost all the Englishmen, & six. M. Brytones, Emōgest whome were founde dead the lorde Wooduile, & the lord Iames Galeas borne in Napels. And of ŷ Brytones there were slayne the lord of Leon, the lorde Mountfort, the lorde Pontlabbe & many noble & notable persones of the British nacion. Of the French naciō were slayne. xii. C. persones. The prynce of Orenge, & the duke of Orliance were taken prysoners, which duke (although he were next heyre apparānt to the croune of Fraūce) should haue lost hys head, if lady Iane his wyfe which was syster to Charles ŷ Frēch king had not obtained pardō & remissiō of his trespasse & offence. Howbeit he was lōg after kept prysoner in the great Toure at Bourges in Berry. This infortunate metyng chaūced to ŷ Britaynes on a mōday, beyng the xxvii. day of Iuly, in ŷ yere of our redēpciō. M. cccc. lxxxvii. & in ŷ. iii. yere of kyng Henry the. vii.

When these newes were brought into Englande, the kyng vigilantly forseyng what was like to chaunce, thought it necessary to accelerate the mattre before concluded, wherefore



## THE IIIJ. YERE OF

with all spede he sent Robert Lord broke, Syr Ihon Cheyny, syr Ihon Middelton, syr Rauf Hilton, syr Rychard Corbet, syr Thomas Leighton, syr Richard Laton and syr Edmond Cornewall, all lusty and courageous capitaynes with. viij M. men well armed, and warlike furnished to ayde and assist the Brytones agaynst the Frenchemen These ioly men of warre had suche prosperous wynde, that they arryued in Brytayne euen as they woulde wyshe or desyre. And after that they had recreated their spirites, and refreshed them selves a litle after their labour and iourney, they puttyng the selves in good ordre of battaile, marshed forward toward their enemies, and not farre from them encamped them selves. But when the Frenchmen knew of their landyng whome they knew by no small experience (and especially so long as they were freshe and lusty) to be in maner inuincible And so at the begynnyng they were all blanke, & for teare kept themselves craftely and polletikly within their campe. And after that, they sent forth a smal company of lighte horsemen, the whiche to wery and fatigate the stoute stomackes and haulte courages of the English army, made in diuers places of the army, skymysches, outcrys & alaroues. So for a certayne space they vsed thys kynde of dahyng w<sup>th</sup> the Englishmen, but euer the losse turned to the Frenchmen, & they bare the woorse away, by reason of the archers y<sup>e</sup> so soie galled the and their horsses with arowes, that their braggyng incursions were some left and done. But beholde the mutacion of this worlde, whyle this warre was thus set forward, Fraunces duke of Britayne departed out of this life, so that the Englishmen were in a doubtfull labirynth, and a great ambiguyte. For the chiefe rulers of the Britaynes, beyng some of them corrupted with money, and some stirred with desyre of deuision and cōtrouersie, fell into deuision emonge them selves, so that they semed not to tendre the defence and proteccion of their naturall cōtre, but rather mynded the distruccion and vtter confusion of the same. Whiche deuision the Englishmen perceauyng, and also considering that it was in y<sup>e</sup> maddest of wynter, in the whiche tyme it is not wholesome for men to lye in the frosty and moyst feeldes, were compelled in maner by necessitie within. v. monethes that they went forward, to retorne backe agayn in to Englande.

After thys Charles the frenche kynge hauyng thus the vpper hand of the Brytones, perceauyng that Maximilian kyng of Romanes laboured to haue in mariage, Anne sole heire to Fraunces duke of Britain for her younger suster was late dead, whiche thoughte was neither for hys profite nor aduantage, concluded a peace with the Brytones. By whiche treatie he had the lady deliuered into hys possession, & after her deliuerance, he refuysyng and repudiatyng the mariage of y<sup>e</sup> lady Margaret, daughter to the forsayd kyng of Romanes, espoused y<sup>e</sup> lady Anne duchesse of Brytayne, by whiche meanes the duchye of Britayne was annexed to the crowne of Fraunce, as here after shall appere when it toke effect, whiche was not two yeres after.

## ¶ THE. IIIJ. YERE.

NOWe to the mony layde out, as concernyng the sumptuousnes of thys battaile. It was decreed by the. iii. estates (as y<sup>e</sup> haue heard) in Englande before that any souldiours were sent into Britayne, that for the expence of that waire euery man should be taxed and assessed at the some of hys substaunce, and should paie the tenth penny of hys gooddes for the maintenaunce of the waire in Britayn. Which money the moost parte of them that dwelt about the Bishoprike of Durham & Yorkeshire, refused vtterly to paye, either thinking the selves overcharged with the greatnes of the same, and therewith greued, or ex cited and procured through the euell counsayll and sedicious perswasion of certayne persones, whiche preuely conspired agaynst the kynge to put him to new trouble and busines. Therefore suche as were by the kynges cōmaundement made Collectoures and gatherers of the summe taxed, after that they coulde not get the money, accordyng to the extractes to them by the commissioners deliuered, made their complaint preuely to Henry the. iii. Erle of Northumberland,

chiefe ruler of the Northe parties And he immediatly vpō the knowlege therof, signefied the kynges grace by hys letters, that the people greatly grudged and murmured, makynge open Proclamacion that they haue ben charged of late yeres with innumerable incommodities and oppressions, without any default or desert, and that now there was a houghe some requyred of them, which neither they were hable to satesfie, so great a demaunde, nor yet woulde once consent to paye any one peny of the sayde summe requyied The kyng commaunded the erle in any wyse by distresse or otherwise accordyng to hys discrecion, to exacte the money of the people, and by cōpulsion to enforce suche to payment as whyned moost at it, least y it might appere that the decrees, actes and statutes, made and confirmed by him and hys high courte of Parliament, shoulde by hys rude and rusticall people be infringed, despised and vilepended The rude rashe and vnadvised people, beaynge this aunswer of the kyng, by and by, violently set vpon the erle by the procurement of a symple felowe called Ihon of Chambre, whome the erle intreated with fayte woordes to come to reason, but they laiyng to hys charge that he was the chiefe author & principall causer of thys tax and tribute paynge, both hym and diuers of hys housholde seruautes, furiously and shamefully murdered & kyled. Diuers afferme that the Northenmen bare against this erle continuall grudge, sith the death of kyng Rychard, whome they entirely loued and highly fauoured, whiche secret seipēt caused their fury to wade farther then reason coulde retract or restieyne Although the thys offence were great and heynous, yet ther succeded after a more mischief and a greater inconuenience. For incontinent the Northenmē to cloke the homicide and manslaughter, by a violence put on their armure and assembled in flockes, and elected to them a capitayne called syr Ihon Egremonde knyght, a person no less sedicious then faccious and desirous of trouble, and ordred them selves lyke men of warie, and passynge by the countreys, they published and declared that they wold byd battail to the kyng, onely for the tuicion and defence of their common libertie and fredome, whiche he woulde plucke and by hys extreme power take & hereue frō thē But when their cause should be decided with blowes & handstrokes, their fury was asswaged & reirigerate, their hartes were in their heeles, & their stomackes as coulde as any stonc, & every one wished y this tumult were retracted & quēched, which was now al ready not smokyng but enflamed and in cōclusion, every man ranne away, some this way, & some that way, as men amased when they lacke counsaill, skatered & dispersed in diuers places. When every mā was returned, the mattre was ended as they imaged, but while they diligently laboured to saue their lifes by flight, they sought their awne destrucciō For the moost parte of thē were punyshed by death or by impysoement for the same offence. For the kyng heying of this tumultuous busynes, sent forth Thomas erle of Surrey, whome not lōg after he had deliuered out of y Tourē, & receaued to his grace & especial fauour (as he was both for his wit & fidelite wel worthy) with a cōpetent crewe of mē into the North partes, which skyrnished w a certayne cōpany & discōfited the, & toke a lyue Ihon a chābre the first beginnei of this rebelliō The kyng hym self roade after the erle into Yorkeshire, of whose cōming the slaues & sturdy rebelles were so abashed & afiaied, that they fled more & lesse, which afterwarde were apprehended & greuously punished accordyng to their demerites & deseruyng Yet the kyng of hys magnificent mynde, perdoned the innocent & rural people, & plaged & executed y inuenters of the mischief, & the furtherers of the same For Ihon a chābre was hanged at Yorke, vpon a gybbet set vpon a square paire of gallowes, lyke an archetraytoure, & hys complices & lewde disciples were hāged on the lower gallowes rounde aboute their mayster, to the terrible example of all other But syr Ihon Egremond, whome these sedicious persons preferred to be their Capitayn, fled into Flaunders to y lady Margaret duches of Burgoyne, whiche euer enuied the prosperite kyng Henry

When this folishe enterpryce was thus quenched, the kyng gaue cōmission & chargē to syr Rychard Tunstall knyght, a man of greate wyt, pollecie & discrecion, to gather and receaue the subsidie to hym dewe of the people, and he hym selfe returned shortly to London, leauynge the erle of Surrey to rule the Northpartes, perceauynge well the Englishmen, not so



much to grudge at the paymente of the taxe or tribute, as they did grone at the excessyue and impoitable some vpon the assessed, remembryng the olde prouerbe loue me litle and loue me longe. And thys was the yere of our Lorde M. cccc. xc. and the fourth yere of thys kynges reigne.

Before this tyme, Maximiliaen kyng of Romanes, whiche as you haue heard in the tyme of kyng Edward the. iij. had contrary to the mynde and will of the French kyng espoused lady Maime, daughter & heyre to Lewes the French kyng, and by her had issue, a sonne called Philip, and Margaret whiche was affied to Charles the vii. Frenche kyng and by hym repudiate and forsaken, was sore offended & greatly greued with the Flemynges, but moost of all with the Gauntoys and Brugians, for keepyng from him perforce hys sonne & heyre duke Philip, whiche neither by gentle request nor cruell menace woulde deliuer the sonne to hys naturall father and lawfull parent. Wherefore the king Maximiliaen assembled a company of Almaynes & Ouerlandeis (for he did not greatly put hys confidence in the Brabanders nor Hollanders) and made sharpe warre on the Flemynges, in the whiche he litle pieuayled. For the Flemynges sent to the Frenche kyng for aide & succour, whiche beyng glad of that request, sent Philip de Creuecure lorde Desqueides, commonly called the lorde Cordes into the confines of Flaunders with a great army of men, to aide and succour the Fleminges, trustyng by that meanes to obteyne bothe the possession of y<sup>e</sup> young entaunt duke Philip, and the whole countrey of Flaunders. Wherefore Maximilian intending to allure the Flemynges from the Frenchmen, beganne first to practise with them of Bruges, of whyche toun the grauous men, some condiscended and astipulat to reason, requyryng hym to come to their toun, and sent to hym with their request, the Scult called Peter Longoll with diuers othei, to aduertise hym that at hys cōmyng thither, he should fynde hym conformable to hys wyll, pleasure and request. Vpon trust wherof he entred into the toun smally accompanied, and came before the toun, thinkyng that the loides and senate woulde ioyously haue receaued and welcōmed hym. But the whole turned clene contrary, for the lyght witted persons, to whome peace was treason, and concord venomous poysen, takyng this occasion to them offred, cryed to harneys. When they, whiche had brought the kyng into the toun, sawe the tumult of the people, and that no man came to their relief, they left their lord post alone, and fled into corners. The warden of the smythes was the chief of the route, which bad the kyng to take pacience a while, and he should haue a gentle imprysonement, and so conueighed hym to the house of Ihon Grosse, iudge of the audience. Then the Almaynes were all banished, the toun and the lordes of Gaūt were sent for, whiche taried not longe. When they had the praye that they expected, fyrst diuers citezens whiche they thought fauourable to Maximiliaen they beheaded. Mathew Spert, one of hys chief counsailours and trusty frendes, was sent to Gaunt, and there put to death. James Dudenezell, & James of here. ii. wyse burgeses, notwithstandinge that all the priestes and religious of the toun made intercession for them, were at Bruges executed. Then Ihon Capenoll a busy merchaunt, woulde in all haste haue rydden to induct the French kyng as their souereigne lorde, to whome the moost parte woulde in nowyse a stipulate nor consent, nor yet intended to disheneryt the yonge duke Philippe of hys graundfathers inheritance.

When execucion was done of the wyse and sad counsaylers, y<sup>e</sup> newe made rulers caused theyr prynce kyng Maximilian to be brought to the toun house, and there they layed to hys charge, that he had not obserued the treatie, whiche they of Gaunt and Bruges had concluded w<sup>th</sup> the French kyng. Secundarely, they alledged that he put high Almaynes in offices and great authoritie, whiche without their assent woulde haue chaunged and inhaunced their coyne and money to their great prejudice and detriment. Many other ridiculous articles they layde to hym, whiche the eares of euery honest creature knowyng the duetie of the subiect to hys prynce, woulde abhorre and floccipend, to the whiche he so wisely and boldly answered, that in parte he asswaged their malice, and mitigated their rage. In so much that he was more gentler entreated then he was before. For if hys answer had been to the displeasaunt, or if he had menaced them but one woorde, I thinke in their furye they woulde haue

haue dispatched him out of hys lyfe and lande. The Gaūtoys woulde haue deliuered hym to the Frenche king, but the Brugīās woulde not assent. They of Gaunt desyred to haue him in their custody in Gaunt, but ſ citezens of Bruges vtterly denied hys deliury. Wherefore the Gauntoyes in great displeasure departed. Aftei whose departure the Brugians were content to set hym at libertie, so that he and diuers of hys nobilitie should sweare on the holy Sacrament, not onely to remit, pardon and forgeue all offences perpetrated and committed by them of Flaunders, but also shoulde sweare and promes, neither to remembre nor reuēge thesame. Thys othe he swarc in the great Church of Bruges, and the lord of Raueston called Philip Mounseur, and the lord of Beuers and diuēse other swaie thesame, addyng therunto, that if he did attempt any thyng cōtrary to hys othe and promes, then they swaie to take parte with the good tounes of Flaunders agaynste hym and his adherentes. And vpon this promes he was deliuered and frākely set at libertie.

But Frederick the Emperour coulde not forget the reproche & despite that was shewed to hym in hys sonne, and the great injury & wrog that was done to his sonne partely to hys dishonour, scouged Flaunders with sharpe warre and mortall afflictions (Maximilian liyng in quyet and nothyng attemptyng) but Philip Mounseur, lorde of Raueston, the whiche toke hys othe with kyng Maximilian, to shewe that the waire was renouate without hys knowledge and assente, forsooke Maximilian hys lord, and toke the tounes of Ypere, and Sluse, with both the Castels of thesame hauen, which he manned and vityled, and kept two yeres agaynste the power of Maximilian, till he rendred them to syr Edward Pownynges sent thether by the lynge of Englande, as you shall hereafter well perceaue Beside this, the foresayde Philip not onely exacted and stirred the Gauntoys, Brugians and other tounes of Flaunders, to rebell agaynste their souereygne lorde, but also sent to the lorde Cordes, to aide hym to conquere suche tounes of Flaunders, as were not of their opinion and confederacy This lord Cordes, which vntruly reuolted from duke Charles of Burgoyne, beyng hys brynger vp and chief preferer to Lewes the Frēch kyng (as you haue heard before) was glad of thys, and so sent to the aide of the Fleminges viii M. Frenchmen, willyng them to take and conquere such tounes, as were in the waye betwene Fraunce and Bruges, or Caleys and Bruges. The Capitaynes folowyng hys deuice, beseged a hitle walled toun, called Dipenew, to whome came. iiii M. Flemynges with vitayle and artillery, sent from Philip Mounseur. They layed siege on the Northsyde of the toun in a marshe grōude then beyng drye, and so depely dyched their campe, and so highly trenched it, on whiche trenche they layed their ordinaunce, that it was in maner impossible to entre into their campe, or to do them any displeasure or dammage. The kynge of Englande was dayly aduertised of these dynges, whiche nothing lesse desyred then to haue the English pale and territory, enuyroned with French fortresses For he perceaued well that if the Frēcheinē gate Dipenewe, they would afterward assaile Newport and Grauelynge, and cōsequently, what w force and what with corruption of rewardes, their purpose was to haue the possession of duke Philip, and all Flaunders, whiche shoulde not be to the profite of hym nor hys subiectes Wherefore this. v. yere, sodeinly with great expedicion he sent ouer to the lord Dawbeney to Caleys, the lord Morley with a Crewe of valiaunt archers and souldiours, to the number of a. M. men, with preuy instruccions what they shoulde do. When they were laded, they published and sayed that they came to defende the English pale, if the Frenchemen or Flemynges would attēpt any mastries there: But their enterprise was all otherwise. For on a Tuesdaye at the shuttyng of the gates at nyghte, the lorde Dawbeney chesfetayne of the army, the lorde Morley, Syr Iames Tyrrell, Capitayne of Guysnes, Syr Henry Willoughby, Syr Gylbert Talbot, syr Homfrey Talbot, Marshall of Caleys, and diuers other knightes and Esquyers, and other of the garrison of Hammes, Guysnes and Caleys, to the numbere of two. M. men or there aboute, issued preuely oute of Caleys, and passed the water of Grauelynge in the mornynge be tymes, and left there for a stalle and to kepe the passage syr Homfrey Talbot with. vi. skore archers, and came to Nēwporte, where they founde ſ soueraygne of Flaunders with. vi. C. Almaynes, and there they commoned and paused that nyght.

On



On the next day as they came secretly toward Dipnew (se þy chaunce) at a place of execution nere the high waye was a Gaūtoys (which was come out of the army for a spy, and apprehended by them of Dipnew) led to hanging, which amongst the Englishmē knew syr James Tyrell, and called to hym for comfort and succoure, promysynge hym that if he woulde saue hys lyfe, he woulde guyde them where they shoulde entre on the Gauntoys, to their honou and aduantage, and he woulde be the first assaylaunt of all the company. When hys promes was regarded, after request made to the Borough masters and capitaynes of the toune, he was perdoned but not deliuered. The next daye in þy mornynge, after they had ordred their army, their guyde conueyghed them out at the Southgate of the toune by a high banke set with wilowes, so that the Gauntoysses coulde not wel espie them, and so secretly came to the ende of the campe of their enemyes and there passed. The lorde Daubēney commaunded all men to sende their horses & wagon-backe, but the lord Moiley sayde he woulde ryde tyll he came to handstrokes (but he was deceayed) so they passed on tyll they came to a lowe bancke and no depe dyche, where their ordinaunce laye, and there the archers shote altogether euery man an arrowe, and so fell prostrate to þy ground, their enemyes discharged their ordinaunce all atones, and ouershot thē. The archers roase and shot agayn, and bet them from their ordinaunce. The Almaynes lept ouer the dyche with their morishe pykes, the Englishmen in the forefront waded the dyche, and were holpen vp by the Almaynes, and set on their enemyes, and slew and toke many prisoners. The other Englishmen hasted by the cawsey to entre in at the Northgate of the campe, where the lord Morley being on horsbacke in a ryche coate was slayne with a gonne. When his death was knowen, euery man kylled hys prisoner and slewe all such as did withstād them to the number of. viij. M. men, in somuch that of. ii. M. that came out of Bruges (as the Flemyshe chronicle reporteth) there came not home an hundred. There were slayne in the sayd place two chief capitaynes, George Peccanet, and Anthony Nyewahome. On the English parte was slayn the lord Morley, and not an hundred moo. The Englishmen toke their ordinaunce and sent it to Newport with al their spoyle and great horses. And by the waye, hearyng certayne Frenchmē to be at Ostend, they made thetherward, but the Frenchmen fled, and so they burned parte of the toune, and came agayne to Newport, where the lord Dawbeney left all the Englishmen that were hurt or wounded, and caryed with hym the dead corpus of the lorde Moiley, and buried it honorably at Caley. Thys felde was profitable to the Englishmen, for they that went forth in clothe, came home in sylke, and they that wēt out on foote, came home on great hoises, suche is the chaunce of victory.

The lorde Cordes, beyng at Ypē with. xx. M. men, was sore discontent with this overthrowe, wherefore he thynkyng to be reuenged, came and beseged the toune of Newport strögly (the which capitayne, Mōseur de Merwede, before capitayne of Dipnew, and all the gentelmen of Westflaunders, and the thre principall cities of Flaunders, vityled the Frenche hoost so wel that all thinges was to good chepe) they without shot at the walles, and brake thē in many places, and they within sore greued them without with their artillery. But the Englishmen þy were hurte at Dixmewe felde before, and might eyther stand or diue a bowe, neuer came from the walles. One day the Frenchmen gaue a great assaunte to a Towre, and perforce entred it, and set vp the banner of the lorde Cordes. but as God woulde, during the time of the assaunte there aryued from Caley, a Barke with lxxx fresh Englishe archers, which came streight to the Towre. The womē of the toune, perceiuyng the Englishmen come, cryed with lamentable and loude voyces, helpe Englishmen, helpe Englishmen, shote Englishmen, shote Englishmen, so that, what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurte men, and of the courageous hartes of the new come Archers, and the stoute stomackes and diligency of the women, which as fast as the Englishmen strake doune the enemyes, the women were ready to cut their throtes, they wanne agayne the Towre, and slewe the Frenchmen, & rēt the banner of the lorde Cordes and set vp the penon of saynct George. Then the Frenchmē, supposyng a great aide of Englishmen, to haue bene come to the toune by sea, left the assaunte. And the night folowyng the couetous lord

Cordes

Cordes (which so sore lōged for Caley, y he would commonly saye that he would gladly lye. vii. yeres in hell, so y Caley were in the possession of the Frenchmen) brake vp hys siege and shamefully returned to Hesdyng. And the Englishmen glād of this victory returned agayne to Caley.

This yere also, the réalme of Scotlād suffered an infeccious & mortall plague, because the name of Iames the third kyng of Scottes was so odyous, so hated and disdayned of the whole nobilitie of the realme of Scotlande, chiefly because they perceaued that he set more by vile borne vileyns and light persones, then by the princes and nobles of hys realme, as I haue declared to you in the history of kyng Edward the iii which mischiete and vngrate discommoditie, after they had tollerated and patiently suffred no small tyme to their great grudge & displeasour. They now thought it most expediēt for their purpose & wellfare, euen by force of armes to recouer their pristinate libertie and auncient freedome. Therefore making preuely a conuraciō and cōspiracy together agaynst their prynce and soueraigne lorde, cōpassed his death and destrucciō. Yet that it mighte not be thoughte that they did intende the destrucciō of their natyue cōntrey, they made the kynges sonne named after hys father Iames, prince of Rothsay (a chylde boine to goodnes and vertue) their Capytayne, in maner against hys will, openly protesting, that they purposed the confusion, afflicciō and deposyng of an euell kyng and wretched prynce, and not the subuersion & destrucciō of their cōntrey by which craftie ymagened inuēciō they might eyther cloke or propulse from thē all suspiciō, of their purposed vntuthe and shamefull disloyaltie. Whereof the kyng beyng credibly informed, was pensyfe, sorie, carefull, vexed and sore tormented in his mynd, for this cause in especiall, that he should haue cyuile disencion with hys awne subiects and natyue cōuntry men, yee & agaynst his awne sonne beyng made Capyteyne of that vntrewe and peruerse company, whome next to him selfe he loued, fauoured and honoured, ymagenyng with him selfe that this cōmociō sounded to none other effect but that the hed should fight and stryue with the other mēbres and partes of the natural body: and yet on the other syde, not to resyst shortly theyr newe incepted entreprice might easely encourage & inflame the malicious heartes of his domesticall enemyes with more boldenes & audacite to attēpt farther mischef & incōueniēce. Therefore to thētent to make a plaster for both these sores to be healed. Fyrst to apease and assuage the fury and rumour of the people, being this in a rage, he prepared an army of mē. After that he sent Ambassadors to his sonne and the nobilitie assembled with him, for a loue, peace, concord, quietnes and vnitee to be concluded amongest them. Also he sent letters to y kyng of Englande and the French kyng, requyringe them that they woulde vouchesafe with their good and Godly counsaile, helpe & assaie to mitigate and assuage this furious enormitie of his rude and sauage people, which was incepted and begonne thorough the perswasion and procurement of certeine pernicious and sedicious persones. And besides this, he wrote to the bishop of Rome Innocēt for thesame matter, in the which he earnestly ostested, desired & prayed him that he wōld of his goodnes, faith & charite sende some one legate to these rebelles of his nobilitie to charge and commaunde, that they settinge aside all warre and hostile, embrace quietnes, rest and vnitee.

This miserable decrepite and aged kyng, thinkyng that bothe delaiynge and continuance of time, and also the entreating and hartye prayers of his frendes and alies would quenche and mollifie their inordinate wildenes and furious rage, and persuaide thē to sobriete and good conformite, had rather with these, and other sembleable medecynes remedie this yonge springyng sore, then he woulde haue it experimented, and tryed with cyuyle bataille and intestine destrucciō, which he thought to be a thing bothe vngodly, vnnatural and execrable. For all this, no medecyne, no cōsaile, no wholsome preceptes could appease or pacifie the angry myndes and ragynge wittes of the Scottishe nobilitie, so mitch were they addicted and bent too this folye and vnreasonable madnes. In so much, as to the messengers sent from him to thē beyng their soueraygne lorde, they made this vnreasonable and vnnonest aunswer, that is: yt he would resigie the tytyle of his croune & realm and de-  
pose



pose him selfe of his royall dignite, then they would cōmen with hym of a peace, or els their eares were stopped from heryng of any entreatie or perswasion. Thesame aunswer broughte the Ambassadour of Englande and Fraunce to their princes, whiche sore lamented and deplored the perueise fortune and mischaunce of their frēde the Scottissh kyng, as though they had bene partakers of his afflicciō. But Adriā the bishop of Romes legate, of whome we will speake moie hereafter came to late, and as who should saye, a daye after the faire.

When nothyng could moue or perce these stony hartes or frosty myndes of the nobilitie of Scotland In conclusion they met together in a pitched felde, where after great slaughter of many men, the poore sely kyng fled into a Myll for succoure, whether he was followed and prosecuted, and there shamefully murdered, and vnreuerently, (not lyke a pryuce or a crowned kyng) left starke naked lyke a stynkyng caryon. Then the prynces of Scotland beyng satiate and filled with the blood and slaughter of their soueraygne lorde and kyng (thynkinge that they had well reuenged the olde displeasures to them done and committed by kyng Iames the thirde) set vp in the trone and estate royall, the prince hys sonne, and named hym Iames the. iiii. of that name.

Before this tyme, as you haue heard, Innocēt bishop of Rome had sent in legacye Adryan of Castella, a man of betouria borne in y<sup>e</sup> toun of Cornete, called in the olde tyme Newcastel, which should haue gone to Scotlande, too haue pacified by hys authoritie and commaundement thys troublesome busynes, moued and stirred betwene the kyng and his subiectes. Yet this man, although he made many great iourneys, when he came to England, was entormed of the kyng, to whome he hadde certayne commaundementes and messages to saye from the Romyshe Bishop, that he came to late for too accomplysh the commission of his legacy, asserteynyng him that the Scottishe kyng was dead, gently aduisinge hym, that he should not moue one foote farther but tary still in Englande, where he was not past two dayes, but that he was playnly certefied by the Bishops of Scotlande of the kynges death. This Adryan taryed certayne monethes after this in Englād and was made much of, and highly commended and lawded too the kyng by Ihon Morton bishop of Caunterbury, whiche for the good learnyng, vertue, & humanite, that he sawe and perceaued to be in him shewed to hym all poyntes of humanite and frendshippe, that a frende might do to a frende. And vpon hys commendacion, the kyng thynkyng thys man worthy to be looked vpon, and mete to do the kynges pleasure, muche phantasied and more fauoured this legate Adryan, in somuche as he was Oratour and solicited his cause, bothe to Innocēt and also to Alexander the sixt, Bishops of Rome And after this, for his diligent seruyce, he so loued and fauoured him y<sup>e</sup> he made him Bishop of Herford, and shortly after, that resigned & geuen ouer, he promoted hym to the Bishoprike of Welles and Bathe And not longe after this Adryan was returned with these honoures to Rome, where he was promoted successuely by all the degrees of spiritual dignitees into the College and societee of Cardinalles. For Innocent fyrste made him his Collectour in England, and also one of the. vii. Prothonotaries. After this Alexander the. vi. had hym as one of hys priuie counsayll, and promoted him to the degree of a Cardinall But who is that I praye you that will meiuell at this, which aswell may be geuē to fooles and dyzerdes as to wise and well learned men: There is another prayse of this Adrian, and thesame in maner eternall The manne was of profounde learninge and knowlege, not vulgaire, but straunge, newe and difficile, and in especial he was a man of a ripe iudgement in electyng and chosynge concinnate termes, and apte and eloquente woordes, whiche fyrste of our tyme, after that golden worlde of Tully, moued men with his writyng to imitate and foloe the moost approbate, and allowed authours that were of eloquēcie, and taught y<sup>e</sup> trade and phrase to speake fyne, pure, freshe and cleane latyn, so that by his example and documēt, eloquēcie flourisheth at this houre in all places of Christendome, wherfore after ny iudgemēt he is not woorthie to be put in obliuion. but now to my purpose.

THE VI. YERE

THE Britishe affaires in the meane ceason, because that all discorde was not pacesied and appeased, beganne agayne nowe to flowe out and to trouble, and set all thynges in a newe broyle and busynes. For Maximilian kynge of Romaines beyng without a wife, before this tyme, made suite to Fraüces duke of Briteyne, to haue in mariage the lady Anne hys daughter, to the whiche request the duke gentely condescended. And one, whiche by proxie wooed for him too the entent that the lady shoulde performe that she promised on her faith and honour, he vsed a new inuenciō and trickes, after this maner. When the lady did take her chambre, the night after the affiaunce, she was layed naked in the bride bed, in the presence of diuise noble matrones and Prynces, called thether as witnesses. The procuratour or Deputie for the husbände whiche represented his person, was layde in the place of her husbände, and put one of his legges into the bed vp to the harde knee, in the sight and compaigny of many noble personages, as who said that the virgin had bene carnally knowen, and so the matrimony persfghte and consummate, and they two as man & wyfe. But this fonde new founde ceremony was little regarded and lesse esteemed, of hym that onely studied and watched, howe to surrept and steale this turtle oute of her mewe and lodgyng. For Charles the Frenche kynge (as no mā can blame hym) was desyrous and gredy too be coupled in mariage, wyth so great an inheriture, and reputynge the mariage made with Maximilian, to be of no validite and effect, the more busely and incessantly he made sharpe warre, & skourged the Brytōnes, to thentent he might bothe haue the lady and her dominions also at hys will and pleasure. But he imagined that the kynge of Englande woulde caste a trumpe in his waye, and be an impediment to his purpose by sendynge into Britayne a newe army of Englishemen, for he had intelligence by his preuy fauours

Kynge Henry and Ferdinando kyng of Spaygne, were fully decreed to aide, assist and defende the duches and duchie of Briteyn, in all icopardies and aduentures, to thentent that they agaynst their will and affection should not be by force compelled, to submit themselves to the subieccion and ponderous yoke of the Frenche kynge. For the whiche cause, these two princes were ioyned in a league and confederacy to resist and propulse this manifest wronge and apparant iniurie. Wherfore he sent in all post hast the lord Fraüces of Luxemborough, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gagime, ministre of the bone homes of the Trinitee, to kyng Henry for a peace to be confirmed & had, which whē they came before the kynges presence, were accepted and entreteyned after the best maner. And when they were demaunded of the effect of their legacion, their request was that kyng Charles, as chiefe and supreme lord ouer the seignorie & duchye of Briteyne, might without any spot of ingratitude to be imagined or conceaued by kynge Henry, lawfully ordre and dispose at his will and pleasure the mariage of lady Anne of Briteyne, as his ward & orphan, without any let and disturbance of the kynge of Englad, or any of his alies and confederates. Kyng Hēry thereto would not condescende, but still harped on this stryng, that the virgyn, whiche was lawfully combyned in matrimony with Maximilian kynge of Romans, shoulde not be compelled agaynste her wil and promes (beyng contrary to all lawe, right and equitie) too take any other person then hym to her spouse and husband, for that it was clerely repugnaunt to all veritie and lawe, both of God and man. So when they had lynyed the tyme, and consumed many dayes in vayne argumentes and superfluous reasons, without any of their requestes obteyned after longe debatynge and consultacion, they were resolved on this poynte, least it shoulde be thoughte that all their legacion had bene in vayne and brought to no efficacie or purpose, a forme of a league and amitie shoulde be drawen with condicions, clauses and couenauntes. And for the farther furtheraunce of that purpose, it was thoughte necessary and expedient that the kynge of Englande shoulde sende



Ambassadours to the Frenche kyng, whiche in hys name and by his authoritee might breuely conclude and finishe the league and treatie that was in communicacion incepted and begonne. Whereupon kyng Henry dismissed the Frenche Ambassadours laden with ample & large rewardes into their countrey, and dispatched and sent streyght after them by hys commission and authorite, Thomas erle of Ormond, and Thomas Goldeston prior of Christes church in Cauntourbury hys Oraours and Ambassadours, to Charles the French kyng instructing them fully of all thinges that he would haue either moued or determined.

In this meane space, Alexander bishop of Rome ¶ vi of that name whiche succeeded after Innocent, a man full of diligēce and of wit pregnant, sent Lyonell bishop of Concorde legate, to the Frenche kyng for certaine matters, and among other thinges, gaue him in charge to conclude a peace and vntie betwene king Charles and king Henry. Whē he had declared his message to the French kyng fully, and had easely obteyned all thinges that he requyred, then he began to moue vnto the French kyng and his nobles, with a longe and prolix exhortacion to make and conclude a perpetual peace, betwene him and the king of Englande. And when he perceaued the Frenchemen to make no greates denyall to his request, he determyned to attempt and moue kyng Hēry to concente and agree to thesame desire and petition and toke hys iourney towardes England, and at Calcys he encountred the Ambassadours, both of Englande and of Fraunce, which receaued hym into the tounne of Calcys, with many ceremonies and great reuerēce. Where after they had communed the matter a certayn space, as cōcerning their affaires and busynes, they departed toward the Frēch kyng, & the Bishop was transported into England. The kyng honorably receaued & gently entreteyned this Orator Lyonell, and gaue good eare to his luculent & eloquent oracion, wherein he perswaded him with many flatteryng and glosinge wordes, to entre into a league and amitie with kyng Charles of Fraunce, and the Frenche nacion. To the whiche request the kyng made aunswer that he would be glad and ioyous, if it might be compassed and brought aboute, after lōge trouble and pernicious dissencion to lyue in peace and mutual amite with all christēme. Bishop Lyonel perceauyng the kynges mynde and intent, reculed again to Fraunce with all spede and diligence (and as it was mete and decent for the bishop of Concord) he determined to extupate and dryue out of the kynges memory all olde reconynges and iniuries done too him heretofore, and plant if it might be, in his hart and minde, the very goodly and gracious greyne of concord and vntie.

The Englishe Ambassadours, then being with the Frenche kyng purposed and setforth articles and conclusions of peace. The Frenchmen prudently made aunswer, so that on bothe parties the matter was politiquely and artificially proponed and oppugned. The Englishe Ambassadours, to thentent that they might assente and obtayne a fewe thinges, whiche they muche desired, required & demaunded many great and diuerse thinges. The Frenchmen on the other side, mynding to assent to no one demand at thend, did deny & repudiate all Theenglishmens desyres, and condicions, and were sore angry and moued with their great requestes and high demaundes. And in the meane ceason, trustyng more to their coffers then to their cheualry, as the maner of their countrey is, for to obteyn their purpose, they spare not to disburse and launche out treasure, gistes and rewardes innumerable, whiche is the very cause that they conquere more with crounes of gold, then with speare and shyld, or dynt of swerde in battaile. So that shortly after the Frenche kyng, sent to ¶ noble men of Briteyn great & many rewardes, solicytyng, exhortyng, and prayyng them all to become his subiectes and vassals. And in especiall he allured and enticed with moost flatteryng wordes and triappyng termes, the lady Anne by such honorable matrones and ladies, as had the gouernaunce and educacion of her to confirme her self true to him in due obedience and loue, and not disdeyne to be coupled in such a noble marriage, with so high and mightie a prynce, as kyng Charles was. And least perauenture the Damosell fearyng the rigour of the Ecclesiasticall lawes woulde not consent too hym for offending her conscience and infryng her promes. To aduoyde that scruple, he caused

diuerse to inculcate and put in her hed & tyttle in her eare, that the maniage made with Maximilian was of no strēgth and lesse efficacy, considerynge that it was concluded and made without the consent, agrement and wil of him, which is the chiefe lord and ought to haue the gouernaunce ouer her as his warde, & the whole duchy of Briteyne, assuring her that she was deluded, and that the maniage with Maximilian was neuer consummate nor perfight. And this was the very cause that no sure concorde or peace could be concluded & agreed betwene these two Prynces. And where as the Frēch kyng had long kept with hym the lady Margaret, daughter to Maximilian and her solemply espoused at Amboys, he sayde that that maniage might be lawfully dissolved agayne, because the lady was of that age, that she coule neither be geuen nor yet taken in maniage, for whiche cause he might lawfully repudiate and honestly put her from him.

By this crafte and perswasion they led and entised the fayre mayden, suspectyng none euell and brought her to this poynt, that in conclusion, she beyng proclaimed by diuers, Prynces of Briteyne, sabornate and corrupted with mede contrary to their duetie and allegeaūce, was content to condissende and agree to that the Frenchmen demaunded, & not onely to submit her selfe to the French kyng, but also to take him to her make and husband, by the reason whercof the warre might cease, whiche with violence and impressiō of the same, had infested and afflicted all her whole countrey. To this maniage agreed all the nobilitie of Briteyne, whiche helde of the French parte, thinkinge it verily for the aunancement of the common weale and their ease, because to trust to the power of Maximilian, which was of no puyssaūce, they thought it veyne and of no efficacy. And when the Frēch kyng had composed and ordred his matters of this fasson, piously with the lady Anne, he accelerated the maniage with all the expedicion and diligence that was possible. So that the English Ambassadors returned agayn to their cōtreie, and nothing doen or agreed vpon their matter.

Kyng Henry, still patiently forbearynge and suffyng till such time that he perceaued more playnly what way the worlde went, and vnderstandyng before the returne of his Ambassadors, that the Frenchmen meant none other but playne guyle, fraude and deceipte, determined no more with peaseable legacions, but with open waire to finish and detemyn all controuersies and displeasures betwene him and the French kyng. Wherfore he sommoned his courte of Parliament, and there declared first the cause why he was iustly prouoked to make waire against the French kyng. And after desired them of their beneuolent aide of men and money for the maintenaunce of the same. The cause of this battail, euery man did allowe and approbate, and to the settinge forth of the same, promysed their industrie, labour and all that they could make. The kyng commendynge them for their true and louynge hartes, too thentent he might not aggrauate the common people, with paynge of great taxes and summes of money, whome his mynde was eue to kepe in fauour, woulde fyrst exacte money by a litle & a litle of the beneuolent mynde of the ryche sorte, and this kynde of exaction was first excogitated by kyng Edward the. iii. as it appereth before in his story. Therefore he consulted with his friends, to inuent howe to gather together a great summe of money, and published abrode that by their open giftes he woulde measure and searche their beneuolent hartes & louynge myndes towarde hym, so that he that gaue mooste shoulde be iudged to be mooste louynge hende, and he that gaue litle, to be esteemed accordynge to his gifte. By this a man maye apparantly perceauē as it were for a great common wealth, that that thinge that is once practised for the vtilitee of a prince, and brought too a president by matter of recorde, maye be turned to the great p̄iudice of the people, if rulers in authority will so adudge and detemyn it. So by this means the kyng gathered innumerable summes of money, with some grudge of the people for the extemitie shewed by the commissioners in diuerse places.

A beneuolent  
kec.

You haue heard before how Phillip Mounsire, lord of Raueston by the aide of Biuges & Gaunt had taken the towne & ii. castels of Sluys and was become aduersarie to Maximilian, by reason of the iii. chiefe cyties of Flaunders. Now ye shall vnderstand that he did not onely so fortifie as well with municions as men, both the towne and. ii. Castels, but also



gat into the hauen diuerse shippes and barkes, & by this meanes he spoyled and toke prysoners all nacions, passing eyther by sea or by land to the mart at Antwarp, or into Brabant, Zeeland or Frisland and was euer plentifully vityled out of Fraunce and Pycardy, to the great dammage of the Englishmen, which were spoyled dayly and taken prysoners: Which thinge Maximilian kynge of Romanes coulde not wel remedy, nor the kyng of England without great coste and losse of men For to it behoued an army, bothe by sea and lande, for when he was set for by lande, he fled to the sea And when he was chased on the sea, he soughte refuge in hys twoo stronge Towers, and euer he had succours from Bruges and Gaunt Now was here a litle toune two myle from Bruges, toward the sea called Damme, whiche was a Bulwerke to Bruges, and a hedsprynge to Sluys. The kynge of Romanes did oftentimes attempt the apprehendinge of this-toune, to the extent that the Brugians should haue no recourse to the hauē of Sluys, nor the Sluysians should haue no succour out of the toune of Bruges. But there were slayne a great number of gentlemen of Germany, for they within made no signe of defence, tyl all their enemies were in their daunger, and so slewe. and confuted them. Theric was a greate duke in Almayne, called duke Albert of the vpper Saxony, a greate frende to the kyng of Romanes, whiche made him selfe Neuter, and neuer intermitted with the affayres of Flaunders, a man of no lesse pollecy then valyaunt hardynes. This duke requered of the lordes of Bruges, that he might enter peaceably into their toune, accordynge to his estate with a certayne numbre of menne of armes to communicate with them dyuerse matters of great weyght and no small importaunce, and sent before his carriages and herbingers to make prouision The estates of Bruges litle doubted to admit so small a numbre into so populous a company, ye though the numbre were duplicate, and especially, because they harde saye that he woulde lodge in the toune all night, wherefore no man thought of that craftie stratageme that he had inuented His elected and warlike company entred into the cytie in good ordre, and he folowed, they that went before inqyred after ynnys and lodgynges as though they would repose them selves there all nighte, and so went forth still in ordre askynge for lodgyng, till they came to the gate that goeth directly towarde the forsayde toune of Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemysh myle, which is called the Bulwerke of Bruges The Capitaynes and inhabitauntes of the toune of Damme, suspecting no harme to come oute of Bruges, thinkinge that their frendes knowynge some sodeyn chauce comming to haue sent to them aide and succours, and so nothinge mistrusting, did let them entre, and take the toune of Damme, and so that toune whiche coulde not be wonne by force of armes, was by a sleight & pollecy attrapped and surprised to the great detriment and displeasure of the toune of Bruges, for now had they no recourse to the sea, which stop so continuing, no doubte, but the toune of Bruges must nedes fall in ruyne and vtter exterminion.

When duke Albert of Saxony had gotten Dam, he certefied þe kyng of England þe he woulde hesege Sluyse by lād, if it pleased his maiestic to ministe any aide by the sea. King Hēry which was wise, & forcasting in all his affaires, remēbryng that Sluyse was the denne of theues to thē þe traourse þe seas toward the East parties, incontīnēt dispatched syr Edward Powniges, (a valiaūt knight & hardy Capitayn) w. xii shippes wel furnished w. bolde soul-diours & strōg artillery. Which syr Edward sayled ito þe hauē, & kept Philip mōsure frō stertīg by þe sea The duke of Saxō beseged þe one castel, lyng in a churche oueragaist it, & þe Englishmē assaunted þe lesse castel dayly, & issued oute of þe shippes at the ebbe, and although they stode in the water to the knees, yet they neuer gaue their enemies one daye to repose or playe by the space of. xx. dayes, and euery dare slewe some of their aduersaries, and on the Englishhe parte were slayne Vere brother to the Erle of Oxforde & fifty moo

The lorde Philip of Rauestone, had made a bridge of boates betwene both the Castels, by the whiche one might succour þe other, Which bridge the Englishmen in a night set on fyre. Then, he peiceaunye þe he must nedes lese his castels by force, & that the Flēmings could not aide him, yelded the castels to syr Edward Powniges, and the toune to the duke of Saxony, vpon certeyne condicions. When the duke and the English capitayne met in the

the tounne, there was betwene them great salutacions, and syr Edward kept the Castels a while, of whome *ŷ* Almaynes demanded stipend and salary, because that the duke had nothyng to paye. Then these two capitaynes so hādled them of Bruges that they were content not onely, to submit the selues to the lord Maximilian, but also to pay & dispatche the Almaynes. And so syr Edward Pownynges taried there a long space, and returned to the kyng before Boleyne. And so they, which by reasonable ordre, would not be gouerned: by vnreasonable condicions were brought to conformyte and ordre.

The vi daye of Aprill this present yere, the kyng commaunded all the nobilitie of his realme, to assemble at the Cathedral church of saint Paule in London, where after Te deum solemply songe, the Cardinal of Caunterbury, standyng on the steppes before the queene dore, declared to the people, how the famous cite of Granado, which many yeres had bene possessed of the Moores or Mawritane nacion, beyng infideles & vnchristened people, and low of late beseege by a great tyme by Donfernando and Elisabeth his wyfe, kyng and queene of Spayne, Arragon and Castell. And thesayde infideles, by reason of this siege brought to great penury and miserie, for lacke of vitelle and necessary viand, perceauyng that all succours were clerely estopped and propulsed from them, and so brought into vtter despaire of aide or comfort after longe consultacion had emongest them, determined to rendre the selues and their cite, to thesayde kyng, vpon diuise couenautes and condicions, and thereupon sent to hym diuise Senatours of the cite, fully instructed of their mynd and purpose. The kyng of Spayne and his counsail, considering and sagely pondering that wynter approched and was at hande, and that the Christen hoost had long lyen in *ŷ* feeldes in soie tempestes and greuous stonnes (which they gladly suffied for Christes sake, in whose cause and quarel they made that present warre) remembryng also, that the cytie was of suche ryches fame and estimacion, that it conteyned an hundred and fifty thousand houses of name, beside other small houses and cotages, and that it was replenished with people innumerable, and furnished with lxx. thousand good fightyng men. And finally, perceauyng that he might enioye nowe the possession of thesame, without assaute or effusion of Christen blood, by the aduyse of his counsail, he accepted, accorded and agreed to theyr offes the xxv. of Nouember, in the yere of Christes incarnation. M. cccc xci then beyng the daye of saynt Katheryn. By the which composicion, the roiall cite of Granado, with all the holdes and toitresses of the realme, and the Towres and Castels of Alpussarare was rendred into the handes of thesayde kyng of Speygne, & that the kyng of Granado should become subiect and vassall to the kyng of Speygne, and to relinquish and forsake the vsurped name of a kyng for euer. And *ŷ* all men of warre should franckly departe out of the cite, and none ther to remayne, but artificers and merchautes, and all these thinges to be done before the xxv. day of January, but the tyme was anticipate, for *ŷ* Moores on the first daye of January, sent vi C notable personages out of the cite with their chyldren for hostages into the campe of the kyng of Spayne, to thentent that he should put no diffidēce nor mistrust in the citezens, but that he might peaceably and quietly with his people entre into the cytie, and take possession of thesame. The which hostages were distributed and lodged in the tentes and paulyons of the Spanyshe armye.

The third daye of January, the lorde of Gutterins Cardenes, greate Master and gouernour of Lyon, of the ordre of saint Iames, departed from the armye, nobly and triumphantly accompanied with fyue hundred horsemen, and three thousande footemen, towarde the cite. And as he approched nere to the suburbes, there issued out dyuerse nable and valiaunt Capitaynes of the Moores, makyng to hym humble obeysaunce, and conducting him to a palace, adioyning to the cite, called the palace of Anaxaras, and from thence conueighed hym to the palace roiall of thesame cytie called Alhābra, wher of he toke quiet and peacesable possession, to the behoue of *ŷ* kyng of Speigne, whome the Moores promised and confessed to take and obey, as to their kyng and souereygne. And in signe and token that they thought in their hartes, that which they promysed by mouth, they prostrated and humbled them selues before thesayde great Master, and with dolorous lamentacion and salt teares,



teares, deliuered to him the keyes of thesayd palace. Whē he had the keyes, & was also possessed of that strong and magnificent place, he first of all dispatched the house of all the Moores and paganes, and appoynted a garrison of valyaunt and noble christiās to kepe and defende thesame. And thesame daye caused a masse solemnly too be celebrate in a place of thesame palace called Melchira, which done and finished, he toke possession of all the fortresses, Towres and holdes too thesayd cite and toune of Granado, belonging or apperteyning. And then he caused to be eleuated and exalted vpon the highest towie of the palace (where it might best be sene) the signe & token of the crosse, wheron Christe for vs synners suffred his bitter passiō. At the reysing wherof, were present an Archebishop, and thre Bishops and other prelates, whiche deuoutely sange this antheime O ciux, aue spes vnica. Thesayde crosse was in tymes deuoutly eleuate, and at euery exaltacion, ſ̄ Moores beyng within the cytie, roared, howled and cried, prosternyng them selves grouelynge on the grounde, making dolorous noyes and piteful outcryes. The army encamped without the cytie, seyng these thynges, humbled them selves mekely before the crosse, rendyng too almightie God their moost humble and hartie thanks. The kyng of Spayne, beyng mounted on horsbacke, perceauynge the ereccion of the crosse, descended from his Genet, and kneled doune on the bare grounde, and rendred to God, laude, honour and playnsng for that noble and triumphant victory. And after that the crosse was thus set vpon the high Towre, the banner of saint Iames and the kynges banners were pitchēd and fixed vpon the turrets and pynacles of the cytie. A Herault standing in the top of the high Towre, proclaymed and published these woordes folowyng.

Saynct Iames, saynct Iames, saynct Iames, Castil, Castil, Castil, Granado, Granado, Granado. By high and mighty power, lorde Ferdinando and Elizabeth, kyng and quene of Spayne, haue wonne frō the Infideles and Moores, the cytie and realme of Granado, through the helpe of our lorde God and the moost glorious virgyn his mother, and the verteous apostle saynct Iames, and the holy father Innocent the viii. togethers with the aide & succours of ſ̄ great prelates, knyghtes and other gentlemen borne, & cōmons of their realmes & cōūtreys.

When the Herault had finished, the artillery sounded, the mynstrelles blew, the people applauded and clapped their handes for gladnes, that the earth seemed to tymbel and quake vnderneath them. After this ioye ended, these issued out of the cite in maner of procession. vii. hundred, and mo Christians, aswell men as women and chyldren, whiche had bene there prysoners and lyued in bondes, seruitude and miserable captiuitie, wherof the moost parte were naked, wounded and in maner famyshed for hungre. To whome the kyng of his great liberalite gaue bothe apparell, vyand and money. These poore prysoners comynge oute of the cytie sange this Psalme Benedictus dominus deus Israel, Quia visitauit & fecit redemptionem plebis sue. Blessed be the lord God of Israel, which hath visited and redemed his people, and so singynge forth the whole Psaline, went to the churche of saint Feith, which the kyng Ferdinando had caused to be moost sumptuously edified during the tyme of the siege, beyng distant from Granado twoo or three myle. And as this poore procession passed by the hoost, one espied his sonne and another sawe his brother, and the sonne perceaued the father, and the father founde the daughter, whiche were nowe deliuered out of miserable seruitude and bondage. But they coulde not refayne nor brydle themselves from distillynge of teares and sobbynge, seyng their parentes and kynstolke restored to libertie and fredome. And whē these people had sayde their Ouysons in the churche of saynct Feith, & were come to the army, they kneling before the kyng kyssed his fote, cryng with one voyce, God graunt to the kyng of Speygne euerlastyng lyfe.

The next daye after the lord Euerus de Mendosa, Erle of Tedigle was by the kyng made Capitayn of the house royal, & principal Towie of the cite of Granado, called Alhambria, haunyng to hym appoynted and assigned one thousand men of armes, and twoo thousand fotemen. Vnto the whiche Erle the great Master deliuered to the keyes of the said palace

and

and Towre, and other portes and fortresses. On Saturdaye the viij. daye of Ianuary, in the yere of our Lorde. M. cccc. xxi. Feidinand kyng of Speyne & Granado, the quene & their eldest sonne done Ihon prince of Speygne, the lord Peter of Mēdosa, archebishop of Toieto, the patriarche of Alexandry, the Cardinal of Speyne, the lord Peter Prynce of Lyon, duke of Gaditane, the Marques of Villena and Moya. The erle of Capre, the erle of Vinnenna of Citnentes, and many other Erles, Barones and nobles, whereof some were Englishemen, whose names I haue not, with x. thousand horsemē, and fifty thousand footemen wyth greate tryumphe and royaltie entred into the cytye of Granado, and thereof tooke real possessiō and season, and caused masse to be songe in a great place called Meschita, where he caused a solēpne churchē to be buylded in the honoure of God and hys mother. Whē Masse was ended, the kyng and quene repayred to the palace royall of Alhambra, the whiche was wonderfull, bothe in quantite and sumptuous buyldyng, whyche house was adourned with ryche Arras and Tapestry in euery chambre. The erle of Tendighe Capitaine of the palace feasted the kyng and Quene, and all the nobilitie at hys awne costes and charges. So the kyng of Speygne there remayned tyll the countrey was reduced too a good conformytye and order, and dyuerse Castelles and fortresses were made for the sauegaude and tucyon of the realme. And because thys victory obteyned, was to the glory of God, and to the publick wealch of all Christianite, the sayde Cardinall of Caunterbury declared to the people, that the kyng had sent hym and the other nobles. thether that daye, not onely to notefye and declare to them the verite of the fact, but also to exhorte thē to geue laudes and praysinges to almighty God, for deliuering so goodly a cytye, so plentiful a countrey, & so notable a regiō out of the hādes of his enemies & persecutors of his faith & religiō. Which declaraciō ended the Archebishop with the clergie, & the nobles with the cominaltie in moost deuout maner wēt in general processiō, rēdring to God for this greate acheued enterpryce, glory, honour & moost reuerēt & hartly thanks.

Aboute this ceason, Maximilian kyng of Romanes hauyng the vpper hand of the Fleminges, by aide of the kyng of Englād (as you haue hearde before) entended to reuēge him self of ŷ Frēch king, for ŷ he had repudiate his daughtei lady Margaret, & sent her home to him, entēdg as he thought to take to his wife ŷ lady Anne of Briteyn. But because he was not of sufficiēt habilite of him self to susteyne & furnish ŷ waie he determined to desyre kyng Henry to take parte with hym. Whereupon he sent Iames Contibald Ambassadoure, a man of great graunte to exhorte and requyre the kyng of England, to entre hys company and societee in armes, faythfully promysing on his honour ŷ he would in sembleable matters of his, take part with. x. M. men at the least, for the space of. ii. yeres whensoever he should requyrē hym. And because it is his chaunce to trye the foitune of battaile and to intimate the waire, he promised to certefie kyng Henry. vi. monethes before that he would inuade or occupie the territory of hys enemies. And by this message, Maximilian greatly inflamed and set a tyer kyng Hēryes hart to beare with him. And as he was mynded before this tyme as you haue hard before to aide and assist the Britones in the extremite of their peill, he now reconed ŷ time to be come, that he must collect an army to helpe them now at a pynche in their moost peill and daungei, to thentēt to restore agayne the Britishe nacion to their auncient liberte, and to expulse the Frenche nacion, which thrustred for the blood, death and destruction of the poore Brytones, clerely out of that duchy and country. And he was the more ardently therunto encouraged because he perceaued Maximilian himselfe so earnestly set and bent toward that enterpryce, and therefore he made this aunswere to Iames the Ambassadour, ŷ he would be ashamed to be foude slacke or vnproouided at any tyme of Maximilian his fellow & compaigniō in armes. And so these matters well brought to effect on both parties, the kyng dismissed the Ambassadoure from hys presence.



## THE. VII. YERE.

IN this very season Charles the Fiēch kyng, receaued lady Anne as his pupille into his hādes, & with great solempnite her espoused, 'hauing with her for her dower the whole cuntry of Briteyne. And so by this meane the Brytones became subiect to the French kyng Maximiliā beyng certefied of this, fell into a great rage and agony, for y he was not cōtent with the forsaking and refusing of his daughter lady Margaret, but also had takē & tauished away from him his assured wife lady Anne duches of Britayne. And calling vpon God for vengeance & ponishmēt for such an heynous & execrable tactē, cryed out & rayled on him, wishynge him a thousand deathes. Yet after that he was pācesied, and came to hym selfe agayne, and had gathered hys wyttes togethēr, he thought it was moost expedient to vindicate and reuenge hys honou and dignitee so manifestly touched, with the dynt of sworde. And beyng in this mynde, sent certain Ambassadors to kyng Henry with hys lettres, desyringe him with all diligence to prepare an army, and he hym selfe woulde do likewise, to inuade the Frenche kynges realmes with fyre, sword and blood.

Kynge Henry hearyng of this, and putting no diffidence in the promes of Maximilian, whome he knew to haue a deadly hatred and lōge grudge agaynst the French kyng, caused a muster to be made in all the partes of hys realme, and put hys men of warre in a redynes armed & weaponed accordyng to their feates: besyde thys he rygged, mūned and vteiled his nauy ready to set forward euery houre, and sent curriers into euery shyre to accelerate and hast the souldiers to the sea side. After the message was declared, there came without any delay an hōge army of men, aswell of the lowe sorte and commonaltie as other noble men, harnysed and armed to battaile, partely glad to helpe their pīce and to do him seruice and partely to buckle with the Frenchmen, with whome the Englishmen very willingly desyre to cope and fight in opē battail. And immediatly, as inonicion was geuen, euery man with hys bande of souldiours repayred to London.

After that, all this army was arrayed and euen readie to set forward wherof were cheue-taynes and leaders, Iasper duke of Bedford, & Ihō erle of Oxforde beside other the kynges sent Christopher Vrswikē hys aulmoner, and syr Ihon Ryseley knyght to Maximiliā, to certefie him that the kyng was all in a redynes, and woulde shortly airryue in the continent land, assone as he were aduertised that Maximilian and hys men, were ready and prepared to ioyne with hym. The Ambassadors sayled into Flaunders, and after their message done, they sent ii. letters in all hast to kyng Henry, the whiche not onely sore vnquyeted & vexed hym, but also caused him to take more thought, care and study on hym then he did before. for they declared that no prince coulde be more vnprouided or more destitute of men and armur, no more lackynge all thynges, apperteignyng to warre then was Maximilian, and that belaye lurkyng in a corner, sore sicke of the fluxe of y pursse, so that he had neyther men, horsse, municions, armure nor money, neuer the lesse his mynd & will was good, if his power and habilitie had been correspondēt & therefore there was no trust to be put in his aide or puissance. Their letters bothe appalled, and made sorowful the kyng of Englād, which like a prudent prince did well consider & ponder, y it were both leopardous and costly, for him alone to enterprice so great a warre. And on y other parte, if he should desist and leave of his pretensed purpose, all mē might call hym coward and recreant prynce. Beside this, he thoughte that his awne nacion woulde not take his taryng at home in good nor fauourable part, cōsideryng y syth they had geuen so large money for the preparaciō of all thinges necessary and conueniet for the same, they might conceaue in their heddes & ymagin, that vnder coloure & pretēce of a dissimuled warre he had exacted of the notable summes of money, & now the treasure was once payed, then y warre was done, & his cofers well enryched, & the commonos enpouerished. So that at thys tyme he doubted & cast perels on euery side & parte, & beside this he was not a litle sōry y Maximiliā

liā authour of this warre did absent him selfe, & defraude him of his societe & assistēce. And while he studied & mused what counsaill he shoulde best take in suche a doubtfull and sodeyne case, he like a graue pynce, remembering the sayng of the wise man, woorke by counsayll & thōu shalt not repēt the, assembled together all his lordes and other of his priuate counsayll, by whose myndes it was concluded and determined, that he shoulde manfully and couragiously perceauer and procede in thys broched and begonne enterpryce, recordynge well with them selves, and affirming playnely that all cheualry and marsial prowesses, the more difficile and heard that it is to attayne to, the more renoumed is the glory, and the fame more immortall of the vanquisher and obteyner. Therefore by this counsayll of his fiendes and senate, he made Proclamacion that euery man should set forward into Frauncē, and yet not openynge howe Iudasly Maximilian had deceaued hym, least that they knowynge the whole fact, shoulde not be so courageous to go towarde that battaile and procede forward on their iorney. And therefore to provide and forse all perels and daungiers that might accidentally ensue, he so strengthened, multeplied and augmented his army in such numbres before he toke ship, that he with his awne powre might discourage and ouercome the whole puissaūce of his aduersaries.

When he had thus gathered and assembled his armye, he sayled to Caley the. vi. daye of October, & there encaped him selfe, taryng there a certaine space to se his men harnessed & appareled, that neither weapō nor any engyne necessary for his iourney should be neglected. At which place all the army had knowlege by the Ambassadors, whiche were newly returned out of Flaunders (for they did not knowe of it before) ꝑ Maximilian coulde make no preparaciō for lacke of money, & therefore there was no succour to be expected at hys hand. At the which report, ꝑ Englishmen were nothing abashed nor dismayed, trusting so muche to their awne puissaūce & cōpany: but yet they meruayled and wondered greatly ꝑ heard it related, ꝑ Maximilian receauyng such great vilany not lōge before at the hand of kyng Charles, was not present to pricke them forward, to crye & call, to moue and excite the Englishmen, ye and if he had had. vi. hundred bodyes to put them all in hasard, rather then to leaue the Englishmē, now setting vpon his dayly enemyes & deadly aduersaries. Albeit Maximiliā lacked no hart & good will to be reuenged, yet he lacked substaūce to cōtinew warre, for he could neither haue money nor men of the dronkē Fleminges nor yet of the crakyng Brabanders, so vngrat people were they to their soveraigne lorde.

In the meane ceason, although the Frenche kyng was as well with courage replenished as with men furnished mete to trye a battaile, yet all this notwithstanding he made semblāce, as though he desired nothig more then peace, beyng not ignorāt that peace to be obtained was of no smal valure & price, & yet he determined to make more expēce in getting of peace then in settinge foorth of warre and hostilitie, and regarded so much the lesse the treasure too be dispensed for the acquryng of vnitee and concord, for as muche as he was afrayed that he beyng diligent to resist the invasion of the Englishmen, that the Brutoues wherof the moost parte bare the yoke of his subiecciō contrary to their hartes and myndes, woulde sodeynly rebell and set them selves at libertie, and plucke out their hedges out of hys colour, and set vp another duke & gouernour. And at the same very tyme he was inuited and desired of Lewes Sforcia duke of Millayn, to warie agaynst Ferdinand kyng of Napels, at whose desyre he was prest and ioyous, thinkynge that he had that occasion sent to hym from God, for the which he longe before thirsted & soie wished. The whiche kyngdome he pretended to be dewe to hym by succession, and entended long before to acqyre and cōquere it by force of armes, as hys very right and inheritaūce. For when Rene duke of Angeou last kyng of Scicile, departed without any heire male of hys wyfe lawfully begotten, he did adopt to his heyre of all his realmes & dominions, Lewes the. xi. father to ꝑ. iii. kyng Charles, to thentēt that he should deliuer quene Margaret his daughter, out of the hādes of kyng Edward the. iiij. as you haue well before perceaued, wiōgfully and without cause dishinheriting his cosyn, Godsonne, and heyre, Rene duke of Lorayn & Barre.



Barre. For the which cause he did the more busily procure & labour for f̄ amitie, fauour & fr̄edship of his neighbours rōūd about hym, f̄ wh̄e all thiges were appeased & set in good st̄aye at home he might the better employe his whole force & p̄uissāūce on his warre in Italy. Wherfōe beyng much desirous to haue all thinges p̄aced & set in a p̄fite cōcorde and securitee, he sent Philip Creuecent lord Cordes his chiefe counsaile and diligēt officier to entreate, moue and persuaide the kyng of Englande to be reconciled & made agayne as a new fiende to the French kyng. He not forgetting his message, sent letters to kyng Henry before he passed the sea, & arrived in the ferme land, by the which he notified to hym f̄ he of his boundē duetie & obseruāūce which he ought to the kyng his master, & to the proffite of his realme woulde take payne to inuent & excogitate some mean & waye, f̄ his highnes & kyng Charles his master being disseuered in amitie, & made extreme enemyes, onely for the cause of Maximilian newly elected king of Romanes, should be reduced & brought agā into their pristyne estate & consuete familiaritee, doubting not to bring his ship to the porte desired, if it might stand with his pleasure to sende some of his cōsailers to the confynes & borders of the English pale, adioynynge to Fraunce, there to here what reasonable offes should be demonstrated and proffered, whiche condicions of peace should be so reasonable and so ample that he doubted not, but that he might with his great honoure, breake vp hys campe, and retire hys armye backe agayne into hys owne seignory and dominion.

The kyng of Englande, maturely consideryng that Britayne was cleerly lost, and in maner irreceuable, beyng nowe adioyned too the crowne of Fraunce by marriage, whiche duchy hys whole mynde was to defende, protect and conferme, and that Maximilian what for lacke of money, and what for mistrust that he had in his awne subiectes, laye styll lyke a dormouse nothyng doynge, perceauynge also that it should be bothe to his people profitable, and to hym greate honour to determyn this warre without losse or bloodshed, appoynted for commissioners the bishop of Exceter, & Gyles lord Dawbeney to passe the seas to Caleys, to cōmen with the lorde Cordes of articles of peace to be agreed vpon and concluded.

When the commissioners were once met, they so ingeniously and effecteously p̄ceded in their great affaires, that they agreed that an amye and peace should be assented to and concluded, so that the condicions of the league should be egall, indifferent and acceptable to bothe partes as after shalbe declared.

While the commissioners were thus consultinge on the marches of Fraunce, the kyng of Englande, as you haue heard, was arryued at Caleys, where he prepared all thinges necessary for such a iorney. And from thence he remoued in xii. battailes, nere to the toune of Boleyn, and there pytched hys tentes before the toune, in a place propice and cōueniēt and determined to geue a great assaute to the toune. In f̄ which fortresse was such a garrison of Warlike souldiours, that valiauntly defended the toune, and the same so replenished with artillery and munitions of warre, that the losse of the Englishmen assautyng the toune, should be greater dammage to the realme of England, then the cōquering and gaynyng of the same should be enolument or proffite. Howbeit the kynges daily shot, rased & defaced the walles of the saide toune. but when euery man was prest and ready to geue the assaute, a sodeyne rumoure roose in the army, that a peace was by the commissioners taken, and concluded, whiche brute as it was pleasaunt and mellituous to the frechinē, so it was to the English naciō bitter, sowre & dolorous because they were prest and ready at all tymes to set on their enemyes, and refused neuer to attempt any enterpryce, whiche might seme either to be for their laude or profyt: thei were in great fumes, angry and cruel content, rayling and murmuringe emongest them selves, that the occasion of so glorious a victory to them manifestly offerd, was by certain condicions to no man, nor yet to the kyng comatodious or profitable, refused, putte by and shamefully slacked: But aboue all other dyuerse lordes and capitaynes, encouraged with desyre of fame & honour, trustyng in this iourney to haue wonne their spurs, whiche for to set themselves and their band the more gorgeously forward had mutuate, and borrowed dyuerse and sondry summes of money, and for the repayment of the same, had

morgaged

morgaged and impignorate their landes & possessions, sore grudged and lamented this sodeyne peace, and retuene of them vnthought of, and spake largely agaynste the kynges doynges, saynge and affirming, that he as a man fearyng and dreading y<sup>e</sup> force and puyssaunce of his enemyes, had concluded an inconuenient peace without cause or reason. But the kyng as a wise man and moost prudent prince, to assuage the indignacion and pacifie the murinoure of y<sup>e</sup> people, declared what damage and detrimēt, what losse & peridicō of many noble Capitaynes and stronge souldiours must of necessitee happen and ensue at the assaute of a toune, and especially when it is soo well fortified with men and municions, as the toune of Boleyn at that present tyme was. protestyng farther, that he might be iustly accused & condempned of iniquite & vntruthe, except he did preferre the sauegard of their lyues, before hys awne wealth, health and aduantage.

When he had thus prudently cōsolate and appeased the myndes of hys mē of warre, he returned backe agayn w<sup>th</sup> his whole army, to y<sup>e</sup> toun of Caley, where he beganne to smell certayn secret smoke, whiche was lyke to tūn to a great flaine, without it were well watched and polletiquely sene to. For by the craftie inuencion and deuylishe ymaginaciō of that pestiferus serpent lady Margaret, duches of Burgoyne, a new ydoll was sett vp in Flaunders, and called Richard Plantagenet, secōd sonne to kyng Edward the iii. as though he had bene resuscitatē from death to lyfe, whiche sodeyne newes more stacke and tretted in his stomack, then the battaile which now was set late forward & more payne he had (not without great ieopardie of him selfe) to appeache & quēche this newe spronge conspiracy, then in makynge peace with the Frenche kyng his enemy. And so he was content to accept and receaue (and not to offie and geue) the honest condicions of peace of his enemy proffred and oblaid, except he woulde at one tyme make warre, bothe at home in his owne countrey, and also in toreyne and externe nacions. Wherefore kyng Henry forseyng all these thinges before (and not without great counsaill) concluded with the French kyng, to thentēt that he beyng deliuered of al outward enuytie mighte the more quickly prouide for the cruyle and domestical cō nocions, which he perceiued well to be budding out. The conclusion of the peace was thus, y<sup>e</sup> the peace should continue bothe then lyues, and that the Frenche kyng should pay to kyng Henry a certayne summe of money in hand, accordyng as the cōmissioners shoulde appoynt for his charges susteyned in his iourney.

Whiche (as the kyng certified the Mayie of London by hys letters the ix daye of Noembre) amounted to the summe of. vii. C. xlv. M. ducates, whiche is in sterlyng money. i. C. lxxvi. M. ii. C. lvi. and also should yerely for a certayne space paye or cause to be paide for the money that the kyng of England had sent and expended in the tyniō & aide of the Britons xxv M. crounes, which yerely tribute, y<sup>e</sup> Frēch kyng afterwarde vexed and troubled with the waieres of Italy, ye rely satisfied, contented and payde, euen to the tyme of hys sonne kyng Henry the. viii. to thientēt to pay the whole duetie and tribute, and for the further cōseruacion and stablshyng of the league & amitie betwene bothe the realmes.

Shortely after that kyng Henry had taryed a conuenient space, he transired and arriued at Douel, and so came to his maner of Grenewiche. And this was the yeie of our lorde a M. CCCC. xliii. and y<sup>e</sup> vii. yere of his troubleous reigne. Also in this sorowynge and beseyng of Boleyne (whiche we spake of before) there was few or none kyllid, sayng onely Ihon Sauage knyght, which goyng preuely out of hys paulyon with syr Ihon Riseley, roade about the walles to viewe and se then strength, was sodeynly intercepted and taken of hys enemyes. And he beyng inflamed with yre, although he were captiue, of his high courage disdeyned to be taken of suche vileynes, defended his life to y<sup>e</sup> vttermost and was manfully (I will not saye wilfully) slayne and oppressed, albeit syr Ihon Riseley fled frō them & escaped their daunger.

When kyng Henry was returned into England, he first of all thinges elected into the societe of saynet George, vulgarely called the order of the garter, Alphōse duke of Calabres sonne, accordyng to his desire whiche Alphōse was sonne and heie to Ferdinand kyng of Naples, & after kyng of thesame realme, til he was overcome by kyng Charles. And after,



the kyng sent Christopher Vrsewike, Ambassadour with ȝ gartier, coller, mantell, and other habiliamentes apperteyninge to the companions of thesayde noble ordre. Which Ambassadoure arryuing at Napels, deliuered to the duke the whole habite, with all the ceremonies and dewe circumstaunces therunto belonging. Whiche duke very reuerently receaued it, and with more reuerence requested him selfe w<sup>th</sup> thesame in a solempne presence, thinking that by this apparell and inuestiture, he was made a frende and compaygnion in ordre with ȝ kyng of England, whose frendship obteyned, he feared nothing the assautes or inuasions of hys enemies. And this was the cause that he desyred so muche to be compaygnion of that noble order, fermely beleuyng that ȝ kyng of England souereygne of that ordre, should be aider and mainteyner of hym agaynst the Frenche kyng, whome he knew woulde passe the moutaynes and make warre on hym. But this custome of assistēce in ordies was, eyther neuer begonne, or before clerely abolished: For in our tyme there haue bene many noble men of Italy, compaigniōs as well of the golden Flese in Burgoyne, as of the ordre of saint Mighel in Fraunce, that haue bene banyshed and profligate from their naturall country, and yet haue not bene aided by the souereigne nor cōpanyons of thesame order. For surely the statutes and ordinaunces of all thesayde orders dothe not oblige and bynde them to that case, but in certayne poyntes. After this the duke dimissed the Ambassadour, rewardyng hym moost pryncely.

Shortly after this Charles the Frenche kyng concluded a league with Ferdinand kyng of Spayne, and also beyng entreated and solicited with the oratoures of diuerse princes, which perswaded and mollesied the stony hart of a frosen prince, caused him to come to communion and treatie with Maximilian kyng of Romanes, and to cōclude a peace with hym for a season, to the enēt that he might without disturbaunce of hys neyghbours adioyninge, prosperously & safely make warre on Ferdynand kyng of Napels, & on all Italy, as he before had mynded and excogitated.

And so Charles, beyng furnished with men, of armes, horsemen, fotemen, nauye, and aide of some Italians, passed through Italy by Rome and without any great labour wanne the cite of Napels. When he had obteyned this victory: in hys retorne beyng assailed with the Venicians at the toun of Fornouoe, he had a great dangerous victory. And so lyke a conquerour, with great triūphe returned into his realme and country. After hym Lewes. the. xii. beyng kyng, when he founde oportunitie and sawe the gappe open, inuaded the Italians agayne, & recovered again the realm of Napels, whiche Frederyck the sonne of kyng Alphonse, not longe before had gotten from the French nacion: & after that he subdued and conquered the whole duchy of Millayn. Albeit not long after (fortune turnyng her whele) he lost bothe the kyngdome of Napels, and the fayre cite and duchy of Millayne both together. And so the Frenchmen warryng vpon the Italians had no better successe in their cōquestes, then their parentes and predecessours heretofore haue ben accustomed. For vndoubtedly, as many places as they vexed and sacked with murder and spoylinge; so many or more in conclusion they did enoble and decorate with their blood and slaughter. Which small recompēce little profited and lesse releued, such as before were robbed and spoyled of all their goodes, substaunce and ryches. After this the Spanyades arryued in Italy, and then puttyng too flighte the Frenchmen, obteyned the possession of the realmes of Napels and Scicile, the which they possesse and enioye at this houre. And at length a certayne nacion of Germany, called the Swytzers, called to be partakers of the spoyle of Italy, wāne certayn townes there, whiche they possesse and enioye at this present tyme.

In this warre and tumultuous busynes in Italy, whiche was ȝ most terrible and sorest plague, that any man can remembre of that nacion, there was no person, no place, no priuate house, no noble familye, no capitayne or prince, but he was oppressed either with the heapes of the dead carcasses, or with the bloud of his frendes or subiectes, or els suffred some affliction iniurie or detryment. And insome wise at one tyme or another, euery man did tast and suffre all the mischeues that apperteyned to the victory gotten by their enemies. The which defacing & blottyng of the beutye of that country, sometyme called the quene

of þ̄ earth, and floure of the worlde, chaunced not of her awne selfe of her awne cause or desert, but the Italians her awne suckyng chyldren opened the gappe, and made the waye of her destruccion. For at that tyme thus it chaunced, that when the potētates and seignories of Italy perceaued, that all thinge vnder them succeded, euen as they woulde desire and wishe, to their great exultacion and reioysinge: by reason whereof they sate still at home lyke sloggardes (as women be accustomed to do) skoldyng and brawlyng, exercisyng and practisyng preynt displeasur and malice, not agayn their enemyes as they were accustomed, but among them selves one against another, castinge out of memory & drownyng their auncient renoune, glory and honoure with desyre of rule and appetite to be reuenged, and so destroyed the common weale, and subuerted the olde monumentes and actes of their forfathers and predecessors. And because some of them, thinkyng them selves, not of force and puissance sufficient inough to bring their purpose to effect, and to reuenge their quarell, they entysed, stirred and procured with giftes, rewardes and promyses, straungers and forreyn nations to their aide and assistance. The other seynge them so desirous to haue their helpe, partely moued with their giftes, partely with desyre of rule, spoyle & prayes, gathered together a great company and entred into Italy, and there destroyed, spoiled and possessed the better parte of it. And so the Italians, as men out of their wit, where as they thought one to noye & hurte another with hatefull warryng, they destroyed their natyue cōtrey, heyng of nature enclosed and munyted with hygh hilles and the mayne sea rounde aboute, and opened the waye to straungers to their vtter ignominy and finall destruccion, which they might haue kept out of all daungier, if they had bene their awne frēdes, and loued their awne wealth and commodite. Therefore I maye saye: O progeny, aswell wicked as vngodly, hath discorde and dissencion pleased the so much that thou wouldest vtterly extinguishe and confōde the glory and honour of thy natyue countrey? And in conclusion, thou thyself art come to the depest pyt of wretchednes, because that thou perceauing the ruine that thou hast caused and procured, thou art more repentaunte for the begynninge of it, then glad to desist and leaue it, and so accordyng to thy desert thou hast thy penance and guardon. The grand capitayne and beginner of this mischief was Sforcia, whiche at that tyme ruled at his will the duchy of Millayne vndie duke Ihon Galeas his nephew. but for a truthe this Lewes ruled al, and the duke did nothing. Wherefore Alphons duke of Calabre, and after kyng of Napels, grudgyng that this duke Ihon his sonne in lawe, should be defrauded of his superiorite and dominō, threatened sore this Lewes Sforcia. Where he fearyng to be put from his authoritee, solicited and by great entreatie procured Charles the French kyng to inuade the realme of Napels. By reason of whiche procurement, Alphonse duke of Calabre, whiche succeeded his father Ferdinand in the kingdome of Napels (which also as you haue heard, was made knight of the garter) was first depriued of his kingdome by thesaide kyng Charles, and shortly after of his lyfe. But Lewes Sforce had no longe ioye after the deathe of his enemy, for he was betrayed and taken by the Swytzers whiche warred vnder kyng Lewes the twelfth, then beyng Frenche kyng, and caryed into Fraunce, where he in the Castell of Lothes miserably finished his lyfe, accordyng to the sayng of the Gospell, woo be too hym by whom a slaundre begyneth. This mischiefe beganne at that tyme when Charles came thether, and contynueth yet, which is the yere of oure Lord. M.D.xlii. for an example to other, þ̄ straungers inuited to a prosperous countrey be lothe to departe from the swete sauoure once therof tasted.

This yere was borne at Grenewiche lord Henry, seconde sonne to þ̄ kyng, whiche was created duke of Yorke, and after pryncce of Wales, and in conclusion succeeded his father in crowne and dignitee. Nowe let vs returne to the newe founde sonne of kyng Edward, conuured by mennes pollicies from death to lyfe.

-And first to declare hys lignage and beginning, you must vnderstād that the duchess of Burgoyne so nourished and brought vp in the sedicious and scelerate factions of false contriuer & founders of discorde coulde neuer cease nor be in quyet (lyke a vyper that is ready to burst with superfluyte of poyson) except he should infest and vnquyet þ̄ king of England, for



no desert or displeasure by hym to her committed, but onely because he was propagate and descēded of the house of Lancaster, euer beyng aduerse & enemy to her lyne & lynage. For which only cause she compassed, ymagined and inuented how to cast a scorpion in his bosome, and to infect his whole realme with a pestiferous discorde. To thentent that he beyng vanquished and brought to confusion, both the boylyngg heate of her malicious harte mighte be fully sated with hys innocent bloude, and also auance and preferre some darlyng of her faction to his Empire rule and dignitee. And principally remembreing that the erle of Lyncoln, which was by her set forth and al his cōpany had small fortune & worse successe in their progression and enterpryse, contrary to her hope and expectation, she lyke a dogge reuertynge to her olde vomyte, beganne to denyse & spyne a new webbe, lyke a spyder that dayly weaueth when hys calle is torne. And as the deuell prouydeth venemous sauce to corrupt banquettes, so for her purpose she espied a certayne younge man of visage beutiful, of countenaunce demure, of wit subtile crafty and pregaunt, called Peter Warbecke. And for his dastard cowardnes of the Englishmen, in derision called Perkyn Warbeck, accordyng to the duche phrased, whiche chaūge the name of Peter to Perkyn, to yōgelinges of no strength nor courage for their timorous hartes and pusillanimites: Whiche yonge man traueylyng many countreys, coulde speake English and many other languages, & for his basenes of stocke and birthe was knowen of none almost, and only for the gayne of hys luyng from his childehoode was of necessitye, compelled to seke, and frequēt dyuerse realmes and regions. Therfore the duchess thinkyng to haue gotten God by the foote, whē she had the deuell by the tayle, & adiudging this yōng man to be a mete organe to conuey her purpose, and one not vnlike to be y<sup>e</sup> duke of Yorke, sonne to her brother kyng Edward, whiche was called Richard, kept hym a certayne space with her preuely, and hym with such diligēce instructed, bothe of the secretes and common affaires of the realme of England, & of the hgnage, dissent and ordre of the house of Yorke, that he like a good scholer not forgettyng his lesson coulde tell all that was taught him promptly without any difficultie or signe of any subornacion: and besides, he kept suche a princely countenaunce, and so countrefeate a maiestie royall, that all men in maner did fermely beleue that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the dukes of Yorke. For surely it was a gitt geuen to that noble progeny as of nature in the roote plated that all the sequele of that lyne and stock did study and deuise how to be equyvalent in honoure and fame with their forefathers and noble predecessors.

When this diabolicall duchess had framed her cloth mete for y<sup>e</sup> market, and ymagined that all thinges was ready and prepared for the cōfusion of kyng Henry, sodeynly she was enforced that thesayde kyng of England prepared a puissant army agaynst Charles the Fienche kyng. Then she considering the oportunitie of the tyme, as who would saye, a tyme wished and a daye desyred to acheue and brynge too passe her olde malicious and cankered inuencions, which alwayes nothynge lesse mynded then peace and tranquillite, and nothing more desired then dissencion, ciuile waire and destruccion of kyng Henry. Wherefore she sent Perkyn Warbeck, her new inuented Mawmet first into Portyngall, and so craftely into the realm of Ireland, to thentent that he beyng bothe witty and wilye might moue, inuegle and prouoke the rude and rusticall Irishenacion (beyng more of nature enclyned to rebellion then to reasonable ordre) to a new conflict and a sedicious commocion. This worshipfull Perkyn, arryuyng in Ireland, whether it were more by hys crafty witte, or by the malicious and beasly exhortacion of the saluage Irish gouernours, within short space entred so faire into their fauoures, and so seriously perswaded and allured them to his purpose, that the greatest lordes and princes of the cōuntry, adhibited such faith and credite to his wordes, as that thing had bene true in dede, whiche he vnruly with false demonstracions setforth and diuulged. And as though he had bene the very sonne of kyng Edward, they honoured, exalted and applauded hym with all reuerence and dewe honoure, promising to hym aide, comforte and assistance of all thinges to the feat of warre, necessary and apperteynyng.

In the meane season these newes were related to Charles the Frēch kyng, then beyng in displeasure

displeasure with kyng Henry; which without delay sent for Perkyn into Irelande to the entent to sende hym agaynste the kyng of England, whiche was inuadyng Fraunce (as you befoie haue heard) This Flemmyng Perkyn was not a litle joyfull of thys message, thinkinge by this onely request to be exalted into heauen, when he was called to the familiarite and acquayntaunce of kynges and prynces. & so with all diligence sayed into Fraunce, with a very small nauy, not so small as smally furnished. And commyng to the kynges presence was of hym royally accepted, and after a princely fassion enteteyned, & had a garde to hym assigned, wherof was gouernour y lord Cōgreshal. And to hym at Parys resorted sy George Neuell bastard, Sy Ihon Tayler, Rouland Robynson and an hundred Englishe rebelles. But after that a peace, as before is sayde was appoynted and concluded betwixt him and the kyng of England, thesayde kyng Charles dismissed the younge man, and woulde no lenger kepe hym. But some men saye whiche were there attendyng on hym, that he fearynge that kyng Charles, woulde deliuei hym to the kyng of Englande, beguyled the lord Congreshal, and fledde awaye from Parys by nyght. But whether he departed without the Frenche kynges consent or disassent, he deceaued in his expectacion, and in maner in despayre, returned agayn to the lady Margaret his first foolishe foundacion.

The duches thinkyng euey houre from his departure a whole yere, vntill suche tyme she heard from hym, and effecteously desiring to knowe whiche waye lady Fortune turned her whele, heryng hym to be repudiate and abiected oute of the Frenche courte, was in a greate agony and muche amased and more appalled. But when she was asserteyned of hys arryual in Flaunders, she no lesse reuiued, then he that bathe in steade of the sworde of execution, a pardon and restauracion of hys lyfe and degree to hym delyuered and shewed. And at hys commyng to her presence, she receaued hym wyth suche gladnes, with suche reioysyng and suche comforte (as in dede she coulde dissemble alone aboue all other) as though she had neuer sene nor knowē him before, or as he were newly copen oute of hys mothers lappe agayne, that what in trust to preferre hym to the preheminence by her ymaged, and what for the hope that she had to destroye kyng Henry, she fell into suche an vnmeasurable ioye, that she had almost lost her wytte and senses. And that thys her gladnes mighte be notified and made apparant to euery man, she first reioyced of her nephewes health and welfare. And secondarely she much thrustred and sore longed, not once, but diuerse and sundry tymes in open audience, and in solempne presence to haue hym declare and shewe by what meanes he was preserued from deathe and destruction, and in what countreys he had wandered and soughte friendshippe. And finally, by what chaunce of fortune he came to her courte and presence. To the entent that by the open declaracion of these feyned phantasies, the people myghte be persuaded to geue credite and belefe, that he was the true begotten sonne of her brother kyng Edwards. And after thys she assigned hym a garde of thirty persones in Murrey and blewe, and highly honoured hym as a greate estate and called hym the whyte Rose, prynce of Englande.

By reason whereof, the nobilite of Flaunders were to hym diligent, & with dewe reuerence dyd him all the pleasure that laye in their powre or officies. And to be shorte, the more that thys poetically and feyned inuencion was shadowed with the pretence of sincere veritie, the more faythe and vndubitate credence was adhibited to it. In so muche that many one thought hym to be preserued, onely by the will and mightie powre of almyghtie God, and to be conueyghed at the fyrste daungier by some faythfull frende of kyng Edward his father into some straunge country, and so escaped the violent tyranny of his vncle kyng Rychard, whiche vndubitably, hereafter should recouer his fathers possessions & kingdome. The same & bruyte of thys rugged myracle was almoost in one momēt blowē ouer all the cōtrey of Flaunders, & the territories therabouts. But in England it was blased in euery place soner then a man could thinke or deuise it. In which cōtrey more than in other places it was receaued for an infallible veritie & moost sure truthe, and that not onely of the cōmon people, but also of diuerse noble & worshipfull men of no small estimaciō, whiche sware & affirmed it to be true, and no coment or fable phantastically ymaged. After this deuulgaciō y Rychard



## THE. VIIJ. YERE OF

sonne to kyng Edward was yet luyng, & had in great honour amongest the Flēminges, there began sedicion to springe on euey syde, none otherwise then in þ̄ pleasūt time of vere, trees are wōte to budde or blossome. For not onely they ȝ were in sanctuaries, for great & heynous offences by them committed, but also many other that were fallē in debte, and doubtyng to be brought to captiuitie & bondage, assembled together in a cōpany, and were passed ouer the sea into Flaunders, to their cōtrefeate Richard sonne to kyng Edward, otherwise named Perkyn Warbeke. After this many of the noble mē conspired together some through rashnes & temerite induced therunto, some beyng so earnestly perswaded in their awn cōcept, as though they knew perfightly that this Perkyn was ȝ vndubitate sonne of kyng Edward thc. iij. solicited, sturred & allured to their opinion all such as were frēdes & fautoures of the house of Yorke. Other through indignaciō, enuye & auarice, euer grudgingē & thinkyng they were not condignly rewarded for their paynes and partes taken in the kynges behalfe and quarell. Other whome it greued and vexed to see the worldē stande still in one staye, and all men to lyue in peace and tranquillite, desyrous of some chaunge, ranne hedlinge into that fury, madnes and sedicious cōiuraciō.

This rumour and wayne fable of this wise borne duke Richard, deuyded all Englād and drewe the realme into Partakynge & seuerall faccions, so that the myndes of all men were vexed either with hope of gayne and preferment, or with feare of losse and confusion. For no man was quyet in his awne mynde, but his braynes & senses daily laboured & bet about this great & weightie matter, every man according to their intelligēce, pōdering & weyng in egal balaūce, the incōmoditie & daunger that might hereof ensue, and the gayne & comoditie that by thesame might be obtayned & gottē. Albeit the kyng, & hys cōsail & other hys faythfull frendes, not a litle meruayled that any person (beyng in hys ryght wyt) coulde induce in hys mynde or fynde in hys hart falsely to thynke and fraudulentlye too ymagen, suche a pernicious fable and fiction, beyng not onely straūge and manueylous, but also prodigious and vnnaturall, to feyne a dead man to be renated and newly boine agayne. By the whiche open fallax and vntrue surmyse setfoorth and palliated with the vesture and garment of a professed veritee. Many of the noble men (as he well then perceaued) toke and reputed it, whiche was folishely and maliciously setforth to vnquyet & perturbe hym and his realme, to be a thinge true, iust and vnfeyned. So that he then saue as farre as lynce with his bright eyes, that this newe inuēted comēt and poeticallye pynted fable, woulde make some broyle and discord in his realme. Except it were manifestly published and openly declared to be a fayned fable, a sedicious fraude and a craftye imaged mischief. Other persones, to whome warre, sedicion, and stryfe, were as pleasaut as delicate vyand or Epicures huynges, were very ioyous of these newes, and beleuing no fraude nor deceate to be hid or cloked vnder this golden tale. But whatsoever the fame was and the voice that ranne abrode, that they reputed, sincere, true, and as an opē playne thing, thinking that to redounde both to their aduantage, cōmoditee and hygh preferment and honoure, whiche thinge did greatly animate and encourage them to set vp the sayles, and lanchefoorth the ower of their pernicious and detestable entrepryce. And because the matter was weighty and requyred great aide and assistance. Therefore they determined to sende messengers to the lady Margaret, to knowe when Rychard duke of Yorke might come conueniently into England to thentent that they beyng therof certefied might be in a redynes to helpe and succoure hym at hys first arryual.

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SO by the common consent and agreement of the coniuired confederates, syr Robert Clifford knight, & William Barley were sent into Flaunders, which enucleated to the duches all the secrete ententes and preuy counsayles of ȝ frēdes and fautoures of the new founde duke. The duches thys message did gladly accept and louyngly embrace, and of their tydings was  
not

not a litle ioyous, easely by her perswasion inducyng to their hoddess, that all thinges that were spoken of duke Rychaide were true & vnfeyned. And afterwarde brought them to the sight of Perkyn, the which countrefeited the countenance and the maner and fassion of Rychard duke of Yorke, praisyng his vertues & qualities, with y which he was endued aboue the mone. Thesayde syr Robert Clifford, when he had sene & well aduised the youg man, beleued surely that he was extracted of the blood royall, and the very sonne of kyng Edward the iij & thereof he wrote a lettre of credite & confidence into England to his company & felowes of his cōspiracy, & to put them out of all doubte he affirmed y he knew him to be kinge Edwardes sonne by his face & other lyniamentes of his body. And when these lettres came to England, the cheuetaynes of this busynes, to the entent to styrre the people to some newe commocion and tumult, and to set foorth some cause of matre appa-  
raunt, caused it opely to be diuulged and published, that it was true and not feigned that was spoken & saide abroade of the duke of Yorke but it was done by such a secret crafte, that no mā coulde tell who was the authoure and founder of that iumoure

When the kyng perceaued that this vayne fable was not vanyshed oute of the mad breynes of the comen people, he thought it expedient bothe for the sauegarde of hym selfe and also of hys countrey, whose hurtes were ioyned and mixed together, to prouyde some remedy to repress this Immynent mischaunce, not a litle suspectyng, that some conspiracy had bene concluded and agreed; because that syr Robert Clyfforde had late fled preuely into Flaunders. Wherefore he sent certayne knightes that were chosen and picked men of warre, with a bonde of souldiours into every parte to kepe the shores & the sea costes surely, that no man might passe ouer into any foreyn lande beyōd y sea nor repasse into this realme without seiche, or pasporte or sauecōduyte by hym geuen, and all streytes, passages & by pathes were kept & seached, so that no man vnapprehended coulde passe to the sea coaste nor make any conuenticle or assemblie without he were espyed and taken. And to thentent that many men, beyng bothe of England & other places for very nalyce by this new inuencion enflamed and indurate, shoulde no farther ronne in their freneticall madnes, he secretly sent wise espialles to all the cyties of the Gaule Belgique or lowe countrey within the Archdukes dominion, and the conynges of thesame, to searche & pryue oute of what progeny thys mysnamed Rychaide was dissended and propagate, promysynge highly too reward and thanke suche persones, whiche woulde manifest and open the secreete donlites and deuysses of thesame matter: and besyde thys he wrote to hys trusty fiendes to do thesame. So they sailynge into Fraunce, deuided and seuered themselves every man into a lynyte and prouynce. And when certayne of them repayred to the towne of Turnay, they were there certefyed by the testimony of many honest persones, that this feigned duke came but of a lowe stocke, and of a basse parentage, & was named there Peter Walbecke. And so shortly after the kynges inquisitours returned into Englande, reportynge to the kyng what they had knownen and hearde. Of whiche thyng the kyng was also more plainly certefyed by hys trusty and faythfull frendes, both by letters and trusty messengers

Wherupon sayng that nowe the fraude was openly and apparauitly manifested & espyed, he determined to haue it published & declared w all diligent celeinte, both in the realme of Englande & also in all partes beyonde the sea, in the prouynces of Foreyn princes and strange potētates. And for thesame cause he sent to Philip archduke of Burgoyne and to hys counsayllers (because that he was not yet of mature age, apt and conuenient to take the regimēt of hys countreys and seignories) Syr Edward Pownynges a valyaūt knight, and syr William Warram doctour of the lawes, a man of great modestie, learnyng and grauite, y they should opely to the declare, that y yōge man, beyng with the lady Margaret was dis-  
cended of a basse and obscure parentage, and that he had falsely and vntruly vsurped the name of Richard duke of Yorke, whiche long before was murdered with hys brother Edward in the Towre of London, by the commaundement of kyng Rychard their vncle, as many men luyng can testifie. And to thinke and saye otherwyse then thys that apertly is knowen, it were the hyghest poynte and degree of madnes, for as muche as it is probable by an-  
uncible



vincible reason and an argument infallible, that kyng Rycharde their naturall vnkle, in dispatching and destroyng prynce Edward the eldest sonne of kyng Edward his brother, was in no sueite of his realme or vsurped dominion, if he had permitted Richard the younger sonne to lyne and continew. For then might he as next heyre to hys brother haue lawfully and by iust title claymed the sceptre and diademe royal, whiche was hys fathers and after diuoluted to hys elder brother. And therefore they shoulde desyre the Archeduke and the prynces of his counsayll, that it woulde please them to geue no credite, nor them selves suffre any more to be blynded or seduced with suche mere impostures and craftie illusions beyng full of vntruthe and apparaunte falsehed, nor yet to aide or assist suche a craftye merchaunt, whiche had falsely feigned hys name and stocke, and in. especially against him, which in few yeres passed had succoured and releued Maximilian their lorde beyng sore oppressed, and almost ouercome bothe with the extort powre and puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng, also with the cruyle discorde and intestine rebellion of his awne subiectes and vassals. With these commaundementes the Ambassadors sayled into Flaunders, and there gētely receaued and louingly enterneyed of the Archeduke Philp and his counsayll. And after that they were commaunded to declare the entent of their legacion, docter William Warram priest, made before theym a pleasaunt and a luculent oracion, shewyng them discretely the mynde entent and desyre of the kynge hys master. And in the later ende of hys oracion, he a litle rebuked the lady Margaret and hyt her of the thombes, saynge that she now in her olde age, within fewe yeres had produced and brought forth two detestable monsters, that is to saye Lambert (of whome rehearsal was made before) and the other Perkyn Warbeck. And beyng conceyued of these two greate babes, was not of them delyuered in eight or nyne monethes as nature dothe requyre and as all other women commonly do, but in the hundrieth and lxxx. monethes, she brought them forth out of her wombe: for bothe these at the least were fiftene yeres of age before that she woulde be broughte in bedde of them, and shewe them openly.

And when they were newly crept out of her wombe, they were no infants, nor suckyng chyldren, but lusty yongelinges, and of age sufficient to byd bataille to kynges. Although these taūtes and Iestes did angr and trouble the lady Margaret, yet Perkyn was more vexed and encombered with the thynges declared in thys oracion, and in especiall because his fraude and false feigned iuggehinge was brought to light & opened: yet the duches beyng therwith more incensed then quenched, nothyng iefreignyng her olde malice and cancard hatred, but entyndyng to caste whote Sulpher to the newe kyndled fyre, determynd clerely to ayme and setforward prety Perkyn agaynst the kyng of England with speare and shilde, might and mayne.

When the Ambassadors had done their message, and the Archedukes counsayll had longe debated whether Perkyn were the true sonne of kynge Edward the fourthe, they answered the Ambassadors: That to the entent to haue the loue and fauoure of the kynge of Engelande assuredly after that tyme, the Archeduke nor they woulde neither aide nor assist Perkyn nor hys complices in any cause or quarell. Yet notwithstandinge, if the lady Margaret persistyng and continuyng in her roted malice towards the kynge, woulde be to hym aidyng and helpyng, it was not in their power to let or withstande it, for because she in the landes assigned to her for her dower, might frankly and freely do and ordre all thynges at her awne wyll and pleasure without contradiccion of any other gouernour.

## THE. IX. YERE.

WHen thys answer was geuen to theym, they returned agayne into Engelande. After that, kyng Henry loking circumspectly to his matters, purposed to pacesse the stormes and blastes that he perceaued to be growyng, rather by pollecy and counsayll, then by dubious warre & manslaughter, if his nobilitie woulde therunto condescende. For he well cōsidered

ired that of one busines riseth another, and of one small sparke comueth a great flame. And therefore straight he sent forth certayne espialles into Flaunders, which shoulde feigne them selues to haue fledde vnto the duke of Yorke, and by that meanes searche forth and inuestigate, the whole intent of their coniuration, and after what waye they intended to procede in thesame. Other were sent also to allect and entice syr Robert Clyfford, and William Barly to retorne into Englande, promisyng to them franke and free pardone, of all offences, and crymes committed, and promociōs, and rewardes, for obeyng to the kynges request. These exploratours so traueyled in their affaires and busynes that they brought to passe all thinges to their masters desyre. For first they had perfight knowledge of the names of certayne conspiratours agaynst the kyng After they persuaded syr Robert Clifford to leaue ~~of that foolish opinion, whiche had no sure grounde nor foundation to stay itselfe vpon. Albert William Barly~~ ~~he deduced from his begonne enterpryce, but that he woulde go forwarde hedlyng with thesame, which~~ ~~that english opinion~~ For within two yeres after this, he repentyng hym of his foly, being reclaimed, ~~and~~ ~~gauen hym of the kyng, repaired home to hys natyue cōtreie, detesting hī & hys foolish blindnes.~~ Whē the espialles had sped their purpose, one after another stale away preuely from the feyned duke, and returned into Englande, bringyng with them the names of certayne, which were chiefe of that conspiracy Other taried still behynd to accompany syr Robert Clifford, when he returned agayne into England, whose taryng meruelously debilitated and appalled the courages, & hartes, of the coniuratours. For they perceaued dayly that their enterpryce more and more feyned, and that they were by a litle & litle dampnified and hurted. And yet they sawe no man whome they might perfightly put diffidēce in, or yet once mistrust.

When the kyng had knowledge of the chief Capitaynes of this tumulte by the ouerture of hys espyes, which were returned, he caused thē all to be apprehended and brought to London before his presence. Of the which the chief were Ihon Ratclyffe lord Fitzwater, syr Symonde Mouforde, syr Thomas Twhaytz knightes, Willm Dawbeney, Robert Ratclyffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood Also certain priestes and religious men as syr William Richeforde doctor of deuinitee, and syr Thomas Poynes, bothe freers of saint Dominikes order, docter William Sutton, syr William Worsely deane of Paules, and Robert layborne and syr Rychard Lessey Other that were giltye of thesame cyme, hearyng that many of their company were taken, fled and toke sanctuary And the other that were taken were condemned al of treason, of the which there was hedded syr Symond Mounforde, syr Robert Ratclyffe, & Willm Dawbeney, as aucthoures and chief Capitaynes of this busynes. The other were perdoned, and the Priestes also for their ordre sake that they had taken, but fewe of them liued lōg after. Also syr Ihon Ratclyffe, lord Fitzwater was pardoned of his life, but after that he came to Caleys, and there layde in holde, he was behedded, because he corrupted the keepers with many promyses to haue escaped out of thesame, entēdyng as was thought to haue gone to Perkyng.

Kyng Henry of England, partly greued with the kyng of Romanes for breakyng his promes, when he shoulde haue associated him in hys iorney agaynst the French kyng, and partly displeased, with the Flēmynges, but principally with the lady Margaret, for keypyng and setting forward Perkyn Waibeck, not onely banished all Flēmyshe wares and marchaundises, out of hys realme and dominions, but also restreyned all English marchaūtes, from their repaire and traffique into any of the landes & territories, of the kyng of Romanes, or the Archeduke hys sonne, causyng the marte of merchaundises and commoditees of this realme to be kept at hys toun of Caleys Wherefore the sayde kyng and hys sonne banyshed oute of their landes and seignories all Englishe clothes, yarne, tynne, leade and other commodities vpon great forfeitures and penalties. The restraint made by the king sore greued and hindered the merchautes, beyng aduenturers. For they by force of thys cōmaundement had no occupyng to beare their charges and supporte their contynuaunce and credyte. And yet one thinge sore nypped their hartes, for the Easterlynges whiche were at libertie,

The marte  
kept at  
Caleys.



A ryot  
made vpon  
the Easter-  
lynges.

brought into the realme such wares as they were wont and accustomed to do, and so serued their customers throughe oute the whole realme: By reason wherof the masters beyng des- titute of sale and commutacion, neither retheyned so many couenaunt seruauntes and appren- tices as they before were accustomed, & in especiall, Mercers, Haberdasshers and Clothe- woorkers, nor yet gaue to their seruauntes so great stipende and salarie, as before that res- treynthe they vsed to do. For whiche cause the sayde seruauntes entending to woorkc their malice on the Easterlynges, the tuesdaye befoie saynt Edwardes daye come to the Styhard in London, and beganne to rife and spoyle such chambres and warehouses as they could get into. So that the Easterlynges had muche ado to withstande and repulse theym oute of their gates. And whē their gates were fermed and closed, the multitude russed and bete at the gates with clubbes and leuers to haue entred, but the Easterlynges by the helpe of ~~Capt~~ gers and Smythes, whiche came to their aide by water ~~oute of the~~ or Southwarke had so strongly shored and fortified ~~the~~ ~~ryot~~, assembled ſ Magestrates and officers of the cine together, and so beyng furnished bothe with men and weapon, set forward towarde the Stylyard. As- sone as the cōmyng of ſ Mayre was intymate and knowen to the ryotous persones, they fledde awaye lyke a flocke of shepe: howbeit he apprehended diuerse of the malefactoures and committed them too seuerall prysons. And vpon the inquiry before the kynges commis- sioners, there were founde gyltie aboue lxxx. seruauntes and apprenticēs (and not one hous- holder) whiche were confederate together to make this attēpt and sworne in no wyse to dis- couer or reuele the same. Whereof some that were the cheuetaynes and beginners of this mis- cherous ryal, were sent to the Towre, and there longe continued. But in conclusion, be- cause none of their masters were inuented culpable of thys naughtye acte, the kyng of hys goodnes remitted their offence, and restored them to their libertie.

#### ¶ THE X. YERE.

Shortely after, syr Robert Clyfford, partely trusting on the kynges promēs, & partely mis- trusting the thing, because he knewe that diuerse that were accused to be partakers of that faction and conspiracy were put in execucion & therfore perceauyng that they could not be a more pernicious nor more desperate begonne thinge then that deuellshe enterpryce returned sodeynly agayn into England. The kyng beyng certified befoie of his cōmyng went streight to the Towre of London the morow after the daye of Epiphany, and there taryed till suche tyme that syr Robert Clyfford was there presented to hys person, which thinge he vsed vnder this pretence, that if syr Robert Cliffoide had accused any of the nobilitie to be partakers of this vngacious fraternitie & diabolical coniuraciō that then euery such person might be called thether without suspencion of any euell, & there streight to be attached and cast in holde.

But before I go any farther I will shew the opinion that at that tyme ranne in many mens heddes of this knyghtes goyng into Flaunders. Some men helde this opinion, that kyng Henry for a polcey dyd sende him as a spye to Flaunders, or els he would not haue so sone receaued him into his grace and fauour agayn. Neuerthesse this is not like to be true by diuerse reasons and apparaunt argumentes, firste after that attempt begonne by syr Robert, he was in no small daunger him selfe, and by that was not a litle noted, & hys fame blemished, but also hys frendes were suspected and had in a gealosity. Secundarely he was not after ſ in so great fauour, nor so esteemed with the kyng as he had been in tymes past, because he was blotted & marked with that cryme & offence. And therfore he bearing his fauour to the house of Yorke entendinge in the beginning to administer displeasure to kyng Hēry, sayled to the lady Margaret, beyng seduced & brought in belefe ſ Perkyn was the very sonne of kyng Edward. But to my purpose, when syr Robert came to the presence of the kyng, he knelyng on his knees most humblye, beseched hym of grace and pardone, whiche he  
shortely

shortely obteyned. And after that beyng requyred of the maner and ordre of the coniuration, and what was done in Flaunders, he opened euery pointe to his knowlege, and after disclosed the names, aswell of the aiders and fauoures as of the inceptors and begynners. Emongest whome he accused syr William Stanley, whome the kyng made his chiefe chamberleyn, and one of his preuy counsayll. When he had so sayde, f kyng was greatly dismayed and greued, that he shoulde be partaker in that greuous offence, consideringe first that he had the gouernaunce of his chambre, and the charge and comptrolment of all suche as were next to hys bodye, and also callinge to remembraunce the manifold gratuities, whiche he had receaued at hys hande, but in especiall not forgettyng that benefite aboue all other, that onely by his aide and succoure, he had vanquished and ouerthrowen his mortall enemy kyng Richard. Wherefore, at the begynnyng he coule in no wyse be induced nor perswaded to beleue that he was such a preuy conspiratoure or malicious offender, but when the crime was openly proued and probably affirmed, then the king caused hym to be restrayned from his libertie in his awne chambre within the quadrate towie. And there appoynted hym by his preuy counsayll to be examined. In whiche examinacion he nothinge denyed, but wisely and seriously did astipulate and agree to all thinges layed to hys charge, if he were in any of them culpable or blame woorthy.

The reporte is, that this was his offence. When communicaciō was had betwene hym, and this syr Robert Clyfforde, as cōcernyng Perkyng whiche falsely vsuiped the name of kyng Edwardes sonne, su Willm Stanley sayde and affirmed there, that he would neuer fight nor beare armure agaynst the young man, if he knew of a truthe that he was the indubitate sonne of kyng Edward the. iij. Thys poynte argueth and proueth hym at that tyme beyng moved with melancholy, to beare no great good will to kyng Henry, wherof suspiciō first grewe, and after this ensued the accusation of syr Robert Clyfforde.

Then the kyng doubtinge what to do with him, did cōsulte & breath with hym selfe of this sodeyne chaunce. For he feared least that his brother lorde Thomas Stanley, in whome he had founde great frendship, woulde take this matre greuously. And if he should remit that fault, or abusyng his lenyte and mercy, he woulde be the more bold to offend and trespass more highly. Albeit at the last, seueritee tooke place, and mercy was put backe, and so he was arreigned at Westmynster and adjudged to dye, and accordinge to that iudgement was broughte to the towre hill the xvi. daye of February, and there had hys head stryck of. What was the occasion and cause why the syncre and faythfull mynde that syr William allways before bare to kyng Henry, was turned into cancarde hatred and dispite, and why the especiall fauoure that the kyng bare towarde hym was transmuted into disdeyne and displeasure, diuise men alledge dyuerse causes, affirmyng that when kyng Henry (what other mutuall benefites the one had receaued of the other, I wyll nowe preteinyt and overpasse) in that battaile, in the whiche he bereft kyng Richard bothe of hys life and hys kyngdom, beyng associate and accompanied but with a small nombre, and circūuented by kyng Rychardes army, & in great iopardy of his lyfe, thys syr William beyng sent from the lord Standley hys brother with a good company of stronge and hardy men. (whiche lorde Stanley was nere the felde with a great army) came sodeynly and fortunately to the succours of kyng Henry, and saued hym from destruccion, and ouerthrewe kyng Rychard as before you haue heard. Surely thys was a benefite aboue all benefites to be remembred, by the which kyng Henry was not onely preserued alyue, but also obteyned the crowne & kingdome, which great benefite, after the kingdome once obteyned, he did neither forget nor yet left vnrewarded. For the lord Thomas Stanley he inuested with the swoorde of the countie of Darby, & beside other great giftes & offices geuen to Willm Stanley, he made him his chiefe chamberleyn. This syr William, although he were in great fauoure with the kyng, & had in great and high estimacion, more remēbring the benefite done to the kyng, then the rewardes and gratuities of his liberalite receaued, thinking that the vessel of oyle, (according to the Gospel) woulde overflowe the brymmes, & as some saye, desyng to be erle of Chestre & therof denyed, began to grudge & disdeyne the kyng his high fred: and one thing encouraged him



## THE. XI. YERE OF

him much, which was the riches & treasure of kīg Richard, which he onely possessed at y conflict of Boswoorth. By reason of which haboundance of ryches & greate powre of people, he sent naught by y kyng his soueiegn lord & Mastre. When the kyng perceaued that his stomack began to canker & waxe rusty, he was with him not a litle displeased, and so when bothe their hartes were enflamed with melancholy, bothe loste the fruite of their longe cōtinued amitie & fauoure. And so it often chaunceth, that when men do not cōsider nor yet regard the great benefites to them exhibited, they rendre agayne hatred for libelaltee, and for breade geuen, they yelde agayne a scorpion. Nowe to retorne to the matter.

At this tyme the kyng thought it best, ye & very necessary not onely to take hede about him, but also to vse some sharpe punyshmēt and correcciō of the offences of his subiectes, to thētent y the late begon sedicion might the soner be repressed, & for this cause specially y some persons voyde of all honest feare & reuerent dread, had takē sūch courage & audacitie to them, that they feared not to speake euell of their kyng & soueiegn lord, with moost spiteful & contumelious wordes as though they neither feared nor woulde obey him, or his preceptes & cōmaundementes, expecting dayly and hourly the arryuall & landing of the feyned Rychard duke of Yorke, now lately rysen from death to lyfe. But when knowlege of the slaunderous and opprobrious woordes were brought to the kynges eares, he caused dyuerse persones to suffre condigoe punyshmēt for their heynous offences, wherby their cōplices wel perceauyng y their entrepryce had no prosperous successe nor toke any good effect, & especially such as temerariouly began to make mastries and farther seyng what preparacion was made and prouyded agaynst their tumultuous commocion & frantique enterpryce, they of their awne swynge pacified them selves, & beganue to turne to theyr kyng and naturall liege lorde.

## THE. XI. YERE.

After the death of syr William Stanley, Gyles lord Dabene, a man of Great fidelitie and circumspeccion was elected and made the kynges chiefe chamberleyne. When the kyng had thus poletiquely weded out the euell & corrupt hartes of his English subiectes, and had pacified & brought all his realme to a monacorde and a quyet lyfe. Then he perceaued that it was necessary also to purge & clense his realme of Irelād to thētent y the venomous sede sowne & planted. 11. yeres past emōgest the wilde & sauage Irish persons by Perkyn Warbeck might be cleane eradicated & plucked vp. Wherefore he sent syr Hēry Deane late Abbot of Langtonye, a man of great wyt and diligēce (whome he made chaūcelour of the Isle) and syr Edward Pownynges knyght, with an army of men into Ireland, to searche & purge all such toques & places whic Perkyn was receaued, releued or fauoured. And if they espied any of hys affinitee or faccion, then he would they should be punished with al extremite to the terrible example of all other that woulde encline too that vnfortunate parte. And first, after their arryuall into Irelande, they called in the kynges name the nobilitie of that country to a cōsayll, where they beyng assembled all together, the Chaūcelour with a gentle exhortacion requyred them first to persist in due obedience and fidelitie towards their kyng, and to aide hys capitayne Syr Edward Pownynges with their might, powre & strength agaynst such rebelles whiche eyther through blyndnes and folye, or elles through desyre and appetite to do euell, steyned and aided Perkyn with harneys, menne or money. Euery man promysed openly to helpe with all their power and might: But they promysed not so quickly, but they performed it as slowly, for fewe or none either aided or assisted him, as who woulde saye, that they loued the English nacion more with their outward cōtēnaunce, then in their inward hartes & myndes. But when they heard that syr Edward Pownynges was come to persecute al suche as were fautoures and frendes to Perkyn Warbeck, there was no man, although he were but a litle contamynat wyth that sedicious infeccion, but he fled oute

offhand into woodes and mauses for the defence and sauegaide of them selves, there consulting together, after the maner of their countrey, in what places they might best lye in wayte to infest and skyrmyshe with the Englishmen, or els if nedo shoulde so requyre to fighte with them hand to hande.

In Ieland there be two kynd of men, one softe, gentle, ciuile & curteous And to these people, as to the mooste rychest and best nutured persons dothe many merchaunt men of the countreys adioynning, daily resorte, frequent, contract, bergayne, and make marchaundise But because the moost resorte thether is of the English nacion, the Irish men folow & cōtrefeate their ciuile maners & honest cōdiciōs And by reason of y cōmo trade and entrecourse betwene thē, they haue learned y English toūg, & can both speake & vnderstād it. And all this kynde of people is vnder y subiecciō & dominiō of y kyng of England The other kynde is cleane cōtrary frō this, for they be wilde, rustical, folish, fierce, & for their vnmanerly behavior & rude fassions, are called wilde & sauage Irishmen And these men haue many gouernours & generall rulers, whiche kepe continual battaile, and dayly warre emongest them seltes. For y which cause they be more fierce, more bolde & hardy then theother Irishmē, and thei be very desytous of newe thinges & straunge sightes and gasynges, & after robbery, theft & rapyne, in nothyng so much delytyng as with tumultuous sedicion & continual strife And to these wilde coaltes Perkyn shewed hym selfe first, easely persuadyng them to beleue that he was thesame verey person whome he falsely fayned and countrefeated.

Wherefore Sir Edward pownynges accordyng to his commission, entending to punishe suche as haue bene aiders and auauncers of Perkyns foolishe enterprice, with his whole army, marched forward against these wilde Irishmen, because y all other beyng culpable of that offence fled and resorted to them for succoure and defence, to thentent that they bothe together might be hable to resist & defye their enemies But when he sawe that his purpose succeded not as he wished it, bothe because the Irysh lordes sent him no succour accordyng to their promises, and also consideryng that his nombre was not sufficiente to set on the wilde people being dispersed emongest woodes, mounteyns and marishes, was of necessitee, compelled to recule and returne, flettyng and vexed in his stomacke, because he suspected y Geralde erle of Kildare beyng then the kynges deputie, was the cause & occasion y he had no succoures nor ayde sent to him, and so he was enformed of suche as bare to the erle no good will. And therefore sodeinly he caused the erle to be apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his company into England. Where, when he was examined and certene matters of treason layed to his charge, he auoyded them all, and cleiely (suche was his wyt and innocency) quit him selfe and layed the burden in other mens neckes: Whome the kyng dismissed and sent hym into Ireland agayne, there to be his deputie and Lieutenaunt as he was before. The kyng like a polletique prince had many greate and weightie consideracions whiche refreyned him from vsyng of any severitytie or extremitie againste this earle, contrary to the myndes and willes of his malicious aduersaries. One was the great auctoritee and swyng that he bare emōgest the Iryshe nacion: Also the condicion and state of the tyme, wherein he sauoured some sedicion to be in brewing And chiefly of all the assured hope and affiaunee that he conceaued in him.

So that nowē the kyng beyng out of all feare of battaile, dyd take his progresse into Lancasshire the. xxv. daie of Iuyn, there to recreate his spirites and solace him selfe with his mother the Lady Margarete wife to the Earle of Darby, whiche then laye at lathome in that countrey. While these thinges were thus done in England, Perkyn Warbeck then beyng in Flaunders, although he had taken great care and sorowe for that his craftie conuerghaunce was espied and openly knowen, and also that kyng Henry had afflicted and punished diuerse of his confederates and alyes, and therby in despaire of all the ayde and succour that was to hym promysed and appoynted. Yet he determined not to leaue the hope and trust that he had conceaued in his mad head to obteyne the crowne and realme of Englande,



lande, and so gatherynge a greate armye of valyaunt Capiteyns of all nacions, some banquerantes, some false Englyshe sanctuary men, some theues, robbers and vacaboundes, whiche leauynge their bodely laboure desyringe only to lyue of robbery and rapyne, came to be his seruantes and souldiours. And so being furnished with this rablement of knaues, tooke suche shippes as his frendes had prouyded for hym, and departed oute of Flaunders, entendinge to arryue in England whersoever the winde brought hym. And by chaunce of fortune he was dryuen vpon the Kentyshe coaste, where because he see was calmed, he cast his anchors and there made his abode, and sent certeine of his retinewe to the lande to signifie to all the countrey that he was so furnished of all thinges mete and cōuenyēt for his entrepryce, that there was no doubt but the victory woulde encline to his parte. And by this meanes to make exploracion and enquire whether the Kentishmen woulde take his parte and folowe hym as their capitayne, whiche before tymes was not tymerous nor afraide of their awne mynde in troubleous seasons to moue warre againste their princes. The Kentishmen hearynge that this feyned duke was come, and had heard that he was but a painted ymage, doubtyng a space what to do, whether to helpe him or to resist his power, at the last remēbryng what euell chaunces their foiefathers had, and how smal a profite such as haue rebelled haue gained, thought it neither expedient nor profitable for them to aide & assyst hym that came rather to spoyle, destroye & wast the countrey, then to conquere it for their wealthe & cōmodity. And this they firmly coniectured because he had none other with him but Alienes and straunge people, which would take & accompte every churche toun, chapell, house & every priuate man as a pray and a lucre, and not as their natyue countrey. Wherfore they fearing the sequele, determyned still to abide trewe to their kyng and prince, & to fall vpon suche as were new come to land out of their shippes. And while they were assemblyng of themselues together, other should by fayre promises & fredly wordes allure & calle vnto them the great nombre out of the shippes, and so geue them battail. And so vsyng this guyle and imposture, they promised all to folowe him and to fight vndre his banner. Howbeit the prolonging of tyme diuēd Perkyn into a suspicion, which wel remēbred he a comminaltie is not accustomed sagely to cōsult, but sodeinly & temerously to ronne hedlyng euer into rebellion & newe stirred cōmocion. Wherfore Perkyn determined not once to set foote oute of his ship till he sawe al thing sure wout any scruple or ambiguitee. And although he minded not to take land him selfe, yet he permitted certeyne of his souldiours to go on land, which persones beyng a pretty waye frō their shippes, were sodeinly circūuented & compassed by the Kentishmen, & at one stroke vanquyshed and dryuen backe to their shippes, & ther wer take prisoners an hundred and lx. persons, whereof v. were named capitaines Mountforde, Corbet, white belt, quyntine or otherwysc Genyn. Whiche rebelles were brought by sir Ihon Pechy shreue of kēt, to Londō railed in ropes like horses drawyng in a carte. And after vpon their arraynement, confessed their offence, and were executed some at London, & other in the tounes adioynnye to the see coaste. Wherfore Perkyn sailyng of his purpose fled backe into Flaunders and there taried, consultyng with his frendes vntill suche tyme as he had better prepared for thinges to come more prudently then he had done before tyme.

In this verie ceason departed to God Cicile Duches of Yorke, mother to kyng Edward the fourth and kyng Richard at her castel of Barkamstede, a woman of small stature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buried by her husband in the colledge of Fodringey.

The kyng beyng aduertised he his enemies had made entreauce into his realme, left of his progresse & purposed to returne to London again, but beyng certified the next daie after of his lucky spede & fortunate chaunce continued and wēt forth of his progresse, sendyng to them sir Richard Gylforde, bothe to praise the fidelite & manhood of the people, and also to requyre to them his most hartly thanks for their good seruice to him done, & faithful promys not to forget them hereafter in their suites, requestes & petitions. Also that

thei might not haue any successe hereafter into those partes, the kyng cōmaunded the watches to be kept all alogē the see coastes, and bekons to be erected accordyng to the aunçiēt vsage and custome of the countrey.

Peter and his capiteins takyng cōcil together in Flaundres, were of one assent resolved to this point, ȳ there was nothyng more sure to them, then to procede quickly w̄ all celerite in their incepted entrepryse. And when they perceaued ȳ there was neither people tounē nor cōtrey in England ȳ would associate them in their phantastical frenesy which nothyng was mitigated, least ȳ by protractyng of tyme and longe space kyng Henry might fortifie & munite all daungerous places, and passages w̄ souldiours & men of warre, which thynge thei heard saye ȳ he neither forgate nor foislowed, & beside ȳ he was not a litle afeard ȳ his lōge taryng should appalle & discōforte his pieuy frendes w̄in ȳ realme of England. Wherefore he gathered together his vngracious cōpany, & determined first to sayle into Ireland, there to augmēt his nōber. And frō thence if yt were possible to saile into ȳ west partes of England. And yf there were any let or obstacle in that place, then he determined to saile streight into Scotlād, knowyng ȳ seldome or neuer is perfight cōcorde & amitie betwene ȳ Scottes & ȳ English naciō. When thus gētle cōcil was dissolued, & wind and wether serued, he set vp his sayles, & hauyng a prosperous gale after his phantasy, sayled into Ireland, where he reposed hym selfe a space. And remembryng ȳ the hope of victory cōsisted not whole in the Irish naciō, which beyng naked men w̄out harneys or armure were not hable to cōbate with the Englishmē, wherfore when the wynde serued hym he departed frō Corffe and arryued in Scotlād, and comyng to the kyngs presence, with great solempnite, framed his tale after the forme and fassion folowyng.

I thinke yt is not vnknown to you, moost noble kyng and puissaūt prince, into what ruine the stock, house and familie of Edward ȳ fourth of that name kyng of England, is nowe of late brought to and fallē in, eyther by Goddes permission or by deuine punishment, whose vndubitate sonne (yf you knowe not all ready) I am, & by the powre of almightie God, preserued alyuē to this houre from the mighty hād of a tyraūt. For my father kyng Edward when he dyed, appoynted his brother Richaid duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protectour & defendor, whome ȳ more that he loued & studied to auaunce and promote, ȳ better he thought ȳ he would loue, fauoure, and tendre his children. But alas my infortunate chaunce I may saye, howe hath his trust bee turned into treason. and his hope turned to hindreaunce. All men knowe and I feele. Oure vncle was not the tutoure and preseruer of our stocke and lynage, but the confounder and destroyer of our bloude and progenye. For that tyraūt blinded and gluttied with the cupiditie of ruling and souereigntie commaunded Edward my brother and me to be slaine and dispatched out of this mortall lyfe. Wherupon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and geuen to oppresse & destroye vs poore innocent enfantes and gilteles babes, the more that he abhorred this heynous and bocheily offence the more he feared to cōmyt yt. And so waueryng in mynde & dubious what to doo, at the lēgth, willyng in parte to-saciate the bloody thrust of ȳ vnnatural tyraunt, and in parte to absteine from so facinorous and detestable homicide, destroyed my brother and preserued me, lyke the good Prieste Iosada which saued lytle Ioas when all the children of the bloude royall were commaunded by Athalia the quene to be slayne and vtterly destroyed. And farther, to thentent that my lyfe might be in a suretie, he apointed one to conuey me into some straunge countrey, where when I was furthest of and had moost nede of comfort he forsooke me sodeinly (I thinke he was so apointed to do) and left me desolate alone without frende or knowledge of any reliefe or refuge. And so kynge Richarde dyd obteyne the crowne as a praye mischeueously gotten by the dispatching awaye of my brother and me. So that I thus escapyng, by reason of my tendre infancy, for gate almost my self and knewe not wel what I was, but after long wanderyng from countrey to countrey, and frō citee to citee, I perceaued and learned a lytle & litle what was my estate and degré, and so in conclusion came to mine awne anute the lady Margaret liyng in Flaundres, whiche was sometyme married to Charles



duke of Bourgoyne, whiche as ioyfully receaued and welcommed me as yf I had come oute of hell into heauen, as the only type and garland of her noble stirpe and lynage, but forasmuche as she being only dowager of þ̄ duchy of Bourgoine, and hauyng nothing but her dowie propre vnto her self, was not of powre to helpe me w̄ men & munimētes of warre as she woulde gladly haue done for the recovery of my fathers realme & rightfull inheritaunce, I therefore am dryuen to seke farther ayde and succoure. And thefore by her counsell and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and souldiours, I am repayed to your presence for succours, of whome (as the publike fame is spied ouer þ̄ whole worlde) there was neuer man by wrong or iniurie profligated or dryuen oute of his cuntry, region or inheritaunce, or by extorcie powre and tyranny kept out of thesame (as I'my selfe from myne infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and repulsed at your hand. Therefore by the maiestie of your realme and cuntry I desyre, and heartely with prayer as I can, I beseeche and exhorte you to helpe and releue me now in my extreme necessite. And yf yt chaunce me by your ayde and succour to recouer and possede my fathers realme & dignitie, not only I; but all the kyngs of our lynage which her after shall obteyne thesame, shalbe so muche obliged and bound vnto you, that they must nedes thynke that doyng to you al the pleasure and benefites that they can, yet with al the thanks þ̄ can be geuen, your great kindenes can neuer be equallently recompensed.

When he had thus sarde the kyng bad hym be of good comforte, and promysed hym that whatsoeuer he ware, yt shoulde neuer repent hym of his commynge to hym. And after this the kyng assembled his counsell together, and demaunded of euery man seuerally, what they sayde, of these thynges which perkyn had both enucleated and requyred, or whether they woulde take any farther deliberacion to aduyse them selves what to do in so great and weyghtie a matter. They that were of greatest experience and of the wysest sorte did proue by many apparaunt argumentes that his saynges were but dreames and fantasies and of no force or truthe and therefore they thought it not conuenient to encombre them selves with any lengre consultation. Another sort, which was not very great, neyther of wyt nor experiēce, but greater in number, esteemed this matter very profitable to the common wealth, considering yt ministred to them occasion to make warre in Englande. And although thei had knowledge what good successe Perkyn had enioyed in all his former attemptes, yet they esteemed that now all thynges shoulde succede accordyng to their expectation, yf his cause (although yt were as lyght as a fether) were assumed and taken in hand to be defended, considering that when the warre was once intimate and begonne, and yf perkyn did preuayle, he would deny nothyng conuenient to his frendes and helpers. Or elles at þ̄ least they doubted not but kyng Henry woulde make to them large and ample offers & condicions of peace, rather then kyng Iames shoulde take parte with his aduersary and mortall enemye. When this counsell was geuen by the more number, yt was well accepted, and the Skottishe kyng, whether he were blynded by errour, or els dyd dissimule the matter, beganne to haue Perkyn in great honour and caused hym openly to be called duke of Yorke. Also, that this might be more apparaunt to the people þ̄ he was so in dede, he caused lady Katheryn daughter to Alexandre erle of Hütley, his nigh kynsman & of a high lignage in Scotland, to be espoused to him. And this affinite he caused to be made for this ende & purpose, partly þ̄ he might extenuate þ̄ euell will & malice which was lyke to succede of this matter, for that it might be notoriously blasted and knowen abroade þ̄ he had peace & anity w̄ þ̄ kyng of Englād, & partly least he might be accused of to much hight credēce if Perki were found & proued to be another mā then he was reported.

When all thynges were prepared, ordred and apoynted for þ̄ warre. This Perkyn swelling with ioye that he after his awne phantasye had made the Scottes to be his partakers. And to tentent that they should put no diffidence in the sequele of his enteepryce, & to encourage them þ̄ more he pronounced suerly þ̄ he should haue great succour & aide of his frendes in England sent euen from þ̄ farthest part therof assone as euer the trompet of warre was blowen. The Scottes although thei had but lytle confidence & lesse trust in his wordes,

yet

yet puttyng their hope more in  $\hat{y}$  gayne of spoyle then in  $\hat{y}$  gainyng of the victory by bat-  
 tayle, armed them selves in all  $\hat{y}$  hast & marched toward the confines and borders of Eng-  
 lād. Albeit the Scottish kyng myndyng not to be to lashe, mystruusted  $\hat{y}$  the Englishmen  
 knowyng Perkyn to be aryued in Scollād had layed some army for  $\hat{y}$  defence of  $\hat{y}$  fron-  
 tiers, sent out certeine light horsmen to espie & searche if the husbandmen of the countrey  
 were assembled in armure to defend their enemies. The horsmē rangyng ouer  $\hat{y}$  feldes &  
 playnes belongyng to their enemies, seying all thynges quiet, returned to their kyng and cer-  
 tified him that now was the tyme moost apte & cōuenient to invade the realme & set on the  
 English nacion. Then  $\hat{y}$  Scottysch kyng marching toward England with all his puyssaūce,  
 first proclaymed openly, that al such should only be pardoned that would take part and  
 submit thein selves to Richard duke of Yorke, and fight in his cause and quarell. And to  
 thentent to appalle and daunte the hartes of the poore commons, so that for very feare  
 they should be enforced and compelled to submit them selves to this newe founde Mawmet,  
 they made so cruell and deadly warre, that not lyke men, whose nature is to be satisfied  
 with the slaughter of men, and to be mercifull to the impotent and sycke persons, brient  
 townes, spoyled houses and kyllled mē and children, and allectrd with the swetnes of spoyle  
 & prayes, wasted al the countrey of Northumberlād, and had gone foorth farther, but that  
 they perceaued no aide or succoure to come out of Englaunde to attende vpon this newe  
 duke. And the souldours beyng fully laden with blood and spoyle, refused to go one foote  
 farther at that tyme, & the countrey roase on every parte, whiche made the kyng suspecte  
 some army to approche. Wherefore he determined rather to retourne with his assured  
 gaines, then to tary the nuncupative dukes vsure and vncertaine victory, and so he reculed  
 again into Scotland

It is a worlde to remember in this place of a certein kynde of ridiculous mercy and  
 foolish cōpassion, by the which Perkyn was so sore moued that yt semed hym to regarde  
 nothyng more then the commodite of another man. For wile the Scottish kyng thus vexed  
 & haryed  $\hat{y}$  poore inhabitaūtes on the borders of Northūberland, so  $\hat{y}$  nothing was heard  
 but roring, wepyng and lamentyng. This newe inuented duke beyng returned into Scot-  
 land, even lyke him selfe, which wrought all thynges w fraude and deceyte, perceauyng  
 that no concourse nor resorte of Englishmen shewed them selves in opē appaiaunce to mi-  
 nistric to him aide or succour, and fearing not a lytle that the bove of his crafty dealing,  
 & bagge of his secrete cōtrefeatyng should be elucydate & set in an open glasse, by rea-  
 son wherof he should be floccipended and had in cōtempt & disdeygne of the Scottish peo-  
 ple, as though he had bene therūto prouoked by a naturall inclinacion and paternal pitie  
 (to thentent to hide and palliate his subtyl subornacion) cryed out openly, Oh, my stony &  
 heard frosen haite which arte not once moued nor yet afflicted w the losse and slaughter of  
 so many of thyne awne naturall subiectes & vassales. And at that glorious sighyng, he  
 beseched the Scottish kyng that trō thēce foorth he woulde not afflicte and plage his people,  
 nor deforme and deface his naturall realme and countrey with such terrible fyer, flame and  
 hanocke. As who woulde saye, that he beyng overcome w the perfight loue of his natue  
 region, beganne nowe to haue compassion and to lament the cruell destruction of thesame.  
 The Scottish kyng whiche beganne to perceauie whiche waye the wynde blew answered him  
 againe, Sir me thinketh you take much payne, and very much imagen howe to preserue the  
 realme of another prince which is not youres (but I think you would gladly haue it) but  
 my mynd geueth me that you be as farre from the obteygnyng thesame, as you be nere the  
 soyle and aspect of the countrey, -consideryng that you cal England your land and realme,  
 and thinhabitaūtes therof your people and subiectes, and yet-not one mā, neither gentle  
 man nor yoman will once shewe hym selfe to aide or assist you in  $\hat{y}$  waie begonne for your  
 cause & in your name win your realme to the which you be both (as you saye) inheutoure,  
 and by your people accercited and vocated vnto. And so the kyng reproved the lightnes  
 of this younge fond foundelyng, and every day more and more neglected and lesse phau-



## THE XII. YERE OF

tesned and gauel credite to him, nothyng well and wisely ꝑ neyther his woordes, with his deedes, not the sequele of factes with his promises were neither agreable nor consonant.

The nobles inhabitynge in the north partes herynge the clamour of the common people, and perceauynge that they fled to aduoyde the crueltie of ꝑ Scottes, were sodeinly abashed and fortified their holds and manned their fortresses ready to defend their enemies, laing einbushmentes in ꝑ waies, where they imaged ꝑ there enemies would resorte. And wout delay certified the kyng of ꝑ Scottes inuasion & entrepryce. The kyng was not a litle abashed at this sodeyne chaunce, & pricked also w his awn domestical busines, not alonely fearig his outward enemies but also his awne nobles & naturall subiectes least any of them would stepp from him to theother parte, and put him to farther trouble & vexacion. Wherefore, assone as he heard these newes, considering the matter to be of no small importaunce and mete to be vigilantly to sene, with all diligence prepared opportune remedies to resist and withstand ꝑ first brunt of so great a sounge newly begonne. But the sodeine retreite of the Scottes agayne assuaged all the Englishe mennes swift acceleracions and spedy prouisions. For when thei were once laden with prayes and spoyle, they returned home agayne or thenglishmē coude assemble together.

## ¶ THE. XII. YERE.

WHen the king was truly certified ꝑ the Scottishe kyng was returned, he geuing praise to his capitaines and other inhabiting on the bordures of his realme, whiche had duly and truly serued him at that tyme, did desiste and leaue of for to occurre and repugne the malicious inuasions of the Scottishe kyng. And yet fearing least his enemies should be encouraged and inflated with this great gaine of spoyle and prayes, he determined by dent of sworde and mortall warre to reuenge and refoirme the manifest iniurie and apparaunt wrong to him by kyng Iames and his people done and committed. Wherefore he assemblynge his court of parliament, declared the cause of the instant warre, and what remedie he hym selfe had inuented and deuised, persuadynge with many strong argumentes and reasons inuincible, that it shoulde be for the profite and viltie of the publique and common wealthe to prosecute and folowe ꝑ warre by his mortall enemies begonne and attempted. To this opinion all his nobilitie (whiche were no lesse offended with this proude bragg of the Scottishe nacion then he hym selfe) dyd wyllingly agree & gladly assent. And to the maintenaunce of the warre and towarde the charges of thesame, a certeine subsedy and taxe of money was with one assent by the whole parliament liberally & frely geuen & graunted. Which payment although it was but easy and small, yet many of the cōmon people which euer abhorre such taxes and exaccions, grudged sore to paye thesame.

At this parliament also and conuocation, ther was certeyne lawes, acts and statutes confirmed & made, as were thought moost necessary and expedient for the publique weale of the realme. And thus the kyng dissoluyng his court of parliament, prepared for warre out of hand. In this meane ceason the kyng of Scottes not slepyng hys matters because he perceaued well that the Englishmen wold shortly reuenge theyr losse and harme, with no lesse diligence gathered an hoost & pyssant army, that either he might withstand and resist the English powre inuadyng his realme & countrey, or els of freshe entre vpō the bordres and goyng forth, spoyle, robbe and make hauoke ageyne. And so these two valiaunt princes mynded nothing lesse the one to hurt and preiudice theother. But the kyng of England sore pricked and wōded with the iniurie to him committed, was so sore moued against the Scottishe kyng, that he would not procrastinate nor deferre one houre tyl he were reuenged. And so prepared a puissaunt and vigorous army to inuade Scotland, and therof ordeyned for cheuetayne Gyles lord Dawbeney his chiefe chamberleyn, a man of no lesse wyt then pollecey & of no lesse pollecey then hardines.

When the lord Dawbeney had his army assembled together and was in his iourney forward

ward into Scotlande, he sodeinly was stayed and reuoked agayne, by reason of a newe sedicion and tumult begonne within the realme of England for the subtedy whiche was graunted at the last parliament for the defence of the Scottes with all diligence and celeritee, whiche of the moost parte was truly satisfied and payde. But the Cornish men inhabiting the least parte of the realme, and thesame sterile and without all fecunditee, compleyned and grudged greatly affirming that they were not hable to paye suche a greate sonne as was of them demanded. And so. what with angre, and what with sorowe, forgettyng their due obeysaunce, beganne temerariouly to speake of the kyng him selte. And after leuyng ſ matter, lamentyng, yellyng, & cryng maliciously, sayd, that the kyngs counsaill was the cause of this polling and shauing. And so beyng in this rage menaced to death the aucthoures (as they inagened) of this myschiefe and sorowe, whome thei threatened shortly to dispatche out of this worlde. And so beyng in aroare ii of thesame affinitie, ſ one Thomas Flamocke gentleman, learned in the lawes of the realme, and theother Mighell Ioseph a smyth, mē of high courages & stoute stomackes, toke vpon them to be captaynes of this vngracious flocke and sedicious company. And although thei perceaued their cōpany to be accensed & inflamed w̄ fury & malice ynough, yet to augmēt & encrease their madnes, thei cast oyle & pitche into a fyre & ceased not to prouoke & prick them forward like fiantique persons to more mischiefe cryenge out openly & pronouncynge ſ it was shame (for a smal cōmoctiō made of ſ Scottes, which was asswaged & ended in a momēt for they thought poore folishe and ignoraunt fooles, ſ al thinges was ended and asswaged) whē it was euē at the whottest & most teruent) thei should be exacted and polled, and suche great exaccions layed vpon their necks, and especially on ſ Cornishmen, which thei affirmed to bee but poore men, and being in a sterile & vnfruitfull cōuntry gate their lyuyng hardly by mining and digging tynne and metall oute of the grounde bothe day and night labouryng and toymoylyng. And therefore they had rather dye and suffre extreme punyshment, then lyue in suche calamitee and wretchednes. And they laide the faulte and cause of this exaction to Ihon Morton Archebysshop of Cauntouibury, and Sir Reigbold Breye, because they were chiefe of the kinges preuy counsaill. Suche rewardes haue thei that be in great authorite w̄ kings & princes. For yf any thing succede well accordinge to the mynd & pleasure of the commynalte, that is euer referred & gratified to the kyng or gouernour. But contrariwise, yf any thing be done, either by chaunce or by counsell that soundeth not well in their eares, or is contrary to their opinion or fantasy, they will laye it steight to the counsell saynge that they haue perswaded him to do this & that. Therefore if all men woulde well remembre and diligently pondre in their myndes what is the reward and guerdone, fewe would labour & affecteously desyre to mouē so high, or aspyre to that place of dignitee. But now to the matre.

These capiteynes exhorted the common people to put on harneys, & not to be afeardē to folowe them in this quarell, promisyng them that they shoulde do no damage to any creature, but only to se ponyshment and corréctiō done to such persons which were the aucthoures & causers that the people were molested and vexed with such vnreasonable exaccions and demaunds. And if they perceaued any person (as they espied many in dede) which dyd impugne and reprove their mad, vnreasonable and sedicious counsell, affirming that it was the hyghest poynt of madnes for a mā to put his life in hasard for that thing, which he ought mekely and humbly to requyre and desyre of his prince and souereigne lorde, then they called them dastardes, fooles, & cowardes, & taunted & rebuked them with most shamefull reproches, & contumelious inueccions. So these vnhappy capiteynes. nothinge more desyred then to bringe their flock & them selues to small perdition & vtter confusion. With these bragges & mocyons a great part of the people were eleuate and encouraged, and condescended to do as the capiteynes & the moost multitude would agree and appoynt. Then the capiteynes preysinge muche the hardynes of the people, when all thinges were prepared mete for their vnfortunate iourney, set forward with their army, & came to Tawnton, where they slewe the prouost of peryn which was one of the



commissioners of the subseyd, & from thence came to welles, & so entending to go to London where the kyng then so iourned

When the kyng was aduertised by his collectours, and officers, of all these doynges, and attemptes, he was meruelously astōned, & especially because at that one tyme he was enuyoned with double warre, both externe and intestyne. And because perell dyd depende on bothe, he was in great doubt which of both he should moost regarde. And as he was musynge of this mattie, he was assertheyned that Iames Twichet lord Awdeley and diuerse other of the nobilitie were associate with the Cornishemen, and were in great hast and no good speede marching towarde London. The kyng perceauyng the cyuile warre to approche & drawe nerer & nerer, almost to his very gates, determined with all his whole powre to resist and repress thesame. And after that tumult appeased & suppeditate, he would w<sup>th</sup> all expedition set vpon Scotlād. Whertore he reuoked agayn the lord Dawbeney which as you haue heard, was with a puyssaunt army goyng into Scotland, whose army he encreaced and muliplied with many picked and freshe warryeis, that he might f<sup>r</sup> better, and with lesse laboure ouercome these rebelles. Also mystrustyng that the Scottes myght nowe (hauynge good opportunitie seyng him troubled with this ciuile discorde) inuade the realme agayne, and so spoyle, robbe, violate and destroye the borderers, he appointed the lord Thomas Hawarde Earle of Surrey, a puissaunt and polletyke capyteyne (whyche was taken prisoner at the ouerthrowe of kyng Rycharde as you haue hearde, and after set at libertie, and within two yeres next after was made high treasurer of Englande after the deathe of Ihon Lorde Dynham) to gather abonde of men in the countye palantyne of Durham, and they with the aide and helpe of the inhabitauntes adioynynge and the borderers, to drue out and expell the Scottes from of f<sup>r</sup> borders yf they should fortune agayne to inuade, vntyll such time f<sup>r</sup> the Cornyshemen beyng subdued and pacified (whiche he thought easy to be done) he might sende to them the forsaide lorde Dawbeney again w<sup>th</sup> all his powre & army. When the nobles of the realme heard of this tumultuous busynes & terrible cōmocion, they came to London euery mā with as many mē of warre as thei could put in aredines to aide f<sup>r</sup> kyng yt nede should be. In the which company, there was the erle of Essex, f<sup>r</sup> lord Mongey with diuerse other.

At this tyme and season, Charles the French kyng returnynge from f<sup>r</sup> warres f<sup>r</sup> he had at Napels, sent ambassadours to enforme the king of the prosperous successe and victorie that he had obtained in Italye, and gaue to them in charge to desyre of the kyng of England nothing so muche as the contynuaunce of his amitie and fauoure towarde their master and souereigne lord. For the French kyng sore desyred to continue in perfight peace & amitie w<sup>th</sup> the kyng of England. And not without a cause, for he had so vexed and combred him selfe and his people with such Italian snares & craftie engines, out of f<sup>r</sup> which at this day beyng the yere of your lord a thousand v.C.xliiii his successors cannot cleane be ryd, and delyuered.

When f<sup>r</sup> kyng was enformed f<sup>r</sup> kyng Charles orators were come to Calys, he sent certeine of his nobilitie, honorably to receaue them, & so to cōweigh them to Douer, & there to a polley to make their abode tyl the rebellion were extinct and suppressed, and not one woorde therof to be sounded in the eares of the ambassadours. Which commaundement was circumspectly kept and obserued

And now f<sup>r</sup> Cornyshmen departyng fro Welles (where thei receaued their chiefe capyteyne, Iames lord Audelcigh) went to Salisbury, & from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they looked for helpe, but they were deceaued in their expectacion. For the erle of Kent, Geōrgelord of Burgeiny, Ihon brooke lord Cobham, Sir Edward pownynges, Sir Richard Guldeforde, Sir Thomas Butcher, Ihon Peche, Wylliam Scott & a great nombre of people were not only prest and ready to defende the countrey from all mischiefe and destruccion, but also bent and determined to fighte and combate with suche as would not be obedient to their naturall souereigne lord, and to his lawes and preceptes. Also f<sup>r</sup> kentysh men them selues, partely remembryng that other commocions haue bene to their

damage and great hindreaunce, and partely beyng vnder the defence of their nobilitie, as vnder the Erle and other, would not so much as come nere to the rebelles, nor yet either make cōtēnaūce or once speake to any of them, to thentent that the kyng shoulde in no wise conceaue any poynct of vntruth or treason in the poorest of them. Whiche thyng so appalled and dismayed the hautes and courages of many of the brute and ruiall Cornishmen (whiche seynge them selues deceaued and defiauded of their chiefe hope and succours and fearynge the euell chaunce that might happen to them) that thei to saue them selves fled preuely in the night from their awne company and cōpaigniōs. The capitaynes of the rebelles perceauynge they coulde haue no aide of y<sup>e</sup> Kentish people, putting then only hope to their powre and fortitude (for surely they were men of great strength, & of no lesse force then valiaunt courage) brought them to Black hette. <sup>iii</sup> myles fro Londō, and there in a playne vpon the top of an hill they ordred their battailes, eyther ready to fight with the kyng if he woulde assayle them, or elles to assaunte and beate the citee of London. For they thought verely y<sup>e</sup> the king was so afiaied of their puissaunce, y<sup>e</sup> he minded nothing lesse then to encountre with their armie. And therefore being enflamed with arrogancy, nothyng mystrustynge, but formely beleuynge y<sup>e</sup> the victory was sure in their handes, they determyned to entre into the cytee of London and to assaute the towre, wherin the kyng (as thei thought) had preuely enclosed hym selfe. But kyng Henry wrought cleane contrary to their roynde and expectacion; for he neuer thought to geue them battaile tyll he had them farre from their domesticall habitacions and natue region, so that they should be out of all hope of aide and comforte. And when they were with their long and tedious iourney weryed and tyred, and that their furey were somewhat asswaged and fell to repentaunce of their mad commocion and frantike progressiō, then he woulde in some place conuenient for his purpose, circumuent & enuyron them to his auantage and their destruction as he did in dede afterward. In the meane ceason there was great feare thorough the citee & ciyes were made, euery man to harneys, to harneys, some ranne to the gates, other mounted on the walles, so that no parte was vndefended, and continuall watche was kept by the magistrates of the citee least the rebelles being poore and nedy woulde dissende from their campe and inuade the cytee and spoylc, and robbe the riches and substaunce of the marchaūtes. But the kyng deliuered and purged their hartes out of this feare, for after y<sup>e</sup> he perceaued that the Cornishmen were all the daye ready to fight and that vpon the hill, he sent streight Ihon Earle of Oxforde, Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, Edmond de la Poole earle of Suffolke, and sir Ryes app Thomas, and Sir Homfry Stanley noble warryers with a great company of archers and horsmen to enuyron the hill on the fight syde & on the left, to thentent y<sup>e</sup> all bywayes beyng stopped & forclosed, all hope of flight shoulde be taken from them. And incontinent, he being as wel encouraged with manly stomacke & desire to fight as furnished w<sup>th</sup> a populous army & copie of artillery, set forward out of the cytee & encōped hym selfe in Saint Georges felde, where he the frydaye at nyght then lodged.

Black hette  
felde

On the saturday in the mornynge, he sent the Lorde Dawbeney with a greate compaignye to set on them early in the mornynge, which fyrst gate the bridge at Detforde Strande whiche was manfully defended by certeyne archers of the rebelles, whose arrowes as is reported were in length a full yarde. While the erles set on them on euery syde, the lorde Dawbeney came into the felde with his cōpany, & wout longe fightyng the Cornishmen were ouercome, but first they tooke the lord Dawbeney prisoner, & whether it were for feare or for hope of fauoure, they let hym go at liberty wout any hurt or detriment. There were slain of y<sup>e</sup> rebelles whiche fought & resisted <sup>x</sup>. thousand mē & moo & takē prisoners an infinite nōbre, & emōgest them y<sup>e</sup> black smyth & chiefe capteins which shortly after were put to death. This Mighell Ioseph, surnamed y<sup>e</sup> black smyth one of y<sup>e</sup> capteins of this donge hill & draffe sacked iussians, was of such stowte stomack & haute courage, y<sup>e</sup> at thesame time y<sup>e</sup> he was diuven on the heidle toward his death, he sayd (as men do reporte) that for this myscheuous and facinorous acte, he should haue a name perpetual and a fame permanēt and immortal. So (you may perceauē) that desire and ambitious cupidite of vaine glorie;

and



and fame, enflameth, and encourageth aswel poore and meane persones, as *ȝ* hartes of great lords and puyssaunt princes to traualye & aspire to thesame. Some affirme *ȝ* the kyng appoynted to fight with the rebelles on the Monday, and anticipating the tyme by pollecie set on them vpon the Saturday before, being vnprouded and in no arraye of battaile, and so by that pollecye obteyned the felde and victory.

When this battaile was ended, the kyng wanted but. iii. C. of all his company that were slayne at that present conflicte. Also the capiteynes apprehended & taken he pardoned, sauynge the chiefe capiteynes & firste aucthors of that mischefe, to whome he woulde neither shewe mercy nor lenity. For he caused the lord Audeleigh to be drawē from Newgate to the Towre hyl in a cote of his awne armes peynted vpon paper, reuersed and al to toine, & there to be behedded *ȝ*. xxviii. day of Iulyn. And Thomas Flamock and Myghell Ioseph he commaunded after the fassyō of treytours to be drawn, haged and quarticed, & their quarters to be pyched on stakes, & set vp in diuēse places of Cornewhale, *ȝ* their sore punyshemētes and terrible execucions for their treytorous attempts and foolish hardy enterprises, might be a warning for other hereafter to absteine from committing lyke cryme & offence. But because he was certified that their countrey men beyng at home in Cornewale were by this skourge litle mollesied or quieted, & were ready to moue againe and begynne newe commocions and conspiracies, yf any vngracious or euell mynded person would either moue or pricke them forward, he turned his purpose and caused them to be set vp in London and other places, least that by such meanes he should wrappe him self in more trouble at that tyme when he went about with all his witt and counsell to repress and assuage all domesticall and ciuile sedicion, to thentēt that he might the more seriously and intentifely set forward a puissaunt army agaynst the braggyng and vnfaithfull Scottes, beyng content at that time, that fortune had so smyled on his syde

### ¶ THE XIII. YERE.

WHile this busines was thus handled in England, the king of Scottes beyng certified of it by his espialles, and that there was none army reysed in England either to withstād his powre or destroy his countrey, and herynge also that kyng Henry and his nobles were vexed and sore troubled with the commocion of the Cornyshemen, and in a ciuile discorde and dissencion emongest themselves. Wherefore he thought it necessary to anticipate the warre before hand. For wel he knewe that assone as kyng Henry had subdued and ouerturned his aduersaries, that he would with his whole puissaunce inuade his realme and dominions: And therefore he inuaded the frontiers of the realme of England wastynge the countrey buryng the townes and murtheryng the people, sparing neither place nor person. And while his light horsmen were rydyng to forrage and destioye the byshoprick of Durham and there burned all about, he with another company went about to expugne and assaunte the castell of Norham standyng on the ryuer of Twede, which deuideth England and Scotland. The byshop of Durham which at that time was Richard Foxe, had well furnyshed it both with men and municions, vigilantly forseyng and imagenyng that the Scottish kyng (assone as he knewe that there was ciuile discorde and vnnatural warre moued wīn the realme of England,) would with all his powre inuade and harrythe borders and cōtreys adioynyng to his land. This Richard Foxe was before called bishop of Excetter, and for his singuler vertues and great grautie was after that made bishop of Bathe and Welles, and last of all promoted and exalted to the bishoprick of Durham.

The bishop from tyme to tyme aduertised *ȝ* kyng of all thinges that there chaunced (which then was at Londō) and sent in al post hast to the Eaile of Surrey to come to reskewe, which was then in Yorkeshire and had collected a great army and a warlike compaigny. When the eaile heard of these newes, he perceauyng that all thinges were not voyde of reopardy, made no longe taryng, but w all diligence marched forward and after him folowed other noble

noble mē oute of all quarters of þ̄ North, euery one bringyng as many as they coulde gather for the defence of their naturall country and region. Emōgest whome the chiefe rulers and leaders were these whose names ensue.

Raufe earle of Westmerland.

Thomas lord Dacres.

Raufe lord Neuell

George lord Straunge.

Richard lord Latyner.

George lord Lumley.

Ihon lord Scrope.

Henry lord Clifford.

George lord Ogle

William lord Conyers.

Thomas lord Darcy.

Of knyghtes.

Thomas Baron of Hylton.

Sir William Percy.

Sir William Boulmer.

Sir William Gascoyue.

Sir Raufe Bygod.

Sir Raufe Bowes

Sir Thomas a Parr.

Sir Raufe Elerker.

Sir Ihon Constable.

Sir Ihon Ratclyffe.

Sir Ihon Sauell.

Sir Thomas Stranguays.

with many other well proued and warlike men, whiche although in degree they were not peiegal with these great lordes and knyghtes, yet in manhoode and pollecyes of waire and valiaunte courage, they were to them in all feactes equivalent. The nōbre was lytle lesse then xx. thousand men, besyde the naue, wherof the lorde Brooke was Admyrall.

When the Scottes had dyuerse dayes assaulted and beaten the Castell of Norham to the no lytle detryment and dammage therof, and could make no batye to entre into thesame, they determined of their awne minde to reyse their siege and returne, and that so muche the soner because they heard saye that the Earle of Surrey was within ii. dayes iourney of theun with a great puissaūce. Whertore king Iamy thought it to small purpose to tary any lenger in besegying the castell, reysed his siege and returned into his awne realme: When the Earle knewe of the kynges retourne, he folowed after w̄ all hast possible, trustyng surely to ouertake him and to geue hym battayle

When the erle was entred Scotland, he prostrated and defaced the castle of Cawdiestenes. The towre of Hetenhall The towie of Edington, The towie of Fuldē and he sent Noirey kyng at armes to the capitaine of Hayton Castell, whiche was one of the strongest places betwene Berwyke and Edynborough, to delyuer him the castel, which he denied to do, affirming that he was sure of speddy succours and swift aide. The erle perceauyng the denial, layed his ordinaunce to the castel, and contynually bet it from two of the clocke till v. at nyght, in suche wise that they within rendied vp, the fortresse, their lyues only saued. And when þ̄ erle had receaued the Scottes, he with his miners iased and ouertrew the castell to the playne grounde. The Scottishe kyng was within a mile of the siege, and bothe knewe it and sawe the smoke and yet would not once set a foote forward to saue or reskeue his castel. And while the Erle laye at Hayton, the kyng of Scottes sent to him Marchemount & another heraulde, desyryng him at his eleccion either to fight w̄ whole puissaunce against puissaunce, or elles they ii. to fight person to person and hand to hand, requiring that if the victory should falle to þ̄ Scottis kyng, that then the erle shoulde delyuer for his raunsome the towne of Berwyke, with the Fyshegarthes of thesame. The erle ioyously, lyke a courageous capiteyne receaued this message and made answeare, that he was ready in the playne felde to abyde the battayle with his whole army, prayng him to come forward with his puissaunce, and after that he thanked him hartely of the honoure that he offred him, for surely he thought him selfe much honoured that so noble a prince would vouchesaue to admit so poore an erle to fight w̄ him body to body, assercainyng hym farther, þ̄ f̄ toune of Berwyke was the kyng his masters & not his þ̄ which he neither ought nor would laye to pledge nor gage without þ̄ kynges assent, but he would put his body in pledge which was more preciquis to him then al þ̄ tounes of þ̄ world, promisyng on his honour that if he toke the kyng prisoner in þ̄ singuler combate, þ̄ he would release to hym all his parte of his fyne and raun-



some, and if it chaunced the kyng to vanquishe & apprehende him, he would pay gladly such a raunsome as was mete & conuenient for the degree of an erle. And when he had rewarded & dismissed the herauldes, he set his army in a redines abiding *ȝ* commyng of *ȝ* kyng of Scottes and so stode all daye. But the Scottyssh kyng not regarding his offres, nor performyng his great crakes & boastes, beyng afraied to cope w<sup>th</sup> the Englishe nacion, shamefully & sodeinly fled in *ȝ* night ceason with all his powre & company. When *ȝ* erle knewe *ȝ* the kyng was reculed, & had bene in Scotland. vi. or. vii. daies beyng dayly and nightly vexed with continual wynde & vnmeasurable reyne, coulde not cause his people to contynue in that tempestuous vnfertile & baraync region, with good aduise retreated again w<sup>th</sup> his whole army to the toun of Belwyke, & there dispersed his army euery mā into his countrey, taryng there him selfe tyll he knewe the pleasure of the kyng in furthering or protractyng the waries of Scotland. But in *ȝ* meane ceason one Peter Hyalas, a man of no lesse learnyng then prudēt wit and pregnant pollecy, was sent Ambassadour frō Ferdinand kyng of Speyne vnto the kyng of Scottes to moue & entreate a peace and an vnite to be had betwene him & the kyng of England. For of kyng Ferdinand and Elyzabeth his wyfe (to which woman none other was comparable in her tyme) there was nothyng more desyred nor wished then by the coniunction of marriage betwene Arthure pynce of Wales heyre apparaunt to kyng Henry, & lady Katheryn the daughter of kyng Ferdynand and quene Elizabeth a new affinitee & aliaunce might be knit and begonne betwene the realme of England and countrey of Speme. And also he fauoured somewhat the kyng of Scottes, for which cause he offred him selfe as a meane and mediatour of a peace betwene bothe the prynces, their territories and dominions.

This Peter Hyalas sollicitd and moued by all honest meanes & denyces kyng Iames to assent to a vnitee & concoide, and when w<sup>th</sup> long sollicityng he conceaued some good hope to growe in his weighty busynes, he wrote vnto the kyng of Englād, that it would please him to send one of his nobilitie or councel to be associate with him in concluding w<sup>th</sup> the Scottish kyng. The kyng of England which euer (so it were not to his dishonour, hurte or detriment) was not onely a louer of peace, but also a norisher and a furtherer of amity and quietnes, & specially at this time when he was vexed with the ciuile sedicion of his awne propre shepe and flocke, comitted the charge of this weighty matter to Richard Fox Bishop of Durham, whiche laye on Thenglish borders in his castell of Norham. The bisshop accordyng to the kynges appointment went honorably into Scotland, where he and Peter Hyalas at *ȝ* towne of Iedwoorth reasoned with the Scottish commissioners as cōcernyng this peace to be had. Sixe hundred cōdicions were purposed on the one parte and theother, but after lōge prōtracting of time & much debating and arguing, not one was accepted nor allowed, And one thing aboue all other dashed the whole treatie. For kyng Henry instantly required to haue Perkyn Warbeck the founteyne and chiefe cause of all this tumult and vnquietnes, the perturber of him and his whole realme: But the kyng of Scottes fermely denyed to cōsent to any article that might sounde to his reproche or dishonour. And also he now began to smell and sauour the suggelyng & false countrefeityng of his new gest Perkyn Warbeck. Yet because that Perkyn was aiaid to him by the holy sacrament of matrimony, he thought it both vn honest, vnreasonable & vnnatural to betreye his alye & deliuer him to death & cōfusiō. Wherefore when they had reasoned *ȝ* matter & diuerse other vident & weighty causes by diuerse daies of metyng, & *ȝ* for *ȝ* contrarietie of opinions, no ferme peace could be cōcluded. In steade of peace, a truce was cōcluded for certeine yeres vpon condicio *ȝ* Iames kyng of Scottes should conuey Perkyn Warbeck out of his realme, seignories and dominions.

While these thinges were reasoned & at *ȝ* last cōcluded in the cōfines of England & Scotland, kyng Hēry caused *ȝ* ambassadoures of *ȝ* Fiēch kyng, to be brought to his presence, & he them receaued w<sup>th</sup> al benignitee which as it is shewed before were stopped at Douer of their iourney vntyll such time *ȝ* the insurreccion of the Cornish men were suppressed and extinguished. And with the like entretainment he embraced at *ȝ* very ceason *ȝ* lord of Camphure

phire and other Oratois of Philip archeduke of Austrich & duke of Burgoyne, cōmyng to him for þ̄ conclusiō & cōtinuauce of an amitie, & to haue the English marchaūtes to resorte to thei countrey agayn, which frō thence before were prohibited & torbyddē. Whiche request being verie agreable to þ̄ quietnes & tranquilitie of his realme, & especially at þ̄ tyme, he did fauourably graunte & benyngly assent vnto. And so beyng confederate & alied by treatie & league w̄ al his neighbours marching on euery side of his realmes & regions, he gratified w̄ his moost hartie thanks kyng Ferdinand & the quene his wife, for þ̄ they were the mediators, oiganes & instrumentes by the which the truce was concluded betwene the Scottish kyng and him, and rewarded Peter the ambassadoure moost liberally and bountefully.

So the Englishemen resorted again into the Archedukes dominions and were receaued into Andwarp with generall procession, so glad was the toun of thei returnyng, whiche was by their absence sore hindered and empouerished at the tyme that this vntie and concord was made, whiche was þ̄ yere of our lord a thousand iii. C. lxxxviii & þ̄ xiii. yere of kyng Henryes reigne.

The English marchaūtes receaued into Andwarp w̄ general procession

James the kyng of Scottes seyng that he nowe perceaued howe he was by Perkyn manifestly deluded, accordyng as he had feithfully promised, so he nowe duly performed it. For he callinge to his pience theforsayde Perkyn Warbecke, declaiyng to hym what benefites & comodities he had receaued of his princely liberalitie & gentlenes, gently requyng him to departe out of þ̄ realme into some other countrey where he might make his abode more surely and more quietly, vntil such tyme as fortune would prouide a more prosperous wynde to set forwarde þ̄ sayles of his purpose & desire, declaring vnto him þ̄ he cōpelled in maner by necessitee had cōcluded a league & cōcorde w̄ þ̄ kyng of Englād, & by þ̄ treatie, the refuge that he should haue had of him and his cōutrey was not onely to him prohibited and forbidden, but also it was agreed & condiscended that neither the kyng of Scottes, nor any by his procurement or in his name should make warre on the kyng of England, whiche waire he gladly tookē in hand for Perkins sake, hauyng sure confidence & perfight trust to haue bene aided and assisted w̄ Perkyns frendes in England. But when he perceaued þ̄ al was in vayne & þ̄ al his wordes were but wynd, he exhorted him not to be chspleased to departe, least his taryng might be to him a detrimēt and a breakyng of the treatie betwene hym & kyng Henry lately concluded, wherefore with many fayre wordes he desayred hym to departe. This Perkyn knowyng the kinges pleasure was very sore amased, seyng there was no helpe to be loked for hereafter in Scotland. Albeit remēbryng the great benefites which he had receaued hertofoie of the Scottish kyng, which he thought him self neuer hable to requite and deserue, that he might not seme to hym ingrate or not wyllinge to folowe his desyre, he was content at his intercession to departe. And shortly after sayled into Irelād with his wife & family, there determining w̄ him selfe either to sayle into Flaunders to þ̄ duches of Burgoyne, or to ioyne and take parte with the Cornyshmen. But howe so euer it was, while he laye in Ireland doubtyng what to do, he had intelligence by certeyne messengers that the Cornyshmen for all thei disconfiture and plage not to be appeased but sore to grudge and murmoure against kyng Henry, and that they were prone and ready to renew the warre agayne the kyng and the prynce. Where he not entending to forsake so faire an occasion so manifestly offred, he hauing with him iii. smal shippes & not aboue vi. skole men, sayled into Cornewale and there landed in the moneth of September and came to a toun called Bodman, and there dyd so sollicite, prouoke and sturre the mutable & waueryng people, what with fayre wooides and large promises that he gathered to hym aboue thre thousand persones whyche immediately called hym their capiteyne, and sayde that they would take his part and folowe hym to the death, and in al thinges obey his preceptes and commaundementes.

Then Perkyn was well encouraged and made proclamacions in the name of kyng Richard the iii. assonneto kyng Edward that last died. And by the aduise of his iii. counsellers, Ihon Heron mercer a banquerupt, Richard Scelton a taylor and Ihon Astely a Skreuenier, men of



more dishonestie then of honest estimacion, determined first of all to assaulte and beate all walled and stonge townes and fortresses, and them to receaue into his possession and seignorie for his farther securitee and defence. And that entrepryce achued, then he woulde augment his hoost and marche forwarde against all persones that durst once offere them selves to withstand hym.

When he and his imprudent counsayll were fully resolved on this pointe and conclusion, they in good ordre weft streight to Excetter, which was the next citee that he coulde approche to, and beseged it, and because he lacked ordinaunce to make a battrye to rase & deface *ȝ* walles he studied all the weyes possible how to bréake and infrynge the gates, and what with casting of stones, heuyng with yron baries & lyndeling of fier vnder the gates, he omitted nothing *ȝ* could be deuised for *ȝ* furtheiaunce of his vngiauous purpose. The cytezens perceauing their towne to be enuyronned with enemies and lyke to be enflamed, beganne at *ȝ* first to be sore abashed, and let certeyn messengers by cordes downe ouer the walle whiche should certefie *ȝ* kyng of all their necessitee & trouble. But after that, takyng to them lusty heartes and manly courages they determined to repulse fyer by fier, & caused faggottes to be brought to *ȝ* inward part of the portes and posternes and set them all on fier, to thetent *ȝ* the fier being enflamed on bothe the sydes of the gates, might aswel exclude their enemies from entryng, as include *ȝ* citezens frō ronnyng or flyng out, and *ȝ* they in the meane ceason might make trenches and rāpayres to defende their enemies in stede of gates and Bulwerkes. Thus all the doynges and attemptes of the rebellious people had euell successe in their first entrepryce. And thus hy tyer the citee was preserued from flame and burnyng. Then Perkyn beyng of very necessitee compelled to leaue the gates, assaulted *ȝ* toune in diuerse weake and vnfortefied places, and set vp laders, attempting to clime ouer the walles and to take the cytee, thinkyng suerly to compell the cytezens either by feare or lacke of succoure to rendre them selves and yelde the toune. But the cytezens nothing so mynded, so courageously lyke valaūt chāpions defended *ȝ* walles, that they slewe aboue. ii C of his sedicious souldiours at this assaute.

Assone as the messengers of Excetter came to the kyngs presence and shewed their instructions, he hasted with his hoost towarde Excetter w<sup>th</sup> asmuch hast as the grauitie of the cause did require & expostulate. And sent the lord Dawbeny with light horsmen before to certefie all men of his comyng at hand. But in the meane ceason lord Edward Corteney erle of deuonshire & lord Wilham his sonne, a man of great force & valiantnes, accompanied with Sir Edmond Carewe, sir Thomas Trenchard, sir William Courteney, sir Thomas Fulforde, sir Ihon Halewel, sir Ihō Croker, Water Courteney, Peter Egetōbe, Williā Sētuaure, with all spede came into the cytee of Excetter and holpe the citezens, and at the last assaute the Erle was hurte in the arme with an arowe, and so were many of his company, but very fewe slayne.

When Perkyn with his lewde capiteyns sawe *ȝ* the citee of Excetter was so well fortifed bothe with men and municions, and of them in maner impregnable, fearyng the sequele of this matter, departed from Excetter with his lowsy army to the next great toune called Tawnton, and there the xx. daye of September he mustered his men as though he were ready to fight, but his nōber was sore minished. For when the pore and nedy people sawe the great defence whiche was made at Excetter, & that no men of honour nor yet of honestie drewe to hym, contrary to the promes and assurance made by hym and his cōuceleis to them at the begynnyng, they with drewe them selves by sondry secret compaignyes from him, in prouidyng them awne sauegarde. Which thinge when Perkyn perceaued, he put small trust and lesse confidence in the remnant of his army, as afterward dyd appere, because the moost parte of his souldiours wer harnesssed on the right arme and naked all the body, and neuer exercised in warie nor maicall feates but only with the spade and shouell.

When the kyng heard he was gone to Tawnton, he hastened after him with al spede. Thether came to the king Edward duke of Buckyngham, a younge prince of a greate courage and of a synguler good witt, and him folowed a great compaignie of noble men,

knights and Esquyers, prepared and redy with all thinges necessary for the felde and battayle. Amongest which number was sir Alexāder Baynham, Sir Mawrice Berkeley, Sir Robert Tame, Sir Ihon Guyse, Sir Robert Poyntz, sir Hēry Vernon, Sir Ihon Mortimer, Sir Thomas Trenayle, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amise Pawlett, Sir Ihon Byckenel, Sir Ihon Sapcotes, Sir Hugh Lutterell, Sir Fraunces Cheyney and many other knyghtes, esquyers and valyaunte personages. When the kyng approached nere to the tounce of Tawnton, whether he woulde not deferre and put of the battayle, or whether he doubtyng the turne of fortunes whele, sent before hym Robert lord Brooke lorde Stuarde of his house, Gyles lord Dawbeney his chiefe chamberlayn, and Sir Rice app Thomas, to set on his enemies and begynne the battaile, & he with his powie folowed, to thientent that when the armies couped & ioyned together, he either should w newe succours refresh his awne army or elles set on the backe of his euemies or they coule espie him. Albeyt the kyng had no great nede to vse suche polley yf he had knowen what sequele had ensued. For assone as Perkyn was enfoimed y his enemies were ready to geue him battayle, he that nothyng lesse mynded then to fight in open felde with the kynges puissaunce, dissimuled all y day tyme w his company, as though nothing coule make him afeard, & about mydnight beyng accompanied with lx horsmen departed frō Tawnton in post to a sanctuary ioune besyde Southhampton called Beaudeley, & there he & Ihon Heron & other registred them selves as persones priuileged. But whether Perkyn dyd this for feare, least his men shoulde forsake hym, or for the cowardenes of his awne tymorous courage, it is asmuch vncerteine, as it is probable & sure that the kyng tooke by his flight greate commoditee & quietnes, by reason y he was enforced to fight with y Cornish men, whose hartes and courages were so encreased & inflamed by deadly desperacion that they earnestly determinned & were stedfastly bent either to winne victory & ouercome their enemies or elles not one of them all to lyue any daye or houre lenger.

When kyng Henry knew y Perkyn was fled & departed, he sent after him y lord Dawbeney w. v. C horsmē toward y seaside to intercept him before he should come there. But Perkin whome y matter touched at the quick, made such haste with the swiftnes of his horse & sharpenes of his spurs that he was so farre passed on his way before, y no person could tell tydynges of him, before he registred and disclosed hym selfe in the sanctuarcy. But hys chiefe Capiteynes wliche fled, coule not so crattely escape, for the moost part of them were apprehended, & as captiues and wretches, miserably presented to the kyng. When the resydewe of the common people coule neyther see Perkyn nor yet the standards nor guydehomes of their capiteynes, not knowyng where he was become, doubting whether he were fraudulently slayn or fearfully fled, wist not what counsell to ask or what way was most surest to folowe & take. But when thei were ascertained of his moost shamefull flight, euery person oppressed with this common mischiefe, common feare, and common perell, casting away their armure, submitted them selves to the kyng, holdyng vp their handes in askyng mercy, offeryng & promising hym, faythe, loyalte and obeysaunce. To whome the kyng of moost gentle heart and leuytee, not only graunted perdon but receaued them to his fauoure. And so the kyng beyng a conquerour withoute manslaughter or effusion of christen blood roade triumphantly into the cytee of Exctetter, and there not only lauded & praised the cytezēs of Exctetter, but also redred to them his most haute thākes, aswell for their duty done as for their valiauntnes. And there also he afflicted and put in executiō diuerse Cornishmen which were the aucthoures and sturrers vp of this newe insurreccion and false conspiracy.

The horsmen y were sent, wout any stop or obstacle in shorte space came to saint Mighelles moute, & there (as chaunce was) found lady Katherine Gorden wife to Perkyn and brought her streight lyke a bondewoman & captiue to the kyng. And the kyng wondering at her beaute and anyable countenaunce thought her a praye more mete for the chiefe captaine then for the meane souldiours, began then a lytle to phantasie her person and sent her incontynently accompanied w a goodly sorte of sad matrones and gentlewomē (because she was but a younge woman) to London to the quene as a true and vndoubted token of hys triumphe & victory.



& victory. And while he reposed him selfe at Excetter, he iudged that he had nōthyng wonne, nor yet plucked vp by the roote of this sedicious rebellon, except he coulede get into his possession the chiefe hed and tye of this pestiferous faccion and busynes. Wherefore he enuyroned the sanctuary whiche Perkyn was in, rounde aboute with ii. companies of light horsemen, well wytted and vigelant persons, to thentent to bereue and plucke from Perkyn all hope of flight and escapyng awaye. And after that he attempted this younge foundelyng by trusty and polletique messengers, if he hauing perdon and remission of all mischeuous and heinous offences by him done against the kyng and his realme, would gladly submyt hym selfe to the kyng and be to hym feithfull true and obedient. Perkyn beyng nowe destitute of all hope, faylynge of his dwellynge place, and lacking comforte, aide and refuge considerynge that he was nowe brought to the verie poynte and pricke of extremyte that he wist not whether nor howe to fly into any cuntry for succour, and also he was in vltre despayre to haue hereafter any prosperous chaunce or fortunate successe in his entreprice, because he had so often attempted and so many times had been defoyled and vanquished, wherefore he hauing his perdon to hym offied, and trusting to the opē promes of mē of his awne will franckly and frely departed out of sanctuary and committed hym selfe to the kynges pleasūre, & so by this meanes this great heate was quenched and appeased.

Then was the kyng very glad that this warre was ended, and toke his journey immediatly towarde London, not withoute a great concourse of people metynge hym oute of euery quarter to see this Perkyn as he were a Monstre, because he beyng an alien of no abilitie by his poore paientes (although it was other wise talked and dissimuled) durst once inuade so noble a realme, and it to infecte with suche lyes and lesynges, and chiefly of all that be by his crafty subornacions had perswaded diuerse aswell noble as ignoble (not without the cōfusiō and vndoing of many of them) to beleue and saye that he wasthe same verey person that he feigned and peynted hym selfe to bee. But when the kyng was come to London, he appoynted certeyne kepeis to attende on him whiche shoulde not (the breadth of a nayle) go from his person, to thentent that he might neyther conueigh hym selfe oute of the land, nor flye any whether, nor yet prouoked and procured by other shoulde be hable to sowe agayne no newe sedicion nor sedicious tumult within his realme & countreyes.

When these tidynge came to the lady Margarete in Flaūders that Perkin her dere daylyng had no good lucke but losse, bothe of his entreprice and her great studious furtheraunce, and was brought into captiuitee, she was not well pleased with them, but wepte and lamented hys vnlucky spede, and cursed her infortunate chaunce.

When these thinges were brought to passe accordynge to the kynges mynde he dyd not forget that there was no more a delectable and pleasaunt thinge, nor a largei reyne of mischiefe genen to ſ vulgar people, then to haue a sure hope and trust that they may offende wout any punishment or correccion. Wherefore to thentēt hereafter to obserue his people in a dowe obeysaunce & shal subieccion, he shortly caused inquiries to be made of diuerse offences. Whereupon diuerse persones aswel in somerset shire as deuonshire were accused and presented ſ they had aided both w mē & money ſ Cornish treytours, not only after their discōfiture in returnyng homeward, but also in their marchyng forward entēding to make battaile against ſ kyng beyng their souereigne & hege lord. All which offēdeis he determined to plague & skourge according to ſ quātitee of their crime & offēce w great fines & sore assesmētes. And therfore he cōmitted this charge to Thomas lord Darcy, to Amis Paulet knight and Robert Sherborne Deane of Paules after bishop of Chechester.

These cōmissioners like a whirlewynde tossed & perced ſ cofers & substaūce of all the inhabitants of bothe the countres, to thentent ſ no person being embred or spotted w ſ ynke of ſ abhominable crime, shoulde escape ſ plynne whiche he worthly had deserued but they were gentle & remisse to a great nōbre, & specially to such as offended by coercion & feare, rather then of malicious heart or enuious mynde. Yet were they to none so fauourable but they were thought for their defaultes worthy of some punishmēt, so that equite therin was very well and iustly executed.

¶ THE. XIII. YERE.

IN this yere a sodeyne chaunce, ye a thinge of no moment nor worthy to be regarded had almost so kyndeled agayne f̃ olde displeasure and grudge betwene king Henry & king Iames of Scotlād, f̃ they could scace kepe their hades & bridle their courages from warre & fighting. The first mocion of this displeasure was thus Certeine young men of f̃ Scottes came armed vnto Norhā castel & behelde it wōderous circumspectly, as though they had bene desirous to know what was done there wīn. But when f̃ keepers of f̃ castell could not perceauē any hostilitē or dammage towardes him or his, & seying them departe of their awne accorde, determined it not cōueniēt to moue any questiō to them nor once to stirre oute. But whē they came again f̃ next day & viewed it likewise, the keepers of thesaide castel suspectyng some fraude to lurke in their lookyng, demaunded of them what was their entent, & why they vewed and aduised so the castel. The Scottes euen like them selves, answered them proudly and rustically with many disdeynfull woordes. Insomuch that after their blustering and blowing answers made, Thenglishmen being vexed and moued therewith al, replied to them with hard & manly strokes, and after many a sore blowe geuen and taken on bothe partes, & diuerse Scottes wounded & some slayne, the Scottes oppressed with the multitude of Thenglish people, fled as fast as their hoises would carye them. When they came home and certefied the kyng of thesame, he was therewith sore moued & angry, and sware by swete saint Nynyan f̃ there was nothing to him more inconstant and vnstedfast then the obseruyng of the league by the kyng of England, and sent word thereof to king Henry in all hast by Marchemount his heraulde.

The kyng of England which nothing more embraced and desired then quiet tranquillitee and perfygite loue and amitie with all princes being his neyghbours and borderers, to thentent that he might lyue in his later dayes in an honest and quiet lyfe after so many laboures and vexacions euen from his infancye drawen and exercised in, made hym answer that it was not done through his defaulte, neither by his counsell nor knowledge, but rather by the temerarious folly of f̃ keepers of the castell, requyng him for that cause not to thinke the league infringed, promising in the woorde of a kyng to enquer of the truth and who were the malefactoures. And if f̃ offence were founde to be begōne on the partie of the keepers of the castell, he assured hym that they should for no mede or fauoure escape payne & punishment. This answer although it were more then reasonable, could not mitigate or assuage the Scottes angre and outrageousnes, for the which cause, Rycharde bishop of Durham, which was more heauy then all other because that this dischorde was renewed agayne betwene these two prynces by occasion of Castell-keepers, he therefore thought it best first to assuage and coole the furious rage of the Skottyshe kyng, and wrote many letters to hym, requyryng hym of peace and vnitie. The kyng perceauyng bothe the good will and constant grauytie of the bishop, appeased his fury and answered gentely to the bishops letters by writyng agayne to hym, sayng that because he had many secret and preuy thynges in his mynde which he would communicate only with him touching the cause nowe in variaunce, he therefore requyred hym to take payne to come into his cuntry, trustyng that he should thynke his labour well bestowed. The byshop was very glad and sent woorde to the kyng his master, of kyng Iames desyre, who esteemed the request and cause both iust and reasonable, and therefore willed hym to accomplishe f̃ Scottish kynges honest desyre.

When he came into Scotland, he was receaued with all humanitee that coulde be thought of the kyng him selfe at an Abbey called Mellrose. And there after that the kyng for a countenaunce had complained muche of the crueltie and slaughter that was vsed towardes hys men late at Norham, he easely remitted the offence and perdoned it, and began secretly to cōmen without any witnesses or arbiters nere hand with the bishop alone. And first declared



clared to him what olde & iuste causes haue moued him before this, to seke aliaūce & amitie with kyng Henry, whiche now he desyred muche more to haue confirmed & corroborate for the farther mayntenaunce of loue and encrease of frendship, which thing he doubted not, but shoulde sorte to a fortunate effect and good cōclusion, if ſ kyng of England would vouchsafe to geue to him in matrimōny his first begottē daughter ſ lady Margaret, vpo which point he determined not lōg agone to sende his Ambassadors into Englād, which thing he would the soner do if he knew this bishops mynd & entēt ready to further his louing purpose. The bishop answered but fewe wordes, sauing ſ when he were returned to the king his master, he would do the best in ſ matter ſ laye in his powre. Which wordes animated much the king, & put him in good hope to sende his oratours to the king of England to sue for thesaide matrimony to be concluded.

When the hishop had taken his leaue, & was come to the king, he declared to him in ordre all the cōmunicaciō betwene king Iames & him. This request pleased the king very much, to whome peace was euer a souereygn cordiall, and determined surely to minister occasiō of warre to no man, nor woulde haue any prynce to prouoke hym to thesame.

Now began the fatall daye of the death of Perkyn Warbeck, & Edward erle of Warwicke to approche: for after this facte done & cōmitted, one fierce & strōg waue deuoured & swallowed both their lyues not long asonder, as you shal heare by ſ cōtinuaciō of this story. Perkyn, whether it greued him to be kept inwarde, or els that he was instigated & entised by some of his olde frēdes to sturie more coles, & begin some new sedicious factiō, or at the least, because he woulde wilfully wast & cast away him selfe, studied how to escape & flye away, hauing perfight hope ſ he should fynd occasiō to bring al thīges wel to passe, if he could cōueigh him selfe once out of the Englishmens handes. And although he were not ignoraūt, that he neither coulde do nor ymagyn any thing but the kyng woulde bothe heare of it and knowe it. Yet he seduced w hope of euasion and skapyng whiche was the chiefe cōforte of his captiuitie, had leuel put all thinges in a profe & hasarde, rather then lēger to tolletrate and suffie the present calamyte and dayly misery. And so deceauyng his keepers toke him to his heeles, by the which he brought him selfe into a streyghter custody and prison, and wrapped him selfe into tortures and punyshmentes. for when he came to the sea coastes, and had gone but a litle forwarde on his journey, when the rumour of his flight was spieade abroade, euery hy way and lane was set abroade with the kinges garde, which had ſ custody of his body. Wherefore he beyng sore abashed w the clamour of them that searched and made inqurie for him, & being in maner destitute of wit & counsail, altered of necessite frō his pretended journey, & came to the house of Bethlem, called ſ priory of Shene beside Rychemōd in Southrey, & cōmitted him selfe to the pryoi of ſ mōnastery, requyryng him for Godds sake to aske and desire his life and perdo of the kynges maiestie. The pryor which for hys verteous qualities was had in great estimacion, moued with ſ calamytie and infortunate state of this man, came to the kyng & shewed him of this Perkyn, whose perdon he humbly craued, & franckely obteyned it. Incontinent after thys, Perkyn was brought to the court agayne to Westmynster with many a cuse and reproche, and was one daye set lettered in a payre of stockes, before the doie of Westmynster hall, and there stode an whole daye, not without innumerable reproches mockes & skornings. And ſ next day was caryed thorough London, & set vpon a lyke skaffolde in Chepe by the stādard, with lyke gynnes and stockes as he occupied the daye before, and there stode al daye and red openly his awne confession written with hys awne hande, the very copy wherof hereafter ensueth.

First it is to be known, that I was borne in the toune of Turney in Flaunders, & my fathers name is Ihon Osbeck, which sayd Ihon Osbeck was cōptroller of the sayde toune of Turney, & my mothers name is Kathelyn de Faro. And one of my grauntsires vpon my fathers side was named Diryck Osbeck which dyed, after whose death my grauntmother was maryed vnto the withinnamed Peter flāme, ſ was receauer of the forenamed toune of Turney, & Deane of the botemen ſ iowe vpon the water or Ryuer, called Leschelde. And my graunt-

sire vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, whiche had in hys keypyng ȳ keyes of the gate of saint Ihons w̄in the same toune of Turney Also I had an vnclē called master Ihon Stalyn, dwelling in ȳ parish of saint Pyas w̄ithin the same toune, which had married my fathers suster, whose name was Ione or Iane, with whome I dwelled a certain ceasō. And afterward I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learne Flēmische, in a house of a cousyn of myne, an officer of the said toune, called Ihō Stēbeck, w̄ whome I was ȳ space of halfe a yere. And after ȳ I returned agayn to Turney, by reason of ȳ warres ȳ were in Flaūders. And w̄in a yere folowing I was sent w̄ a merchaūt of ȳ sayd toune of Turney named Berlo, and his Masters name Alexāder, to the marte of Andwalpe where I fell sycke, whiche sickenes contynued vpon fyue monethes. And the sayde Barlo set me to boorde in a skimmers house that dwelled beside the house of the Englishe nacion. And by him I was from thence caryed to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the signe of the olde man, where I abode the space of two monethes. And after this the sayde Barlo set me with a merchaūt of Middelbroughe too seruyce, for to learne the language, whose name was Ihon Strewe, with whom I dwelled frome Christmas tyll Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the companye of Syr Edward Bramptones wyfe in a shyppe whiche was called the quenes shippe. And when I was come thether, then I was put in seruyce to a knyght that dwelled in Lushborne, whiche was called Peter Vacz de cogna, with whome I dwelled an whole yere, whiche sayde knyght had but one eye. And because I desyied to see other cuntryes, I toke lycence of him, & then I put my selfe in seruyce with a Bryton, called Pregent Meno, ȳ which brought me with him into Ireland, and when we were there arriued in the toune of Corke, they of ȳ toune, because I was arayed with some clothes of sylke of my saide maistres, came vnto me & threped vpō me ȳ I should be ȳ duke of Clarēce sonne ȳ was before tyme at Deuelyn. And forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me ȳ holy euāgelist & the Crosse by ȳ Mayre of the toune, which was called Ihon le Wellen, & there in ȳ presence of him & other I toke myne othe as ȳ truth was, ȳ I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephen Poytron, w̄ one Ihon water, & saide to me in swearing great othes that they knew wel ȳ I was kynge Rychardes bastard sonne. To whome I answered with like othes ȳ I was not. And then they aduysed me not to be a fearde, but ȳ I should take it vpō me boldly, and if I woulde so do they woulde aide & assist me w̄ all their powre agaynst the kyng of England, & not only they, but they were assured well ȳ the erles of Desmōd & Kyldare should do the same. For they forced not what party they toke, so ȳ they might be reuenged vpō the kyng of Englād, & so against my will made me to learne English, & taught me what I should do & saye. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, secōd sonne of kynge Edward ȳ iij. because king Rychardes bastard sonne was in ȳ bādes of the king of Englād. And vpō this ȳ said Ihō water, Stephyn Poytron, Ihon Tylei, Hughbert Bughe with many other as the forsayd Erles, entred into this false quarell. And within shorte tyme after, the French king sent an Ambassadour into Ireland, whose name was Ioyte Lucas, & master Stephyn Fryā, to aduertise me to come into Fraūce. And thēce I wēt into Fraūce, & frō thence into Flaūders, & frō Flaūders into Ireland, & from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

When night of the same daye, which was the. xv. day of Iuyne was come (partely because the king had perdoned him his life, & partely because he should no more runne awaye, and put the kyng in doubt of any mistrust or misfortune to come) he was cōmitted to the Towre of Lōdō, where his wickednes boylinge so hoate within his cancarde stomacke woulde not suffie hym to escape the punishment & vengeance of God, but shortly after was moost iustly and worthely put to death, as hereafter shalbe shewed.



## THE XV. YERE.

Edward Plantagenet erle of Warwike, of whome ye haue heard before, beyng kept in the Towre almost frō his tender age, that is to saye, frō his first yere of the kyng to thys xv. yere, out of al cōpany of mē & sight of beastes, ī so much that he coulde not descerne a Goose from a Capon. And where as he by cōmen reason & open apparaūce, coulde not by his awne doynges seke his death & destruccion, yet by ſy dryft & offence of another man, he was brought to his ende & cōfusiō. For a freer Augustyn on ſy border of Suffolke called Patricke, to thentent to bring this erle into disdayn and hatred, had a certain skoler called Raute Wilford, whome he greatly favoured, & in whose hed he euer distilled & infused this folishe & fāstical cōcepte, ſy if he would folow his cōsail, & adurse, he would easely cōuey him to ſy kingdom of Englād. The skoler like a good discipule, did not denye to folow his masters discipline & cōsail but more & more desired & put his master in remembraūce to performe & accōplish w all spede, ſy thing which of his awn hberalite, he before had to him both promised & assured sayng, what Mecocke or dastard is so sore afearde of trāsgressing ſy law or tymerous of punishment; ſy which for to obtene a kingdō will not attēpt to do, & suffre all thinges ſy be possible to be assayed & tasted. So ſy when they betwene thē selves secretly had take a crafty deliberaciō & cōsailed of their entreprice, & had deuised in their folish wittes, how it should be brought to passe, they wēt both together in to Kent (which country in auncient tyme hath not bene dul in settinge forth of newe phantastical fantasies) and there beganne this younge mawmet to tel pieuely to many that he was the very erle of Warwike, and lately gotten oute of the Towre, by ſy helpe of this freer Patricke. To the whiche saynges when the freer perceaued hope to be geuen, he declared it openly in the pulpet, and desyred all men of helpe.

But the head of thys sedicion was somme topped, that it coulde haue no tyme to sprynge any higher, the Master and the skoler beyng bothe apprehended and caste into pryson, and attaynted. Of the whiche twoo, the skoler was hanged on Shrouetwesdaye, at saynte Thomas water-yuges, and the freer was condemned to perpetuall pryson and captiuitie. For at that tyme here in Englande so much reuerence was attributed to the holy orders, that to a priest, althoughe he had committed hygh treason agaynste hys souereygne lorde and to all other, offenders in marder, rape or theft, which had receaued any of the iur higher holy orders, the lyte was geuen, and the punyshmente of death released. The chief cause of thys fauoure was this, because Bishoppes of a longe tyme and ceason dyd not take knowlege, nor intermit them selues with the serche and punyshment of suche heynous and detestable offences, by reason whereof they did not disgrace and depryue from the holy orders suche malefactours and wycked persones, whiche without that ceremony, by the canonically lawe coulde not be put to deathe. Furthermore, what shoulde a man saye, it was also vsed that he that coulde but onely reade (ye althoughe he vnderstode not what he redde) howe heynous or detestable a cryme soo euer he had committed (treason onely except) shoulde likewise as affines and alyes to the holy orders be saued, and committed to the Bishoppes pryson. And to thentent that if they should escape, and be agayne taken, cōmitting lyke offence, that their lyues should be no more to them perdoned, it was ordeyned that murderers should be brient on the brawne of the left hande with an hote Iron signed with this lettre *M*, and theues in the same place w this lettre *T*; so ſy if they which were once signed w any of these markes or tokens did reiterate like cryme & offence again, should suffre the paynes & punishmentes, which they had both merited and deserued. Which deuise was enacted & established in ſy Parliament kept in thē xv. yere of this kynges reigne, & taken as I cōiecture of the Fienche naciō, which are wonte, if they take any such offender to cut of one of his eares, as a sure token & marke hereafter of hys euell doyng. And the charge of keepyng such offenders, that be onely imprisoned by their offences, because it soundeth to spirituall religion is committed to the bishops & rulers of the spiritualtie, with a penaltee set vpon them if any such prisoner do afterward escape. The whiche

acte & priuilege did notish & encrease aboudantly the sect & swarme of theues & murtherers, for after y tyme there were an hūdred wayes practised & inuented how at one time or another, to deliuer or conuey them out of pryson and captiuite, by makig then purgaciō (by what sleight & meanes they care not) of such offences as before they were conuincd and founde gyltye, if no man be present to laye excepcions to the same. For if the partie offended and hurte be absent at the day of the purgaciō making, the thefe or murderer truly founde gilty from the beginning, shall be both excused & set at libertie. And oftentimes the soner, because the bishop would not lese so great a summe as an hūdied poude for the escape of a poore knaue, skant woorth a dandyprat: But nowe to returne to oure mater agayne.

Perkyn (of whome rehersall was made before) beyng nowe in holde, coulde not leaue with the destruccion of him selfe, and cōfusiō of other that had associate thē selves with him, but begā now to study which way to flye & escape. For he by false persuasions and liberall promises corrupted Strangweyes, Blewet, Astwood and long Rogier hys keepers, beynges seruantes to syr Ihon Dygby lieutenant. In so muche that they (as it was at their araynement openly proued) entended to haue slayn the sayde Master, and to haue set Perkyn and the erle of Warwyke at large, which erle was by them made preny of this enterpryse, & therunto (as all natuall creatures loue libertie) to his destruccion assented, But this craftie deuice and subtil imaginacion, beyng opened and disclosed, sorted to none effect, and so he beyng repulsed and put back frō all hope and good lucke with all hys complices and confederates, and Ihon Awater sometyme Mayre of Corbie in Irelande, one of hys fōunders, and hys sonne, were the sixteen daye of Nouembre arreynd and condempnd at Westmynster. And on the thre and twenty daye of the same moneth, Perkyn and Ihon Awater were drawn to Tyborne, and there Perkyn standing on a litle skaffolde, redde hys confession, which before you haue heard, and toke it on hys death to be true, and so he and Ihon Awater asked the kyng forgeuenes and dyed paciētly. This was the rewarde of the pernicious Abye and cōment of Perkyn Warbeck, whiche as in his life with false persuasions and vntrew surmises had broughte many noble personages to death and vtter perdition, so at his death he brought with him other of the same sorte to their not vnderstōd ponyshment. And emōgest other Edward erle of Warwicke whiche as the fame went, consented to breake pryson, and to departe out of the realme with Perkyn (which in prysoners is high treason) was the. xxi. daye of the sayde moneth arreynd at Westmynster before the Erle of Oxforde, then high Constable of England, of the said treason, whiche whether it were by the enticemēt of other or of his awne frewill (many men doubt, because of hys innocency) confessed the fact and submitted hym selfe to the kynges mercy. And vpon hys confession he had his iudgement, and accordyng therunto, the. xxvij. daye of Nouembre. M. cccc. xcix. was brought to the skaffolde on the Towre hill, and there behedded. The fame after hys death spronge abroade, y Ferdinand kyng of Spayne woulde neuer make full conclusiō of the matrimony to be had betwene prynce Arthur and the lady Katheryn hys daughter nor sende her into England aslonge as this erle lyued. For he imagined that as longe as any erle of Warwicke lyued, that England should neuer be clensed or purged of Cyuyle waire and preuy sedicion, so muche was the name of Warwyke in other regions had in feare and gealousy.

Perkyn put  
to death at  
Tyborne.

The next yere after there was a great plague, wherof men dyed in many places very sore, but specially and moost of all in the cite of Lōdon, where dyed in that yere thirty thousand. Also in this yere was burned a place of the kynges called the maner of Shene Situate, & lyngenygh the Thamys-side, which he after buylded agaynesumptuously & costly, and chaunged the name of Shene, and called it Rychemond, because hys father and he were erles of Rychemonde. The kyng perceauyng this plague and contagious disease, rather to encrease then discrease, whether it was to aduoyde the occasion of the sicknes, or to allure the archduke Philip of Burgoyne to commē with hym, he personally toke hys ship at Douer, in the beginninge of May, and sayled to Caleys, to thentent to prouide and see the watches, whiche haue bene accustomed to be diligently kepte and mayhteynd agaynst the incursiōs of his aduersaries, & there he made polletique ordinaūces & streyte lawes. While the kyng laye

A great  
death.



## THE. XVI. YERE OF

thus at Caley, the archeduke Philip sent to him diuerse notable personages, not alonely to gratefie and welcome hym into those partes, but also to declare that the sayde Archeduke offred to repaire personally to his presence, with suche a numbre as the kyngge shoulde appoynt, so that it were within no walled toune or fortesse. For he had before diuerse tymes made denyall to the Frenche kyng to entre into any of his walled townes, & if he should as he gladly woulde come to the toune of Caley, it might be a president to y<sup>e</sup> Frēch kyngge to desyre like meting, what chaunce therof might fall, every mā coulde not iudge. The kyngge gently entreteyned the Ambassadors, but more thankfully accepted the Archedukes offie, and so appoynted the place at saint Peters church without Caley. Vpon the Tuesday in Pentecost weke, the Archeduke came thether with a conuenient cōpany. The kyng and the quene with many alusty lorde and lady rode thether to welcome hym. And when the kyngge approched, the duke at his lightyngge offred to holde his styrope, whiche the kyng in no wise woulde suffre to be done. When the kyng was dissended from his horsse he and the Archeduke embraced eache other with moost pynclly familiarite, and then the quene and all the nobles saluted hym. What banquettyngge, what myrthe and what passe tyme there was I passe ouer. But to conclude, there was communicacion of marriages, treatyngge of farther coroboracion of leagues, requestes of tolles in Flaunders to be mynished, with many other thinges, touchyngge thentreprice & traffique of bothē their realmes. And when all thinges were set in an ordre, the two princes louingly toke their laue and departed, the kyng to Caley, and the Archeduke to saynct Omeis.

After this departing, the Frenche kyng Lewes the xii sent to visite the kyngge, the lorde Grothouse gouernoure of Picardy, and the lorde Merneliers, bayly of Amyas, whiche declared to the kyng the getting of Millayn, and takyng of the duke, whiche lordes were highly feasted and with great rewardes departed.

## ¶ THE XVI YERE.

Some after when this plague was slaked, the kyng returned agayn to England, about the ende of Iune. and beyng come into England, sone after there came to him one Gasper Pous a Spanyard (bothe for learning and good behaueour very excellent) sent from Alexander bishop of Rome, whiche should shewe the Englishmen the right waye to heauen. Therfore that yere was called the yere of Iubile, which was the yere of our Lorde a thousand fyue hundred. And to thentēt, that the people of farre countries might be eased of their labour and traueyle in comyng thether, the charitable father sent hys legates into every country to distribute the heavenly grace (as he called it) to all Christen people, whiche either leited by waire, enemyes, infirmitie, weaknes or tediousnes of the longe iourney, were not hable to performe their iourney to y<sup>e</sup> holy cytie of Rome. But thys beneuolent liberalitie was not francke & frely geuen: For the holy bishop Alexander, with helping and lokyngge to the health of mennes soules, thought somewhat to do for hys awne priuate commoditie and singuler wealth, and therefore he limited and set a certayne pryce of this hys grace & pardon. & to thende that y<sup>e</sup> kyng should not hyndre nor let hys purpose, he offred parte of this hys gayn vnto the kyng. And that the people might the soner mynyshe their purses, and enryche hys chestes, he promysed that he woulde in the begynnyng of the yere make warre in all the hast agaynst the great Turcke. By thys meanes and pollecy, thys Alexander gat, accumulated & heaped vp a great summe of money, and yet no battayle begonne agayne the Turcke, which in the meane ceason had takē, cōquered & destroyed many regions, citics and townes belonging to Christen men, but. God amend all that is amisse.

About this time dyed iii. Bishops in England, Ihon Morton bisshop of Caunterbury, Thomas Langtō bishop of Winchester, & Thomas Rotheram bishop of Yorke. After hym succeeded Thomas sauage bishop of London, in whose place succeeded doctor Willm Warham

of whom we made mentiō before. And Hēry deane bishop of Salisbury was made archbishop of Caūterbury. Also Rycharde Foxe bishop of Durhā, was perfected to the bishoprike of Winchester. Also this yere two notable mariages were cōcluded & agreed vpō, but neither solēpnised now, nor cōsummate as you shal here afterwarde. For king Hēry graunted his daughter ladye Margaret to James the. iij. kynge of Scottes. And Ferdinād. kyng of Spayne gaue his daughter lady Katheryn to Arthur. prynce of Wales, sonne & heye apparaunt to ꝑ king of England. And it is to be considred ꝑ kyng Henry did not ioynē this Affinitie with the kyng of Scottes without cause. For he desiringe nothing more then to passe ouer the remanant of his life in peace, rest and tranquilltee, ymagened in him selfe ꝑ this coniunction & couplement of matrimony, no warre or hostilitie hereafter should be attempted either agaynst hym or his dominions by the Scottishe kyng or his nacion hauyng suie trust that none other of hys enemyes or of hys rebelles should hereafter be reseaued or mayntayned in the dominions and territories of hys sonne in lawe. And emongest all other articles thys was cōcluded and appoynted, that no Englishmen should entre into Scotland, without letters cōmendatorie of their ayne souereign lord, or saueconduyte of his wardeyn of the marches, and that prohibicion was in lyke maner geuen to the Scottes..

## THE. XVII. YERE.

YOU haue heard before, how that the marriage was agreed betwene prynce Arthur of England, & the lady Katheryne of Spayne, & how the kyng her father promysed to sende her with great honoure into England. He nowe this yere accordyng to hys promes conueyghed her w<sup>th</sup> a puissant nauye toward England, where she arryued in the porte of Plymūth the seconde daye of October, then beyng Saturday. When the kynge was certefied of her arryual, incōtinēt he sent both for prync Arthur his sonne into Wales to repaire into Londō, & sent diuerse great lordes and knyghtes to cōuey her with triūphe toward her spouse & husband. And vpon the xii. daye of Nouembre, she was conueyed frō Lambeth thorough London with all triūphe and honoure that coude be deuised or ymagened, to the Bishops paleys, by the Cathedrall church of s. Paules. And because I will not be tedious to you, I passe ouer the wyse demises, the prudent speches, the costly woorkes, the conninge portraiture practised and set forth in. vii. goodly beutiful pageauntes erected & set vp in diuerse places of the cite. I leaue also ꝑ goodly ballades, ꝑ swete armony, the Muscicall instrumentes, which sounded with heauenly noyes on euery side of the strete. I omit farther, the costly apparel both of goldsmithes woork and embrauderie, the ryche ieweltes, the massy chaynes, the stuyng horsse, the beautifull bardes and the glitteryng trappers, bothe with belles and spangles of golde. I pretermitt also the ryche apparell of the pryncesse, the straunge fashion of the Spanysh nacion, the beaute of the Englishe ladyes, the goodly demeanure of the yōug damosels, the amorous countenaūce of the lusty bachelers. I passe ouer also the fyne engayned clothes, the costly furies of the citezens, standyng on skaffoldes, rayled from Gracechurche to Paules. What should I speke of the oderiferous skarlettes, the fyne veluet, ꝑ pleasaunt furies, the massy chaynes, which the Mayre of Londō with the senate, sitting on horsebacke at the litle conduyte in Chepe, ware on their bodyes, & about their neckes. I will not molest you w<sup>th</sup> rehersyng the ryche arras, the costly tapestry, the fyne clothes bothe of golde & siluer, the curious veluettes, the beautiful sattens, nor the pleasaunte sylkes, which did hange in euery strete where she passed, the wyne ꝑ ranne continually out of the conduytes, the graueling and rayling of ꝑ stretes nedeth not to be remembred.

While this prynces sojourned for her recreaciō in the Bishops paleys of Londō, not without visitaciō of the kynge, the quene and the kinges mother, there was erected in the body of saynt Paules church, a long brydge made of tymbre, extendyng from the West doore of the church to the steppe at the entryng into the quere, whiche was sixe ffootes from the



the grounde. On thesayde bridge or staige, euen directly before the consistory of the chuiche was eleuate a place lyke a mounte, for eyght persons to stande vpon, cōpassed rounde about with steppes to assende and dissende, whiche was couered with fyne red worsted, and in likewyse were all the rayles of thesayde staige. On the Northside of this mount was a place furnished for the kyng & quene, & such other as they apoynted. On the Southside of thesame mount stode the Mayre and Magistrates of London. When all preparacion was made, and al thinges set in an ordre. Vpon the daye of saynct Erkenwalde, then beyng Sundaye, the sayde lady was ledde to thesame mount, and there prynce Arthur openly espoused her, bothe beyng cladde in whyte, both lusty and amorous, he of the age of fiftene and more, and she of the age of. xviii. or there aboutes. The kyng and the Quene, standyng preuelye on their staige. After the matrymonye celebrate, the prynce & his wife went vp into the queie, & there herde a solēpne masse song by the Archebishop of Cauntourbury, associate with. xix. prelates mytred. And after the masse fynished, the bryde was led homeward to f̃ bishops palace by f̃ duke of Yorke, beyng then a goodly yōge prince & the legate of Spayne. Next after folowed the lady Cicile suster to f̃ quene, supporting the treyne of the spouse. After whom folowed aboue an C ladyes and gētlewomē gorgeously appareyled & richely adourned. There was kept that day a sumptuous feast, and yet not so sumptuous as populous, nor yet so populous as delicate, nor so delicate as of all thinges abōūdañt. For if I should reherse to you the valew of. iiii. cupboides that day shewed & set forth beside the plate that was occupied, or declare the ryches of the hanginges, canopies or clothe of estate, or set forth the numbres of disshes serued at the. iiii. courses & banquettes the deliuer daunsinge and costly disguisinges, I assure you f̃ I should soner sayle then cōpye of matre or haboundaunce of honoure. But every daye endeth, and night ensueth, so when night was come, this lusty prince and his beautifull bryde were brought and ioyned together in one bed naked, and there dyd that acte, whiche to the performauce & full consummacion of matrimony was moost requysite and expedient. In so muche that his familer seruitours, which had then neither cause nor rewarde to lye or fayne, declared openly that in the mornyng he called for drynke, whiche he before tynges was not accustomed to do. At whiche thinge one of hys chambrelaynes meruaylyng, requyred the cause of his drouth. To whome he answered merely sayng, I haue thys nyght bene in the midst of Spayne, whiche is a hote region. & that journey maketh me so drye, and if thou haddest bene vnder that hote clymate, thou wouldest haue bene dryer then I. Then shortly after the kyng and the quene with the new wedded spouses went from Baynardes castell by water to Westmynster, on whome the Mayre & communalte of London, in Barges garnished with standādes, streamers and penons of their deuice, gaue their attendaunce. And there in the paleys were suche marciall feates, suche valiaunt iustes, suche vygorous turneys, suche ferce fight at the barreyers, as before that tyme was of no man had in reinembraunce. Of thys royall triumphe lord Edward duke of Buckyngham was chiefe chalengeour, and lorde Thomas Grey Marques dorcet was chiefe defendoure which wyth their aydes and compaygnions, baie them selves so valyauntly that they obteyned great laude and honoure, bothe of the Spanyardes and of their countrymen.

Duryng the tyme of these iustes and triumphe, were receaued into London an Erle, a Bysshop, and dyuerse noble personages, sent from the kyng of Scottes into England, for the conclusion of the marriage betwene the lady Margaret the kynges daughter and hym. Whiche Erle by pioxie in the name of kyng James hys master, affied & contracted thesayd fayre lady. Which assuraūce was published at Paules Crosse, the daye of the conuersion of saynct Paule, in reioysyng wherof *Te deum* was songe, and great fyres made through the ciue of London. Whiche thinges as you haue hearde, beyng fully fynished and accomplished the Ambassadors aswel of Spayne as of Scotlande, tooke their leaue of the kyng, and not without great rewardes departed into their countryes and habitacions.

When the Ambassadors were departed, the kyng entendyng to auance the honour  
and

and reputacion of the prynce his sonne, furnished hym with men and money largely, and sent hym agayne into Wales, where he was before, to kepe liberall hospitalitee, and to mynstre to the rude Welshemen indifferent iustice. And least by reason of lacke of experience he might erre, he appoynted to hym wyse and expert counsaylers, as syr Rychard Poole his kynsman, which was his chief chāberlayne, with whome were associate syr Henry Vernon, Syr Rychard Croftes, Syr Daui Philip, Syr Williā Vdale, Syr Thomas Englefelde, Syr Peter Newton knyghtes, Ihon Waleston, Henry Mayon, and docter William Synyth, was President of his counsaile, and docter Charles, bothe were with hym associate, the one was afterwarde Bishop of Lyncoln, and the other Bishop of Herford. But as of one fountayne commeth often bothe ioye & sorrow, so I leaue here to speake more of ioye of this marriage, considering the chaunce that shortly after succeeded.

A fewe monethes before the maryage of prynce Arthur, Edmonde Poole Erle of Southfolke, sonne to Ihon duke of Southfolke, and lady Elizabeth suster to kyng Edward the. iij. beyng stout and bolde of courage, and of wyt rashe and hedy, was endited of homicide & murther, for sleying of a meane person in his rage and fury. And although the kyng perdoned him whom he might iustly haue condempned for that offence, yet because he was brought to the kynges Benchē baile and arraigned (whiche facte he reputed to be a great mayme and blemish to his honoure) tooke it seriously, and shortly after for this displeasure fledde to flauders, without any lycence or sauēconduyte geuen him of the kyng, to the lady Margaret his awnt on the mothers side. Neuerthelesse, whether he was sturred by his preuy frendes therunto moued by the kyng, or whether he trustynge on his vnviolated truthe feared no daungier nor penaltie, he returned agayne, and excused hym selfe so to the kyng that he was thoughte to be gylteles and inculpable in any crime that coulde be objected to hym, and therefore he was permitted too go frankly at his libertie and pleasure.

But when thys mariage of prince Arthur was kept at London with great pompe and solempnitie, and that all the nobilitie were set on pleasure and solace, and the Kyng hym selfe was principally geuen to ioye and reioysynge. This Edmond, either for that he had ben at great and excessyue charges at thesame tryumphe and solempnytie, and by reason therof sore charged with debte. Either sollicit, allured and prouoked by that olde venemous serpent the duches of Burgoyne, euer beyng the sower of Sedicion and begynner of rebellion agaynst y kyng of England, or els stimulate and pricked with enuy, which could not patiently with open eyes se and beholde kyng Henry, beyng of y aduerse lyne to his lignage, so longe to reigne in wealthe and felicity, in conclusion with hys brother Rycharde fledde agayne into Flaunders. Thys sad chaunce (I thinke) happened emonge the great ioyes and solaces of kyng Henry, least that he mighte not by ouermuche gladnes sodeynly forget him selfe. Whiche displeasure at another tyme before to haue chaunced, it is manifest and well knowne to you.

When the kyng vnderstode certaynly that this erle was departed and returned agayne, he was not a litle vexed and vnquyeted, mistrustyng that some newe tumultuous busynes shoulde be begonne agayne, and chiefly therfore blamed hymselfe of folishe folye that he had geue hym hys pardon for hys offence lately committed. Although it was manifest enough that he dyd it for this purpose, that he might dissemble and wyncke at the matter so longe vntyll suche tyme, he had some sure token and perfight knowlege of his conuracion, the whiche he perceaued nowe to be surely attempted and begonue, asone as Edmonde de la poole erle of Suffolke was fled agayne into Flaunders. Syr Robert Curson, whome the kyng had promoted to the ordre of knyghthod, & made capitayne of Hammes castel, a valeaunt and a circumspect man, dissimulyng hym selfe to be one of that conspiracy went into Flaunders, doubtlesse to espye what was done there by the lady Margaret agaynst kyng Henry. Thys opynion was setteled in euery mannes head at the first brochyng of the matter, and so yet contynueth, groundyng vpon thys prynciple, that he neyther vexed nor molested wyth any poynte of displeasure or iniurie by hys prynce or any other



other fled to the kynges enemyes And after all thynges were knowē, opened, pacesied and suppressed, he willyngly returned and was receaved into high fauoure with þe kyng & hys master and souereygne lord. Howbeit, the kyng-like a wylde foxe, knowyng the faythfull entent of this syr Robert, and entēdyng to put hym oute of all gealousy and suspicio with the lady Margaret, and Edmond de la poole, caused thesayde erle and thesayde Syr Robert Cuisson, & fyue persones more to be accursed at Paules crosse the fyrst Sondaye of Nouember, as enemyes and rebelles to him and hys realme. But howsoeuer, it chaunced, whether it were for the easing of hys hart, or for some preuy polleceye, the kyng after the marriage of hys sonne prynce Arthur, was so vigilant, so circumspect and so intentyue, that he espyed and tryed oute suche as he knewe, partly to be the mueners of mischief agaynst hym, and partly to beare no good wyll or sincere affection towarde his person, that he coude redely name and reherse their names and surnames, wherof a greate parte were with in fewe dayes after apprehended and taken And emonge them, lord William Courtney, sonne to Edward erle of Deuonshyre, a man of great noblite, estimation and vertue, whiche maryed lady Katherine, daughter to kyng Edward, lord William brother to Edmond, erle of Southfolke, Syr James Tyrrell, Syr Ihon Wyndham. Both these Williams before rehersed were rather taken of suspicion & gelousy, because they were nere of blood to the conurators, then for any proued offence or cryme. Wherefore the lord William sonne to the erle of Deuonshire, after the death of kyng Henry the. vii. was deliuered and set abroade at libertie, by the noble and famous prynce kyng Henry þe viii. sonne to thesayd kyng, with whome after he was in great fauoure and estimation, but shortly after, when he beganne to exercise him selfe in marciall feates and warlike studye, he syckened of a disease called Pluresis, of whiche malady, because it was straunge and rare to the Phisicians of England, he at the kynges manoure of Grenewiche desessed, leuyng one sonne behynde hym, to continue hys stirpe and familie. The lord William, brother to Edmonde the erle of Southfolke had also greater fauoure shewed in pryson, then he had before And syr James Tyrrell, and Ihon Wyndham, because they were traytours, & so attaynted the vi. daye of Maye, they were on the Towre hyll beheaded. But when the erle of Southfolke heard that some of his frendes were put to execution, and some other committed to perpetuall pryson and captiuitie, he was in a great agony and feare of hym selfe. And so beig clerely desperate to haue any fortunate successe in this pretensed enterpryse, wandred about all Germany and Fraunce for aide & succoure, prouyng if he could fynde any aide or succoure at their handes. But when he perceiued no stedfast ground to cathe anchor holde vpon (to thentent that in conclusion he might vnderstāde that a shameful death dewe to a man for his offences and crymes cannot by mans helpe or mans reason, be either eschewed or diuerted from hym) he submitted him selfe vnder the obeysaunce and defence of Philip Archduke of Austricke and Burgoyne, and erle of Flaunders. But Rychard his brother beyng an experte and polletique man, so craftely coueyed, and so wisely ordied hym selfe in this stormy tempest, that he was not atrapped eyther with net or snare.

The kyng, not yet being out of doubte of all domestical sedicion & ciuile discorde, studied busely howe to restreyn and kepe in a streyte closure diuerse malefactours, which beyng partakers of this cōspiracy fled to sondry sanctuaries, taryng there till a fayre day came to auaiſce forthward their enterpryse. Whereupon he deuised to kepe the gates of all sanctuaries and places privileged, shut and wel locked, so that none should issue out from thence to perturb and vnquiet hym, hys realme or people. And for that entent he bothe wrote and sent Ambassadors to Alexander, then bishop of Rome, desyringe him by his authoritie to adiudge and decerne all Englishmen, beyng fled to sanctuary or other places for treason, as enemyes to Christes fayth, and scismaticques too Christen religion, and as common perturbors of the quiet people, and capitaynes and prouokers of trayterous ruffinges, intredityng and prohibiting the refuge and priuilege of sanctuary to all suche persons as once had enioyed the immunitie and libertie of thesame, and after had fled out,

and eftsones returned agayne. Whiche thinge after that the Bishop had graunted, it was greatly to the quyetnes and comforte of kyng Hēry, and many through the feare of that reproche and ignomony, conuerted them selues to goodnes and dewe subiecciō of their prynces. Other also that were in securre, and out of all perel and daunger, durst not hasard them selues for feare of galtioppes or slipping into fyre.

When the kyng by his high pollecy had compassed and framed his affaires thus to hys purpose, sodeynly happened a lamentable chaūce and lachrimable losse to the kyng, quene and all the people. For that noble prince Arthur, the kynges fyrst begotten sonne, after that he had bene maryed to the lady Katheryn his wyfe. v monethes, departed out of this transitory lyfe, in his castel of Ludlowe, and with a great funerall obsequy was buried in the cathedrall church of Worcettere. After whose death the name of prince belonged to his brother duke of Yorke, hys brother diseasyng without issue, & so without any creation ought to be called, except some cause apparaunt were the let and obstacle of the same. Howbeit, thesayde duke vpon suspicion of his brothers wyfe to be with chyld, and that doubtfully thought by the expert and sage men of the prynces counsayl, was by a moneth and more delayed from hys title, name and prehemynence, in the which season the truthe might to womē easely apere. It is reported that this lady Katheryn thought and feared suche dolorous chaūce to come. For when she had embraced her father, and taken her leaue of her noble and prudent mother, & sayled towardes England, she was continually so tossed and tumbled hyther and thether with boysterous wyndes, that what for the rage of the water, and contraritie of the wyndes, her ship was prohibited diuerse tymes to approche the shore and take lande.

THE XVIII. YERE.

The next yere after quene Elizabeth, liyng within the Towre of Lōdō, was brought a bed of a fayre daughter on Candemas daye, whiche was there christened and named Katheryn, and the xi. daye of thesame moneth, thesayde moost verteous princes and gracious quene there desessed, and was with all funerall pompe carryed thorough the cytye of London to Westmynster and there intumulate, whose daughter also taried but a small ceason after her mothei.

After the death of this noble princes, which for her great vertue was commenly called good quene Elizabeth, departed syr Reignold Breye knight of fy gartier, a very father of his cōtry, a sage & a graue person and a feruent louer of iustice. In so muche that if any thinge had bene done against good law or equitye, he would after an hūble fassiō plailly reprehende the king, and geue him good aduertisement how to reforme that offence, and to be more circūspect in another lyke case. Of thesame vertue and honest playnnes was Ihon Mortō archebishop of Caūterbury, which bishop dyed (as it is shewed aboue) two yeres before. So these. ii. persons were euer cohibetors and refrainers of the kinges wilfull skope & vnbrideled libertie, where as the rude and ignoraunt people saye and affirme, that their counsayll infected & corrupted the kynges clene and immaculate conscience, contrary to his princely disposicion & naturall inclinacion. Suche is euer the error of the cōmon people: but surely as long as the kyng would here and obeye such as warned him of his office royall and kyngely duetye, he coulde in no wyse erre or swarue aside. About this tyme also dyed Henry archebishop of Cauntourbury, whose rowme doctor Williā Wariam bishop of London supplied. And to the bishoprick of London was elected William Barnes, after whose death succeeded Rycharde Fitziamas, a man of a good lignage & great learnyng & vertue. In which yere the. xviii. daye of Febrūary, the kyng at his palace of Westmynster, with all solēpnite created hys onely sonne Hēry prync of Wales, erle of Chestre, &c. which noble yōgling succeeded his father, not only in fy inheritaūce & regalite, but also was to him equyppolēt in honour, fame, learnyng & pollecy.



## THE. XIX. YERE OF

Maximilian the Emperour, hearinge that quene Elizabeth was deceased, sent into England a solempne Ambassade, of the which lord Cazimire, Marques of Brandenburg his cosyn, accōpanyed with a bisshop, an erle & a great nūber of gentlemē well appareyled, was principal ambassadour, which were triūphantly receaued into Londō, & was lodged at Crosbys place. This Ambassade was sent for. iii. causes, one to visite & comforte the kyng, beyng sorrowful & sad for the death of so good a quene & spouse. The ii. for the renouacion of the olde league and amitie. The iii. which was not apparaunt, was to moue the kyng to mary the Emperours daughter ꝑ lady Margaret, duches dowager of Sauoye. The first ii. toke effect, for the kyng vpon Passiō sunday rode to Paules in great triūphe, the said Marques riding on his lefthand. And there the bishop made to the king an excellēt cōsolatorie oraciō, cōcerning the death of ꝑ quene. And there also ꝑ kyng opely sware to kepe the new renouate league & amitie, during their. ii. lyues. But ꝑ third request, whether ꝑ let was on the mās parte or womāns syde, neuer sorted to any effect or conclusion. And so these thinges done, the Ambassadors returned sumpteously and honorably rewarded.

All this wynter was preparaciō made for the conueyāce of the lady Margaret, affied to the kyng of Scottes into Scotland. And whē all thynges were ready and prest, the kyng remoued the last daye of Iuyn from Rychemond, hauyng in his cōpany his sayde daughter, & came to Colyweston, where the cōtēsse of Rychemond his mother then laye. And after certayne dayes of solace ended, the kyng gaue her his blessinge with a fatherly exhortacion, and committed the cōueighaunce of her to the kyng her husbandes presence, to the erle of Surrey and the erle of Northumberland was apoynted as Waideyn of the marches to deliuer her at the confines of both the marches. Thus this fayre lady was conueyghed with a great company of lordes, ladies, knyghtes, esquyers and gentlemen, till she came to Berwicke, and from thence to a village called Lambreton kyrke in Scotland, where the kyng with the floure of Scotlād was ready to receaue her, to whom ꝑ erle of Northumberland, accordyng to his commission deliuered her. The Scottes that daye, I assure you were not behynde, but farre aboue, bothe in apparell and ryche Iewels and massy chaynes: But aboue other the erle of Northumberland, what for the ryches of his cote, beyng Goldsmythes worke, garnysed with perle and stone, and what for the costly appafel of his hennxmen and galaunt trappers of their horsse, besides iii. hundred tall men, well horsed and appareled in his coolers, that he was esteemed bothe of the Scottes & Englishmen, more lyke a prince then a subiect. Then was this lady conueyed to the toune of Edenboroughe, and there the daye after, kyng Iames the. iii. in the presence of all his nobilitie espoused thesayde faire princes, and feasted the English lordes, and shewed to them Iustes and other pastymes, very honourably, after the fassiō of his rude countrey. When all thinges were done and finished, according to their commission, the erle of Surrey with all the Englishe lordes and ladyes returned into their countrey, geuyng more prayse to the manhoode, then to the good maner & nuture of Scotlande.

## THE. XIX. YERE.

IN this yere the kyng kepte his hygh courte of Parliament, in the whiche diuerse actes were concluded, whyche were thought necessary and expedient for the preseruaciō of the publike weale. And emonge other thinges, it was determined that theues and murderers duely cōuicted by the lawe to dye, should be burned in the hand, and cōmitted to the Bishops custody as I haue before declared. After this, certayne mōney was graunted to the kyng, by the whole Parhamēt, and the goodes of men outlawed were forfeyted and confiscated. There was also called (as the maner is) a congregaciō of the clergie, to the intent, that they ꝑ their treasure and mōney might auāce and preferre the cōmon wealthe of the realme.

Hetherto

Hetherto we haue shewed you rough and sharpe battailes, pernicious & sedicious, strife, tumulte, and the death of many noble & meane persons: Nowe therfore let vs here rehearse, the contencion of famlier thinges, the gnawynge at the hartes, and the frcating of myndes & vowes, promises and requestes made of diuerse persones.

Kyng Henry, now drawynge to age, and before this tyme, euer punched, stimulated and picked with the scrupulous stynges of domesticall sedicion and ciuile commocion, in so much that he more detested & abhorred intestine and priuate warre, then death or any thyng more terrible. Wherefore he determynd so polittiquely to prouyde that all fy causes of suche vnquyetnes and mischief to come, shoulde be eradicate and extirped: which ymaginacion and purpose he doubted not to compasse and bryng to effect. If he made lowe and abated the courage of his subiectes and vassalles, and especially of the rychest sorte, remembryng the olde prouerbe, that men throughe abundaunce of ryches waxe more insolent, hedstronge and iobustus, and that nothyng is more to men acceptable or desyrous, then aboundaunce of treasure and plentye of money, whiche people either for feare of lossynge, or hope of gaynyng of worldly ryches, desyre euer either peace or warre. But to thentent that men might not thinke nor reporte that he whiche is then kyng constituted of God to reuenge all iniuries to theym done and committed, should oppresse and wrongfully polle and exact money of hys subiectes, he deuysed wyth hym selfe by what honest meane he might performe it. And thus deuysing with hym selfe, it came into hys hed that the Englishmen dyd litle passe vpon the obseruacion and kepyng of penall lawes or pecuniall statutes, made and enacted for the preseruacion of the commen vtilitee and wealthe. And therefore, if inquisicion were had of suche penall statutes, there shoulde be fewe noble men, merchautes, fermers, husbandemen, grasyers nor occupyers, but they shoulde be founde transgressours and violators of thesame statutes. After that he had taken thys counsayll, he soughte oute the penall lawes, and put them in execucion, and they that were founde offenders, were easely at the beginning fyned and scourged. After that he appointed. ii. masters and surueyers of his forfaytes, y one syr Richard Empson, and the other Edmond Dudley, bothe learned in the lawes of the realme. And these two persons contended, whiche of them by mooste bryngyng in might most please and satisfie his masters desyre and appetite. Wherefore in the beginnyng, they armed with a companye of accusers (commonly called promoters) whyche brought to theim the names of the offenders, esteemed and regarded so muche the gayne of money, that they clerely forgate and banyshed oute of their remembraunce their duetye present, the peril that might ensue, and the thanke and good will that they might haue obteyned, and yet they had warnynge of greate and sage persons to close their handes from suche vncharitable doynge and cruell extremitie, accordyng to the Adage, the extremitie of iustice, is extreme iniurie.

### ¶ THE. XX. YERE.

The kyng, after that he had gottē a large and ample sūme of money, hauyng pitie of the people, whiche cryed to God dayly for an ende of their pilfrynge, of his clemency and gracious goodnes towards his ende thought it best, and thus determined, that these two extreme officiers shoulde be depriued of that office, and the money from whome it was vniustly exacted and extorted to be wholly restored and deliuered agayn: Which beyng premented with death, commaunded it by his last will and testament to be duely and truly performed, but in the meane ceason many meus coffers were emptied.



## THE XXI. YERE OF

## THE XXI. YERE.

IN this very ceason, and the yere of our lord a M. D. & vi. Elizabeth quene of Castell, wyfe to Ferdinande kyng of Arragon, dyed without any issue male, by reason whereof thinheritaunce of Castell (because that kyngdomes be not partible) disceded to lady Iane her eldest daughter by kyng Ferdinando, the whiche was maryed to Philip archeduke of of Austrich and Burgoyne, and erle of Flaundres. Which kyngdome he obteyned by his wyfe, and had the possession of thesame, and was named, reputed and taken as kyng of Castell and Lyon. Wherefore the yere folowynge, aboute the. vi. daye of Ianuary, hauynge a great nauy prepared, he sayled out of Flaunders with his wyfe toward Spayne, but he had sayled no great waye before that a vigorous tempest, by reason of contrariete of wyndes sodeynly arose, the whole nauy was tossed & chased with the waues, and sodayne sources. In so muche the wynde hauynge the mastry dispersed and seperated the shippes asondre into diuerse places on the coast of Englande. The kynges ship with two other vesselles were blown by tempest on the West parte of the realme to the porte of Weymouth in Dorset shyre. Then kyng Philip which was not expert, and had not frequented the seas before, beyng fatigate and vnquyeted bothe in mynde and body, entryng the ship boate to refreshe and repose hym selfe a litle, came a lande contrarye to the mynde of hys counsayll and capytaynes, whiche forsaue and knewe well that thesame landynge shoulde bee the occasion of lenger tarynge there. When it was knowen that straunge shippes were aryued, there came thether a greate number aswell of noble men as of rurall persons that dwelleth aboute that coaste, to repulse and beate awaye hym if he were their enemy. But when they perceaued he was their frende and louer and dryuen thether by force of wether, Syr Thomas Trenchard knyght, the chiefe of that company went to Philip kyng of Castell with all humanytie and lowlynes, inuytyng and desyynge him (if he woulde so vouchesaufe) to vrysyt hys maner and mancion, whyche was euen nygh at hand, trustyng therby to haue great thakes of the kyng hys master, if he coulde protract and cause hym to tarye there, vntyll suche tyme as kyng Henry were certefied of hys arryual, to whome with all diligent celerite, he sent dyuerse postes too notefie to his grace of kyng Philippes landynge. This rumour beyng farther blowen abroade of this straunge pinces comming, in a short space there assembled together a great multitude of people all a longe the sea coast. And emonge other there came first syr Ihon Carew wyth a goodly band of picked men. Whiche syr Ihon & syr Thomas Trenchard entreated the kyng of Castell, not to depart vntill suche tyme as he had spoken with kyng Henry his louinge and faythfull frende and allye, assuryng hym y he woulde repayre thether within ii. or. iii. dayes at the most. King Philip excused him selfe by the necessitie of his weightie enterpryse & importunate cause, affermyng that lōg taryng in matters of grauytie and dubious, ought to be excluded: wherefore he alledged that protractynge of tyme myght turne him to great preiudice, denyenge at the first to expect and tarye the comynge of the kyng of England. But yet beyng perswaded by reason in hym selfe, y he might be let and interrupted, if he woulde proffire once to go aborde too hys shippes agayne, at their gentle desyre and louinge contemplacion, assented to their humble petition and request.

When kyng Henry was informed of hys landynge, he was replenyshed with an excedynge gladnes, partely for to renew the olde familiariue and acquayntaunce, whiche they vsed at their last metynge, and partely for that he trusted that his landynge in England should turne to his proffite and commoditie. Therefore first he wrote many and diuers letters to syr Ihon Carew, and syr Thomas Trenchard, willinge and warynge them withall kyndenes of humanitee to enterteyne the kyng of Castell, tyll he in person approched in some place mete and conuenient for the entreuiewynge and entreteignyng of so noble a personage. Beside this he sent the erle of Arundell with many lordes and knyghtes to accompany and attende

vpon

vpon hym. Whiche erle, accoordynge to the kynges letters receaued hym with, iii. C. horses all by torch light to the great admiration of all the straungiers.

Kynge Philip seyng no remedy, but that he must nedes tarie & abide, woulde no lenger gase after kynge Henryes commynge, but tooke hys iourney towardes Wynsore Castell where the kynge laye. And fyne myle from Wynsore, the prynce of Wales accompanied with fyue erles and diuerse lordes and knyghtes, and other to the nombre of fyue hūdred persons, moost gorgeously appareled and richely mounted, receaued him after the moost honorablist fassion of entreteinmēt. And within halfe a myle of Wyndsore, the kynge accompanied with the duke of Buckyngham, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, saluted and welcommed hym, and so conueyed hym to the castell of Wynsore, where besyde many triumphs and pastymes shewed, he was made cōpaignon of the noble ordre of the Garter. After hym came to Wynsore hys wyfe quene Iane, suster to the prynces dowager, late wyfe to prynce Arthur. And after they two had concluded and renouate their olde league, and made a perpetuall peace and continuall amitie together: Kynge Henry desyied hym to haue Edinōd de la poole erle of Suffolke hys rebell, to be deliuered into his handes and possession. To whome the kyng of Castell aunswered a while, that he was not within hys rule or dominion, and therefore it laye not in his powie to rendre or deliuer him. Although he considered it to be a heynous & great offence to be the occasiō & authour of the death of his gest, which came to him for succour, & was receaued vnder his proteccion and defence, yet when he perceaued that neither excuse, nor yet reasonable argumente coulde be accepted or allowed of kynge Henry (which promised faithfully of hys awne offre to pardon, Edmond de la poole of all paynes and execuciōs of death) he promised and graunted to do and accomlishe all kynge Henryes desyre & request: And so incontinent caused thesayde Edmōd secretly to be sent for. After this kynge Henry entending to protract the tyme till he might possesse his praye, which he sore desyied, cōueyed the kyng of Castell vnto the cite of London, that he might see the hed cite of his realme, and there led him from Baynardes castell by Chepe to Barkynge, and so returned by Watlynge strete agayne, during which tyme there was shot a wonderfull peale of gunnes oute of the Towre, into the whiche he wold not entie, because (as you haue heard before) he had auowed not to entre the fortresse of any foreyn prince, in ſ which a garison was maynteyned. And there taryng a litle space, returned backe with him. Then from London the kyng brought him to Richemond, where were many notable feates of armes proued both at the tylt and at the tourney and at the barriers.

In the meane ceason, Edinōd de la poole whiche euer feared & mistrusted, that the arriuyng in England of kynge Philip shoulde be his fatall ende and finall destruccion, perceauinge well that there was no farther hope to be had in foreyn princes and potentates, and trustynge that after his life to hym once graūted, that kynge Henry would briefly set hym at his libertie and fredome, was in maner content, to returne agayne into hys natue countrey, castynge in his mynde farther, that if his hope and trust were defiauded and refelled, yet at the last he was sure to ende his life, and be buiyed in the countrey where he first entred into this variable worlde.

When all pactes and couenauntes betwene the kinges of England and Castell were ap-  
 poynted, couenaunted and agreed. Kynge Philip toke hys leaue of kynge Henry, rendryng  
 to hym moost hartie thanks for his high chere and princely entreteynmēt. And beyng ac-  
 companied with diuerse lordes of England, came to the cite of Excettre, and so to Ful-  
 mouth in Cornewale, and there tooke his shippe and sayled into Spayne, where he shortly  
 beyng taken with a sodeyn disease, departed oute of this transitorie life, beyng then but  
 xxx yeres of age. He had by his wyfe and quene Iane vi. children, two men childrē  
 Charles and Ferdinand, and foure daughters, Eleanor, Isabel, Mary and Katherine. He  
 was a man of stature conuenient, of countenance amiable and louely, of body somewhat  
 crasse and corpulēt, quicke wytted, bold and hardy stomaked. This tempest that the kyng  
 of Castell had, was wonderfull straunge to many men, because the violencie of the wynde  
 had blowen doune an Egle of brasse, beyng set to shewe and manifest on which parte ſ  
 wind

The de-  
 scription of  
 kynge Phi-  
 lip.



## THE XXII. YERE OF

wind blew, fīō a pynnaclē or spire of Paules church. And in the fallynge, 'thesame Egle brake, & bated another Egle that was set vp for a signe at a tauerne dore in Chepeside. And here vpō, mē that were studious of straunge tokens and monstreous wonders, did take an opinion that the Emperour Maximilian, whiche at that tyme gaue an Egle in his armes, should haue a great losse, whyche so happened in dede: For he lost his onely begotten sonne Philip, newly called to the kyngdome of Castell.

Also, shortly after the departynge of kyng Philip, the king of Englande beganne to suspect Syr George Neuell lorde of Burgeyny, and syr Thomas Grene, of Grenes Norton knyght, that they were confedered fautours and partakers, in the beginnyng with Edmond de la poole, and so vpon this suspicion, they were cōmaunded to the Towre. But shortly after when they had ben tryed and purged of that suspiciō and cryme, he commaunded them bothe to be set at libertie. But sy Thomas Grene fell sycke before, and continued in the Towre in hope to be restored aswell to his health as he was to hys libertie, and there dyed. The lorde of Burgeyny for hys modestie, wyt and probite (because the kynge founde hym lyke hym selfe) always true, faythfull and constant, was of his souereigne lorde more esteemed, fauoured and regarded then he was before.

## ¶ THE XXII. YERE

AFTER this, the kynge hauynge peace aswell with foreyne princes, for the terme of iii. yeres, as disburdened and purified of all domesticall sedicion, beganne to be diseased with a certayne infirmitie and weakenes of body, whiche thryse in the yere, but especially in the sprynge tyme sore vexed & tormented hym. And because for the most part, the harme and euell that chaunceth to the prince, is parted and communicate to his subiectes and people, the olde sweatynge wherof you heard before emongest the commons of the realme, came again. Howbeit by the reason of the remedy that was inuēted by the death of many a creature in the beginning, it dyd lesse hurte and displeasure to the people at this tyme then it did before. But nowe the thyrd plague egall with the pestilence ensued by the woorkynge of the masters of the forlawaynes by the kynge appoynted as I shewed you before.

By whose meanes many a ryche and welthy person, by the extremyte of the lawes of the realme, were condempned and brought to misery. The mattre is as wonderfull to be heard, as pitefull and miserable to be done, and yet it is called the law, where as it is rather peruerse abuse and disorder of a lawe, polletiquely at the beginnyng inuēted to cause the people, the sonei to conforme them selues to such as demanda their right of them, but craftely practised to the vtter confusion of many by vntrue officers. For if a man put his aduersary in suyte before y Iudges, of whiche cōplaint or acciō he neither thinketh nor hath knowledge if he appere not at the last callynge of the exigent, whiche is called in a shyre where he neuer came (for how can he appere, if he be ignoraunt of the prosecution of the cause, and dwell. ii C myles frō that place) then doeth he forfeit all his substaunce and mouables, and his body to captiuitie as an enemy, and rebel to the lawes of his country. And yet the prynce shall enioye the goodes so confiscate, and the party cōpleynaūt or playntife that is wronged recovereth not one myte, and yet loseth bothe his payne and costes. And all suche persons that be so condempned and adjudged, be called outlawes, that is deprived of all lawes of the lande, to the whiche he was by the custome of the countrey inheritable. These outlaries, olde recognisances of the peace and good aberig, escapes, ryottes and innumerable statutes penal, were put in execucion and called vpon by Empson and Dudley, so that euery man, both of the spirituallie and temporalie, hauing either lande or substaunce, was called to this pluckyng bancket; accordinge to the Psalmist sayng, all decayed and fell together, and no man although he were neuer so cleie and gylties, in conclusion durst auenture a tryall, seynge the experience of them that passed before. For these two rauenyng wolues had suche a garde of false pcuried persons apperteignyng to them, which were by their com-  
maundemēt

maundemēt empanyeled on euery quest, that the king was sure to wyne whosoeuer lost. Learned men in the lawe, when they were requyred of their aduise, would saye to agree is the best counsayll that I can geue you By this vndewe meanes, these couetous persones filled the kynges cofets, and enyched thē selues. And at this vnreasonable and extorte doyng, noble men grudged, meane men kycked, poore men lamented, preacheis openly at Paules crosse and other places exclamed, rebuked and detested, but yet they would neuer amende Howebert the good kyng in his last dayes cōserued and paidoned his poore subiectes of such vnchaitable yokes and ponderous buidens as they were laden withall.

In this season Alexāder bishop of Rome departed out of this world, and for hym was elected Fraūces borne Senes, nephiewe to Pius the second, and was called Pius the thud, whome kyng Henry had made a litle before, proctoure for his realme in the counite of Rome The king beyng glad of his high promocion and dignitie, sent syr Gylbert Talbot knyght, Rychard Bere Abbot of Glascebury, and doctor Robert Sheiborne deane of Paules, to declare to him what gladnes entred into the kynges hart, when he hearde tell of his hygh prefeiment and honour. But this bishop Pius did not expect and tary the gratulaciōs of these Ambassadors, for within a moneth after that he was installed he rendied his debt to nature, hauyng small pleasure of his promociō. At this same tyme also dyed Gyles, lorde Darnley, the kynges chiefe chamberleyn, whose office Charles bastard sonne of Henry last duke of Somerset occupied and enjoyed, a man of a good wyt and great experience.

THE. XXIII. YERE.

SONE after, ſ kyng caused Guy Vbald duke of Vrbyne to be elected, knyght of the ordre of the gartier, a noble warriour, and in the Gricke & Latyn tounge excellently learned. And this honour and ligh dignitie, this duke desired instantly to haue, ſ he might be equyualent in all degrees of honour and nobilitie with his father, duke Frederick a prince in his tyme of high renoune and estimacion, which was receaued & chosen into that ordre by kyng Edward the. iii. And because it was noysed that Iuly the seconde, a lanuway borne, was after the death of Pius, elected to be bishop of Rome. The kyng entendinge to stope two gappes with one bushe, sent syr Gylbert Talbot and the other two Ambassadors, principally to bishop Iuly, and by them sent also to the duke of Vrbyne, the whole habite and collar of the noble ordre of the gartier. When duke of Guy was reuested with the habit, and had taken his othe, according to the statutes of the ordre He sent syr Balthaser de Castellio knyght a Mantuane borne, his Oratour to kyng Henry, whiche was for him enstalled, according to the ordinannces of that famous ordre

While these thinges were in doynge, Lewes the Frenche kyng mistrusting that he should neuer haue manchild, married his eldest daughter lady Claude to Fraūces de Valoys, dolphyn of Vyenn and duke of Angulesme. Whiche lady was promised a litle before to Charles the kyng of Castel. When kyng Henry knew of this, he thought best to mary his daughter lady Mary to this Charles kyng of Castel, beyng almost bolle of one age, and therefore Ambassadors were sent to and fro, and at the last, the mariage was concluded and confirmed by the meanes of the bishop of Wynchester, chiefe Ambassadeure for the king at Caley, and so the lady Mary beyng of the age of x. yeres, was promysed to kyng Charles. For conelusion of which mariage, the lord of Barow, and diuerse great Ambassadors were sent into England frō the Emperour Maximilian, which had great rewardes and returned.

¶ THE. XXIII. YERE.

NOWE approached the ende & terme of the. iii. yeres of peace that I spake of before, at  
whiche



whiche tyme kyng Henry thought his fatal daye to be at hand: For his sickenes encreased daily more and more, so that he might easely perceauē that death was not farre of taryng, his praye: Therefore like a good pynce, desiring to exhibite some gratuite to his people y he might be had in memory after his disease, grauted of his great liberalite a generall pardon to all men, for all offences done, & perpetrate against his lawes and statutes. But because murtherers & theues were not onely offenders to him, but also to other, he excepted them & some other out of his pardō. He payde also the fees of all prisoners in y gayles in and aboute Londō, abyding their only for that duety. He payde also the debtes of all such persons as laye in the counters of Londō, or Ludgate for. xl.s. & vnder, & some he releued that were condemned in. x l. For this his goodnes & pitie shewed to his people, beyng sore vexed with inqysitors, pollers & promoters, general processiō was had daily in euery cite and parishe to pray to almighty God, for the restoryng of his healthe, with long contynuaunce of thesame. Neuertueles, he was so consumed with his longe malady, that nature coulde no lenger susteyne his lyfe, and so he departed out of this world, the. xxii. daye of Aprill in his palace of Rychemond, the which was the yere of oure lorde. M.D. ix. hys corps was conueyed wyth a funerall pompe to Westmynster and there buried by the good quene his wyfe in a sumptuous and solempne chapell, which he not longe before had caused to be buylded. He reigned. xxiii. yeres and more then. vii. monethes, & lyued. lii. yeres. He had by his quene Elizabeth viii. chyl dren iii. men and iii. women chyldren, of the whiche iiii. remayned aloue behynde hym. Henry prynce of Wales, whyche after him succeeded, and was kynge, lady Margaret quene of Scottes and lady Mary promysed to Charles kyng of Castell. He was a man of body but leane and spare, albeit mighty and stronge thewith, of personage and stature, somewhat hygher then the meane sorte of men be, of a wonderfull beuty and fayre complexion, of countenance mery and smylyng especially in his communicacion, hys eyes graye, his teethe syngle, and heare thynne, of wyt in all thynges quicke and prompt, of a pryncely stomacke and haute courage. In great perels, doubtfull affaires, and matters of weighty importaunce, supernaturall and in maner deuayne, for suche thynges as he went aboute, he dyd them aduisedly, and not without great deliberacion and breāthng, to thentent that emongst all men, his wyt & prudence might be noted and regarded and spoken of. For he was not ignoraunt that his actes and doyrgeas were specially noted and marked with the eyes of many a person, and therefore a pryuce oughte as farre to excell and surmounte all meane personages in wysdome and polley, as he precelleth other in estate and dignite.

For what mā will geue credite or regard to him, whom he hath proued to be light, wilde and lasciuious of condicions? Besides this, he was sobre, moderate, honest, affable, courteous, bounteous, so muche abhorring pride and arrogancy, that he was euer sharp and quicke to them which were noted or spotted with y clyme. And there was no man with hym, beyng neuer so muche in his fauoure, or hauing neuer so muche auctorite, that either durst or coulde do any thing as his awne phātasye did serue him, without the consent & agrement of other. What shall I say more? Although his mother were neuer so wise (as she was both witty and wise) yet her will was bridled, and her doyrgeas restrayned. And this regimēt he said he kept, to thentēt y he worthely might be called a king, whose office is to rule & not to be ruled of other. He was also an indifferēt & sure Iusticier, by the which one thing, he allured to him the hartes of many people, because they lyued quietly & in rest out of al oppressiō & molestaciō of the nobilite & riche persones. Also to this seuerite of hys was ioyned & annexed a certayn merciful pitie, which he did often shew to such as had offended, & by his lawes were hindred & mersed: for such of his subiectes as were fined or amerced by his Iustices to their great empouerishing, he at one tyme or another did helpe, releue & set forward wherby it apered y he would haue thesame penalties for other offences & crimes reuyued & stirred vp again, which was a plain argumēt y he did vse his rygour only (as he sayd him selfe) to bring low & abate y high hartes & stoute stomackes of the wyldpeopie, norished & brought vp in sedicious factiōs & civile rebellions,

The description of  
kyng Henry the. vii.

bellions, & not for the gredy desire of riches or hunger of money, althoughe suche as were afflicted would crye oute, & say ȳ it was done more for the loue & desire of gayne & profite, then for any prudent pollecy or polittique promision.

Surely, this good & modest prince did not deuoure & cōsume ȳ substaūce & ryches of his realme, for he by his high pollecy, meruelously enriched his realme & him selfe, & yet left his subiectes in high wealth and prosperitie. The profe wherof is manifestly apparaut by ȳ great abouūdaunce of golde & siluer, yerely brought into this realme, both in plate, money & bulliō by merchaūtes passing & repassing out & ito this realme with merchaūdis. To whom he him selfe of his awne goodnes lēt money largely without any gayne or profite, to thentēt that merchaūdis beying of all craftes the chefe arte, & to all men, bothe most profitable & necessary, might be the more plētfuller vsed, haunted & employed in his realmes & dominions. And so this kyng lyuyng all his tyme in the fauour of fortune, in high honour, ryches & glory, & for his noble actes & prudent pollecies, worthy to be registred in the booke of fame, gaue vp his ghost at ȳ last, which vndoubtedly is assended into the celestiall mancion, where he hath the sure truicion of the Godhead, & the ioy that is prepared for such as shall sit on the right hande of our sauour, euer wolde without ende.

FINIS.

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## THE TRIUMPHANT REIGNE OF KYNG HENRY THE. VIIL.

**N**OW, after the death of this noble Prince, Henry the VIII some to Kyng Henry the. VII. beganne his reigne the. xxiij daie of April, in the yere of our Lorde. 1509 The. i. yere. and in the xviii yere of his bodily age: Maximilian then beeyng Emperoure, and Lewes the xii reignyng in Fraunce. And Fernando beeyng the kyng of Aragon and Castell, and kyng Iames the fourthe then rulyng ouer the Scottes whose stile was Proclaimed by the blast of a Trumpet in the cite of London, the xxiii daie of the said monethe, with muche gladnes and reioysyng of the people

And the same day, he departed from his manour of Richemond to the tower of London, where he remained, closely and secrete, with his counsaill, till the funeralles of his father, were finished and ended. The same daie also, sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmonde Dudley Esquier, greate counsaillers to the late kyng, were attached and brought to the Tower, not to the litle reioysyng of many persones, whiche, by them wei greued, whiche attachment was thought to bee procured by malice of them, that with their authoritie, in the late kynges daies wei offended, or els to shifte the noyse, of the straight execucion of penall statutes in the late kynges daies, by a punishment of those persones, and other promoters, for to satisfie and appeace the people. The same daie also was attached, the loide Henry Stafford, brother to the duke of Buckynghā and sent to the Tower, the cause was not thought to be great, because he was so sone deliuered, & the same yere was created

Empson and  
Dudley at-  
tached



ated erle of Wilshire. And the same daie also, Doctor Ruthall was named Busshoppe of Duresme.

Sone after were apprehended diuerse, called promoters, belongyng to Empson and Dudley, as Canby, Page, Smith, and diuerse othei, as Derby, Wright, Sympson and Stocton, of the whiche the moste part ware papers, and stooode on the Pillorie. Now bee it, the moste craftiest knaue of all, called Ihon Baptist Brimald, escaped and came to Westminster, and there toke Sanctuarie.

A generall  
Pardon

The. xxv. daie of Aprill was proclaimed, that the kynges grace, ratified all the Pardones, graunted by his father, and also pardoned all suche persones, as was then in suite, for any offence, whatsoeuer it was, Treason, Murder, and Felonie onely excepte.

After that all thynges necessary, for the interment and funerall pöpe of the late kyng, were sumptuously prepared and done the corps of the said defunct, was brought out of his priuie chambie, into the great chäber, wher he rested thre daies, and euery daie had there Dirige & Masse song by a Prelate mitred and from thence he was conueighed into the halle, where he was also three daies, and had like seruice there, and so thre daies in the Chapel, and in euery of these thre places, was a heaice of waxe, garnished with banners, and. ix. mourners geuyng there attendance, all the seruyce tyme, and enery daie they offered, and euery place hanged with blacke clothe. Vpon Wednsdaie, the ix. daie of Mare, the corps was put into a Chariot, couered with blacke clothe of golde drawn with. v. greate Corseis, couered with blacke Veluet, garnished with Cusshions of fine gold and ouer the corps, was an Image or a representacion of the late kyng laied on Cusshions of golde, and the saied image was appareled, in the kynges riche robes of estate with a cioune on the hed, and ball and scepter in the handes: and the chariot was gainished with banners and Pécelles of tharmes of his dominions, titles and genealogies. When the chariot was thus ordered, the kynges chapell, and a great nombre of Prelates, set forward praiyng: then folowed all the kynges seruauntes, in blacke, then folowed the Chariot and after the Chariot. ix. mourners, and on euery side wer carried long torches and shorte to the nombre of. vi. C and in this ordie they came to sancte Georges felde, from Richemond. There met with them, all the Priestes and Clearkes, and religious men, within the citee, and without (whiche went for-moste, before the kynges Chapell) the Maior and his brethren, with many commoners, all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at Lōdon Bridge, and so gaue their attendaūce on the same through the citee: and in good ordie, the compaignie passed through the citee, whereof the stretes on euery side, wer set with long Torchcs, and on the stalles stode young children, holdyng tapers, and so with greate reuerence, the Chariot was brought to the Cathedral Church of saint Paule, where the body was taken out and caried into the Quire, and set vnder a goodly Herce of waxe, gainished with Banners, Pencelles, & Cusshions, where was soung a solempne Dirige, and a Masse, with a Sermon, made by the Busshoppe of Rochester, duryng whiche tyme, the kynges houshold and the mourners, reposed them in the Bisshoppes Paleis. The nexte daie the corps in like ordie was removed, toward Westminster, sir Edward Haward, bearyng the kynges banner, on a courser trapped, in the armes of the defunct. In Westminster was a curious herse, made of. ix. principalles, full of lightes, whiche, werelighted at the commyng of the corps, whiche was taken out of the Chariot by sixe Lordes, and set vnder the Herse, the Image or the representacion, liyng vpon the Cusshyn on a large palle of golde. The herse was double railed: within the fiste railes, satte the mourners, and within the seconde raile, stooode knightes bearyng banners of saintes, and without the same, stode officers of armes. When the mourners wer set, Garter king at Armes, cried, for the soule of the noble prince kyng Henry the VII. late kyng of this réalme. then the quire beganne *Placebo*, and so song Dirige, whiche beyng finished, the mourners departed into the Palaice, where they had a voyde, and so reposed for that night.

The next daie, wer three Masses solemply song, by Busshoppes, and at the last Masse was offered, the kynges banner and courser, his coate of armes, his sworde, his target and his helme,

helme, and at thende of Masse the mourners offered vp, riche Paulles of cloth of gold and Baudekin, and when the quene sang, *Liberame*, the body was put into the yearthe, and then the lorde Treasurer, lorde Stewaide, lorde Chamberlein, the Treasurer, and Comptroler of the kynges houshold, brake their staures and caste them into the graue. Then Gartier cried with a loude voyce, *Viu le Roy Henry le hutiesme, Roy Danghter, & de Fraunce, sire Dirland*. Then all the mourners, and all other that had geuen their attendance, on this funeral Obsequie, departed to the Palaice, where they had a greate and a sumptuous feast.

Wonder it were to write, of the lamentacion that was made, for this Prince emongest his seruantes, and other of the wisest sort, and the ioy that was made for his death, by suche as were troubled, by rigor of his lawe: yet the towaide hope, whiche, in all poyntes appered in the young kyng, did bothe repaire and comforte, the heuie hartes of them, whiche, had lost so wise and sage a prince: and also did put out of the myndes of suche, as were reueled by the saied kynges deathe, all their olde grudge and rancor, and confirmed, their newe ioye, by the newe graunte of his pardon.

When the funeralles of this late kyng, wer thus honorably finished, greate preparacion was made for the coronaciō of this new kyng whiche was appoynted on Midsomer daie nexte ensuyng: duryng whiche preparacion, the kyng was moued, by some of his counsaill, that it should be honorable and profitable to his realme, to take to wife the lady Katherine, late wife to Prince Arthur his brother disceased, least she hanyng so great a dowrie, might may out of the realme, whiche, should be vnprofitable to hym by reason of whiche mocion, the kyng beyng young, and not vnderstanding the lawe of God, espoused the saied lady Katherine, the third daie of Iune, the whiche mariage was dispensed with by Pope Iuly, at the request of her father, kyng Fernando, contrary to the opinion of all the Cardinals of Rome, beyng diuines. This mariage of the brothers wife, was muche murmured against in the beginnyng and euer more and more, searched out by learning and scripture, so that at the laste by the determinacion, of the best vniuersities of Christendō it was adiudged detestable, and plain contrary to Goddes lawe, as you shall here, after xx. yeres.

The Kynges  
marriage  
doubtefull at  
the begin-  
nyng.

If I should declare, what pain, labour, and diligence, the Taylers, Embrouderours, and Golde Smithes tooke, bothe to make and deuise garmentes, for Lordes, Ladies, Knights, and Esquires, and also for deckyng, trappyng, and adorning of Couisers, Ienetes, and Pallfiers it wer to long to rehersse, but for a suretie, more riche, nor more straunge nor more curious workes, hath not been seen, then wer prepared against this coronacion.

On the .xxi. daie of this moneth of Iune, the kyng came from Gienewiche to the Tower, ouer London Bridge, and so by Grace Church, with whom, came many a well apparelled gentileman, but in especial the Duke of Buckyngham, whiche, had a goune all of goldsmithes worke, very costly, and there the kyng rested, till Saterdaie nexte ensuyng.

Friday the twente and two daie of Iune, euery thyng beeyng in a readines, for his Coronacion, his grace with the Quene, beeyng in the Tower of London, made there Knightes of the Bathe, to the nombre of twentie and foure, with all the obseruaunces and Ceremonies, to the same belongyng.

And the morowe folowyng, beyng Saterdaie, the .xxij. day of the said monethe, his grace with the Quene, departed from the Tower, through the cite of London, against whose comyng, the streates where his grace should passe, were hangged with Tapisurie, and clothe of Arras. And the greate parte, of the Southe side of Chepe, with clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornhill also. And the streates railed and barred, on the one side, from ouer against Grace Church, vnto Bredstrete, in Chepeside, where euery occupacion stode, in their lieries in ordre, beginnyng with base and mean occupacions, and so assending to the worshipfull craftes highest and lastly stode the Mayor, with the Aldermen. The Goldsmithes



stalles, vnto the ende of the Olde Chaunge, beeyng replenished with Virgins in white, with braunches of white Waxe. the priestes and clerkes, in riche Copes, with Crosse, and censers of siluer, with censyng his grace and the quene also as they passed. The features of his body, his goodly personage, his amiable visage, princely countenaunce, with the noble qualities of his royall estate, to euery man knowen nedeth no rehersall, considering, that for lacke of runnyng, I cannot expresse the giftes of grace and of nature, that God hath endowed hym with all yet partly, to descriue his apparell, it is to bee noted, his giace ware in his ypperst apparell, a robe of Crimosyn Veluet, furred with armyns, his iacket or cote of raised gold, the Placard embrowdered with Diamōdes Rubies, Emeraudes, greate Peales, and other riche Stones, a greate Bauderike aboute his necke, of greate Balasses. The Trapper of his Horse, Damaske gold, with a depe parfell of Armyns, his knightes and Esquires for his body in Crimosyn Veluet, and all the gentlemen, with other of his chappell, and all his officers, and houshold seruautes, wer appareled in Skarlet. The Barons of the five Portes, bare the Canaby, or clothe of estate. For to resite vnto you, the greate estates by name, the ordre of their goyng, the nombre of the lordes Spirituall and temporall, Knightes, Esquires, and Gentlemen, and of their costly and rich apparell, of seuerall deuises and fashions, who tooke vp his horse best, or who was richest besene, it would aske long tyme, and yet I should omitte many thynges, and faile of the nombre, for they were verie many wherefore I passe ouer, but this I dare well saie, there was no lacke or scarcitie of clothe of Tissue, clothe of Golde, clothe of Siluer, Broderie, or of Golde smithes workes. but in more plentie and abundaunce, then hath been seen, or yedde of at any tyme before, and thereto many and a greate nombre of chaines of Golde, and Bauderikes, bothe massy and greate. Also before the kynges highnes, rode twoo gentle menne, richely apparcelled, and aboute their bodies trauers, they did beare twoo Robes, the one of the Duchie of Guyon, and the other for the Duchie of Normandie, with Hattes on their heddes, poudered, with Armyns, for the estate of thesame. Nexte folowed twoo persones of good estate, the one bearyng his cloke, the other his hatte, appareled bothe in Golde Smithes woorke, and Brouderie, their hoises Trapped, in burned Siluer, diawen ouer with Cordes of Giene silke and Gold, the edges and borders of their apparell, beyng fretted with Gold of Damaske. After them came sir Thomas Brandon, Master of the kynges Horse, clothed in Tissue, Brondered with Roses of fine Gold, and trauesse his body, a greate Bauderike of Gold, greate and massy, his Hoise trapped in Golde, leadyng by a rayne of Silke, the kynges spare Hoise, trapped baide wise, with harnais Brondered with Bullion Golde, curiously wrought by Golde Smithes. Then nexte folowed the nync children of honor, vpon greate coursers, appareled on their bodies, in Blewe Veluet, poudered with Floure Delices of Gold, and chaines of Golde Smithes woorke, euery one of their horses, trapped with a trapper of the kynges rille, as of Englande, and Fraunce, Gascoyne, Guyan, Normandy, Angeow, Cornewall, Wales, Irelande, &c wrought vpon Veluettes, with Embrouderie, and Gold Smithes worke.

Then next folowyng in ordre, came the Quenes retinew, as Lordes, Knightes, Esquires, and gentle menne in their degrees, well mounted, and richely appareled in Tissues, clothe of Golde, of Siluer, Tynsels, and Veluettes Embroudered, freshe and goodly to behold. The Quene then by name Katheryne, sitting in her Litter, borne by twoo White Palfreys, the Litter couered, and richely appareled, and the Palfreys Trapped in White clothe of gold, her persone appareled in white Satyn Embroudered, her heue hangyng doune to her backe, of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a Coronall, set with many riche orient stones. Next after, sixe honorable personages on White Palfreys, all appareled in Clothe of Golde, and then a Chariot couered, and the Ladies therein, all appareled in Clothe of Golde. And another sort of Ladies, and then another Chariot, then the Ladies next the Chariot, and so in ordre, euery after their degrees in clothe of Gold, Clothe of Siluer, Tynselles, and Veluet, with Embrouderies, euery complement of thesaid Chariotes, and the draught harnesses, wer poudered with Armyns, with

with clothe of Gold and with muche ioye and honor, came to Westmipster, where was high prepaiacon made, aswell for thesaied Coronacion, as also for the solemne feast and Iustes, thei vpon to be had and doen.

The morowe folowyng beyng sondaie, and also Midsomer daie, this noble prince with his Quene, at time conuenient, vnder their Canabies borne by the Barons of the five Portes, went from thesaied Palaice, to Westminster Abbey vpon clothe, called vulgarly cloth of Ray, the whiche clothe was cut and spoyled, by the rude and common people, immediately after their repaire into the Abbey, where, accordyng to the sacred obseruance, and ancient custome, his grace with the Quene, were anoynted and crouned, by the Archebushop of Cantobury, with other prelates of the realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a greate multitude of Commons of thesame. It was demaunded of the people, whether they would receiue, obey, and take thesame moste noble Prince, for their kyng, who with greate reuerence, loue, and desue, saied and cried, ye ye. After the whiche solemnitie, and Coronacion finished, the lordes spirituall and tēporall, did to hym homage, and returned to Westminster hall, with the Quenes grace, euery one vnder their canabies, where, by the lorde Marshall, and his tipped staues, was made roine, and euery lord, and other noble mien, accordyng to their tenures, before clained and vewed, seen, and allowed by the lordes, and othei of his graces cōsail, entred into suche roine and office that daie, to execute their seruices accordyngly. The kynges estate on the right hand, and the Quenes on the left hand, the cobard of ix. stages, then noble personages beyng set: first, at the byngyng of the first course, the trumpettes blew vp. And in came the Duke of Buckingham, mounted vpon a greate courser, richely trapped, and embroudered, and the lorde Stewarde, in likewise on an horse, trapped in clothe of Golde, ridyng before the seruice, whiche was sumptuous, with many subtilties, staunge deuises, with senerall poses, and many deintie dishes. At the kynges fete, vnder the table, wer certain gentlemen. And in likewise with the quene, who there continued, during that long & ioyall feast. What should I speake or write, of the sūptuous fine, and delicate meates, prepared for this high and honorable coronaciō, prouided for aswel in the parties beyond the sea, as in many and sundery places, within this realme, where God so abundantly hath sent suche plentie and foyson. Or of the honorable ordie of the seruices, the cleane handelyng & breakyng of meates, the ordiying of the dishes, with the plēfūll abundaunce. So that none of any estate beeyng there, did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull person, went vnfasted. The seconde course heyng seiued. In at the haule doore entered a knight, aimed at all poyntes, his bases rich tissue embroudered, a great plume & a sūptuous of Oismiche fethers on his helmet, sitting on a great courser, trapped in tissue, and embroudered with tharmes of England, and of Fraunce, and an heiauld of armes betoie hym. And passyng through the halle, presētēd hymself with humble reuerence, before the kynges maiestie, to whō, Garter kyng of heiauldes, cried and said with a loude voyce, sir knight from whence come you, and what is your pretence. This knightes name was sir Robert Dimmoche, Champion to the kyng, by tenure of his enheritaunce, who answered thesaied kyng of Armes, in effecte after this maner. Sir, the place that I come from, is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hether, is not concernyng any matter, of any place or countiey, but onely this. And there with all, commaunded his Heiaulde to make an Oyes. then saied the knight, to the kyng of armes, now shal ye here, the cause of my cominyng and pretence. Then he commaunded his awne Heiauld, by Proclamacion to saie. if there be any persone, of what estate or degree souer he be, that wil saie or proue that king Henry the eight, is not the rightfull enheritor, and kyng of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmoche here his Champion, offie my gloue, to fight in his querell, with any persone to thutteraunce, whiche Proclamacion was made in sundery places of the halle. And at euery tyme, his gauntlette caste doune, in the maintenaunce therof. After whiche seuerall proclamaciōs doen, and offers made, thesaied knight or champion, eft-ones repaied to the kynges presence, demaundyng drinke, to whō the kynges grace sent a cup of gold, with wine, wherof after this knight



had drōke, he demaūded the couer of thesaid cuppe, whiche, to hym was also deliuered: that doen, he departed out of the halle, with thesaid cup & couer as his awne

The maner of his tenure is this, that at the Coronacion of the kyng, he should go to the armare, and there take the kynges best harnais, saue one, the best and rich bases sauynge one, then of the plumes, or other thynges, for the garnishyng of his creast or helme, and so to the stable, there taking the next courser or horse, to the best, with like trapper, and so furnished, to enteī vt supra, and his office dooen, to haue all these thynges, with the Cuppe of Gold and couer, to his awne vse.

After the departure of thesaid Champion, the Kyng of Armes, with all the Herauldes, and other officers of Armes, made Proclainacions in seuerall places of the halle, crying largesse. Bricfly to passe ouer, this high and long solempnite, of this honorable Coronaciō and feast, more honorable then of the great Cesar, whō, many Historiographers, so high set out and magnified, if the Latins of Englande, were not promoted or auansed, to dignities and promotions, onlesse they firste should (as other poore clerkes, in the parties beyond the sea, exalte and set furthe the iestes & Chronicles, of their natue countreys, with high laude & praise and in some parte more then truth, for small mede or reward doo) put in writyng, either in Englishe or Latin tongue, the noble triūphes, chivalrous feates, valiant actes, victorious battailes, & other noble iestes of this realme, & in especiall of our tyme & knowlege, of this moste valiant and goodly prince, it should appeere muche more honorable, then any other stories. But promocion and benefices, putte awate laboure and payne, albeit the greate parte of them will saie, that the high Cure and charge is to edefie the people, with the word of God, taking cure of the soules: there against I will not replie, but no displeasure, I perceiue that they take as greate cure, for the profite of their purses, with pleasure of huntynge and haukyng, besides other their pastymes, after they come to the best of their promocion, with small keepyng of hospitalite. as other whiche were their predecessors, and muche worse, so that parte of their pastymes spent in writyng, and setting furthe the iestes, actes and deedes, of the nobilitie of Englande, with the manyfold commodities of thesame, should muche ennoble the princes thereof, seyng by daily experience, Busshoppes, Archebusshoppes, Abbottes, and other claires, in the parties beyonde the sea, as well learned, as of high knowlege, and better linage, and as vertuous as they, daily enforce themselves, to auance their Princes, then Realmes and natue Countreys, as well in Latin, as in their vulgare tounge. But to returne to theende of this honorable feast, the tables auoyded, the wafers were brought. Then Sir Stephen Ienyns, that tyme Maior of London, whom, the kyng before he satte doune to dynner, had dubbed knight, whiche, beganne the Eyles Table that daie, arose from the place where he satte, to serue the Kyng with Ipocras, in a Cuppe of Golde, whiche Cuppe, after his grace had dronken therof, was with the couer, geuē vnto thesaid sir Stephen, like as other his predecessors, Maiors of thesaid cite, were wont to haue at the Coronacion of the kyng. Then after the Surnap laied, and that the kynges grace, & the Quene had washshed, euery of them vnder their Clothes of estate, the tables beyng auoyded, went vnto their chambers.

For the more honor, and ennoblyng of this triump haunt Coronaciō, there were prepared, bothe Iustes and Turneis, to be dooen in the Palace of Westminster, where, for the kynges grace, and the Quene, was fiamed a faire house, couered with Tapisstrē, and hanged with riche clothes of Arras, and in thesaid Palace, was made a curious Fountain, and ouer it a Castle on the toppe thereof, a greate Cioune Emperiall, all the imbattelyng with Roses, and Pomegranetes, gilded, and vnder and aboute thesaid Castle, a curious Vine, the leaues and grapes thereof, gilded with fine Golde, the walles of the same Castle coloured, White and Grene losengis. And in euery losenge, either a Rose or a Pomegranet, or a Sheffe of Arrowes, or els. H. and. K. gilded with fine Gold, with certain Arches or Turrettes gilded, to support thesame Castle. And the targettes of the armes, of the defendauntes, appointed for thesaid Iustes, there vpon sumptuously set. And out

at severall places, of thesame Castle, aswell the daie of the coronaciō, as at thesaid daies of the Iustes & Turney, out of the mouthes of certain beastes, or gargels, did runne red, white, & claret wine. Thenterprisers of these Iustes, was Thomas lorde Haward, heire apparant to the erle of Surrey, sir Edward Haward Admūall, his brother, the lorde Richard, brother to the Marques Dorset, sir Edmōd Haward, sir Thomas Kneuet, & Charles Brandō esquire. The trōpettes blew to the feld, the fresh yōg galātes & noble menne gorgeously appareled, with curious deuises, of cuttes and of embrouderies, aswell in their coates, as in trappers for their hoises, some of gold, some in siluer, some in Tynsels, and diuēse other in goldsmithes worke, goodly to behold, first entered the feld, in taking vp and turnyng their Hoises, netly & fleshly. Then folowed a deuise, (caried by strength of menne, and other prouision) framed like a Castle, or a Turret, wrought with fine clothe of Gold the toppe wherof, was spred with Roses and Pomegranates, hanging doune on euey side, of thesaid deuise, wherein was a Lady, bearyng a shilde of Christall named Pallas. After whom, thesaid Lorde Haward, with his companions folowed, armed at all poyntes, then Basses, and Bardes, or Trappers, were of Grene Veluet, beaten with Roses, and Pomegranates of Golde, brodered with fringes of Damaske Golde. Thesaied deuise or Turret, beyng brought before the kyng, the Lady Pallas, presented thesaid persones, whom, she named her scholers, to the kynges highnes, beseehyng thesame, to accept them as hei scholeis, who wer desirous to serue hym, to the encrease of their honors, whiche said scholers, had about them on foote, to the nombre of an hundred persones, freshly appareled, in Veluettes of sundery coloures, with Hose and Bonettes, accordyng to thesame. And further, thesaid Ladie desired the kyng, that it might please his grace, that her said scholers, might be defendauntes to al comers whiche request was graunted.

Then came in an other bende of horse men, freshly and well appareled in clothe of golde, in siluer, in Goldsmithes worke, and brouderie, to the number of three score, with trappers accordyng to their garmentes, with great Bauderikes, Collers, and Chemes of Golde, aboute their neckes, and traueser their bodies, euery man with a coife of golde on his hedde, and a greate plume of fethers therevpon, some of one coloure, and some of an other, enteryng before into the felde, with Drōmes and Fifes a greate nombre, euery man takyng vp his horse, in his best maner, aswell for their Ladies, as also for laude or praise to bee geuen them. After whom, folowed a good nombre of foote men in Veluettes, & other silkes, cutte and embroudered, with hose to thesame accordyngly, & bonettes and other furniture, after a freshe and lustie fashion. Nexte to them came on horse backe, eight persones, whose names were, sir Ihon Pechy, Sir Edward Neuell, Sir Edward Guildeforde, Sir Ihon Cairo, Sir Wylliam Parre, Sir Gyles Capell, Sir Griffith Dun, and Sir Roulande, Armed also at all payntes, with shyldes of their awne aimes, withaiche Plumes, and other deuises on their hedde peeces their Bases and Trappers of Tissew, clothe of Golde, Siluer and veluet, and nexte before them, a gentle manne on horsebacke, in a coate of Blewe Veluet, embroudered with golde, and his horse Trapped in the same suite, with a spere of Golde on his thigh, and thesame presented to the Quene. sayng, that it was enformed those knightes of his compaignie, how that Dame Pallas, had presented sixe of hei scholeis to the kyng, but whether they came to learne, or to teache feactes of Armes, they knewe not. And further declared; that his knightes were come, to doo feactes of armes, for the loue of Ladies, wherefore, he besought her grace, to license those Knightes to proue them selves, against Dame Pallas Schollers and that in case, her Schollers brake more speres, on thesaid knightes, by the viewe of the Iudges, and the report of the Herauldes, then thesame knightes should dooe on them, then thesaid Schollers of Pallas knightes, to haue the spere of Gold for their prise. And if the knightes brake more speres, then Dame Pallas Schollers, thesaid knightes to haue the Christall Shilde. The whiche request to them graunted, the Iustes beganue, where euery manne did acquite hymself, well and valiauntly, but who had the price of other, I knowe not, the night comyng on, the Iustes ended.



The next daie approached, the foresaied defenders, Schollers to Pallas on horsebacke, armed *Cape a pie*, the one side of their Bases, and Bardes of their Horses white Veluet, embroudered with Roses of gold and other einbrouderies, the other side Grene Veluet, embroudered with Pomegranetes of Golde, euery one of them on his hedde pece, had an heaie of flatte Golde of Damaske, presented themselves, before the kyng ready to Tourney.

Dance  
Knights.

Then immediatly on the other parte came in, the fore named eighte knightes ready armed, their Bases and Barees of their Horse, Grene Sattyn, embroudered with fleshe deuises, of Bramble branches, of fine Golde curiously wroughte, powdered ouer all. And after them a greate nombre of hornes blowne, by menne appavelled in Grene Clothe, with Cappes and Hosen of like suite, as Forsters or keepers, and a Pageinte made like a Parke, paled with pales of White and Grene, wherein wer certain Fallowe Dere, and in thesame Parke curious Trees made by crafte, with Busshes, Fernes, and other thynges in likewise wroughte, goodly to beholde. The whiche Parke or deuise, beeyng brought before the Quene, had certain gates thereof opened, the Dere ranne out thereof into the Palaice, the greye houndes were lette slippe and killed the Dere the whiche Dere so killed, were presented to the Quene and the Ladies, by the foresaied knightes. Clocheman, whiche the daie before broughte in the spere of golde, there declared, that thesame knightes were seruantes to Diana, and beeyng in their pastyme of huntyng, newes were brought vnto them, that Dame Pallas knightes, were come into those parties, to doo dedes of armes wherefore, they had lefte their huntyng and chase, and repaired also thether, to encounter with the knightes of Pallas, and so to fight with the, for the lone of ladies to thuttenaunce sayng, that if Pallas knightes vanquished the othei, or made them to leue the feld, then thei to haue the dere killed, and the greye houndes that slewe them. And in case Dianas knightes, ouer came the othei, they to haue their swordes, and none othei thyng more. Whereupon the Quene and Ladies, sent to the kyng to haue his aduise and pleasur in this behalfe, his grace conceiuyng, that there was some grudge, and displeasure betwene them, thynkyng if suche request wer to them graunted, some inconueniente might ensue, would not there vnto agre, so that for the appeasyng thereof, it was awarded that bothe parties, should tourney togethers, geuyng but a certain strokes, whiche dooen thei departed. And so these lustes brake vp, and the pices geuen to euery mā after his desertes,

This yere the kyng pardoned the lorde Henry, brother to the Duke of Buckyngham, beeyng committed to the Tower, vpon suspicion of treason laied vnto hym, but not proued, and sone after at the Parliament, created hym Erle of Wylshire.

Also this yere, the kyng ordeined fiftie Gentle menne to bee speres, euery of them to haue an Archer, a Dimilaunce, and a Custrell, and euery spere to haue three greate Horses, to bee attendaunt on his persone, of the which hende, the Erle of Essex was Lieutenannt, and sir Ihon Pechie Capitain, who endured but a while, the apparell and charges were so greate, for there were none of them, but they and their Horses, were appareled and trapped in Clothe of Golde, Siluer, and Golde Smithes wooike, and their seruantes richely appareled also.

This yere also was a greate Pestilence in the toune of Caleis, and muche people died, in so muche that the kyng, at the request of his counsaill of Caleis, considering the weakenes of the toune, sent thether sir Ihon Pechie, with three hundred menne to tary there, who continued there vnto suche tyme, that the plague was ceased, and newe souldiours admitted to suche rouses as then were vacant, and then returned into Englande. Furthermore, this yere the kyng somoned his Parliament, in the monethe of Nouembre, whiche began in the moneth of Ianuary ensuyng, wherof sir Thomas Inglerelde was chosen Speaker, in the whiche session emonges other thynges there enacted, it was ordeined by aucthoritie of Parliament, that sir Thomas Eimpton knighte, and Edmund Dudely esquire, late Counsaillers to Kyng Henry the seuenth, should and wer attainted of hant treason.

Thesame yere the plague was greate, and reigned in diuerse partes of the realme, the  
kyng

kyng kept his Christemas at Richemond. And the xii date of Ianurie, diuerse gentlemen freshly appareled, prepared them self to Iuste, vnknewen to the kynges grace, whereof, he beyng secretly informed, caused hymself and one of his priue chambie, called Willyā Compton to bee secretly armed, in the litle Parke of Richemond. and so came into the Iustes, vnknewen to all persones, and vnloked for. The kyng ranne neuer openly before, and there were broken many staues, and greate praise geuen to the two straungers, but specially to one, whiche was the kyng howbeit, at a course by misfortune, sir Edward Neuell Esquire, brother to the Lorde of Burgame, did runne against Master Cumption, and hurte hym sore, and was likely to dye. One persone there was, that knew the kyng, and cried, God saue the king, with that, all the people wer astonied, and then the kyng discovered hymself, to the greate comforte of all the people.

The kyng sone after, came to Westminster with the Quene, and all their train: And on a tyme beyng there, his grace therles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble menne, to the nombre, of twelue, came sodainly in a mornynge, into the Quenes Chambre, all appareled in shorte cotes, of Kentishe Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of thesame, every one of them, his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and a bucklar, like out laves, or Robyn Hodes men, whereof the Quene, the Ladies, and al other there, were abashed, as well for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain commynge, and after certain daunces, and pastime made, they departed. On Shiroue Sunday thesame yere, the kyng prepared a good <sup>A banquet.</sup> ly banquet, in the Parliament Chambre at Westminster, for all the Ambassadors, whiche, then wer here, out of diuerse realmes and countreis. The banquet beyng ready, the Kyng leading the Quene, entered into the Chambre, then the Ladies, Ambassadors, and other noble menne, folowed in ordre. The Kyng caused the Quene, to kepe the estate, and then safte the Ambassadors and Ladies, as they were Marshallled by the kyng, who would not sit, but walked from place to place, inakyng chere to the Quene, and the straungers: Sodainly the kyng was gone. And shortly after, his grace with the Erle of Essex, came in appareled after Turkey fasshiō, in long robes of Bawdwin, powdered with gold, hattes on their heddes of Crimosyn Veluet, with greate rolles of Gold, girded with two swordes, called Cimeteries, hangyng by greate bawderikes of gold. Next, came the lorde Henry, Erle of Wilshire, and the lorde Fitzwater, in two long gounes of yelowe satin, trauesed with white satin, and in every bend of white, was a bend of crimosen satin after the fasshiō of Russia or Ruslande, with furred hattes of greye on their hedes, either of them hauyng an hatchet in their bandes, and bootes with pykes turned vp. And after them, came syr Edward Haward, than Admyral, and with him syr Thomas Parre, in doublettes of Crimosyn veluet, voyded lowe on the backe, and before to the cannell bone, lased on the breastes with chaynes of siluer, and ouer that shorte clokes of Crimosyn satyne, and on their heades hattes after dauncers fashion, with feasautes fethers in them. They were appareyled after the fashion of Prusia or Spruce. The torchbearers were appareyled in Crimosyn satyne and grene, lyke Moreskoes, their faces blacke. And the kyng brought in a mommerye. After that the Quene, the lordes, and ladies, such as would had played, the sayd mommers departed, and put of thesame apparel, & sone after entred into the Chamber, in their vsuel apparell. And so the kyng made greate chere to the Quene, Ladyes and Ambassadors. The Supper or Banquet ended, and the tables auoyded, the kyng beeyng in communicacion with the Ambassadors, the Quene with the ladies toke their places in their degrees. Then began the daūsyng, and every man toke muche hede to them that daūsed. The kyng perceyuing that, withdrew hym selfe sodenly out of the place, with certayn other persons appoynted for that purpose. And within a litle whyle after there came in a drumme and a life appareled in white Damaske and grene bonettes, & hosen of thesame sute, than certayn gentlemen folowed with torches, apparayled in blew Damaske pursled with Ames grey, facioned lyke an Awbe, and on their heddes hodes with robbes and longe tippettes to thesame of blew Damaske visarde. Than after them came a certayne number of gentlemen, wherof the kyng was one, apparayled all in one sewte of shorte garments, litle beneth



## THE FIRSTE YERE OF

the poyntes, of blew Veluet and Crymosyne with lōg sleues, all cut and lynyed with clothe of golde. And the vtter parte of the garmentes were powdered with castels, & sheses of arrowes of fyne doket gold. The vpper partes of their hosen of lyke sewte and facion, the nether partes were of Scarlet, poudred with tymbrelles of fyne golde, on their heades bonets of Damaske, syluer flatte wouen in the stole, and thereupon wrought with gold, and ryche fetheirs in them, all with visers. After them entred vi. ladyes, wherof twoo were appareyled in Crymosyn satyne and purpull, embowdered with golde and by vynyettes, ran floure delices of golde, with marueylous ryche & straunge tiers on their heades. Other two ladyes in Crymosyne & purpull, made like long slops enbroudered and fret with gold after antique fashion: and ouer that garment was a short garment of clothe of golde scant to the knee facioned like a tabard all ouer, with small double rolles, all of flatte golde of Damaske, fret with frysed golde, and on their heades skayns and wrappers of Damaske golde with flatte pypes, & strauinge it was to beholde. The other two ladies were in kyrtels of Crymosyne and purpul satyn, enbroudered with a vynet of Pomegrāneltes of golde, all the garmētes cut compasse wyse, hauyng but demy sleues, and naked doune from the elbowes, and ouer their garmentes were vochettes of pleasantes, rouled with Crymsyne veluet, and set w letters of golde lyke Carectes, their heades roulded in pleasauntes and typpers lyke the Egipcians, enbroudered with gold. Their faces, neckes, armes & bandes, coueied with tyne pleasaunce blacke. Some call it Lumberdynes, which is merueylous thine, so that thesame ladies semed to be nygrost or blacke Mores. Of these foresayed. vi. ladyes, the lady Mary, sister vnto the kyng was one, the other I name not. After that the kynges grace and the ladies had daunsed a certayne tyme they departed euery one to his lodgyng.

In this yere kyng Henry the. vii. his executours made restitution of great sommes of money, to many persons taken against good consciēce to the sayde kynges vse, by the forenamed Empson and Dudley.

This yere also came Ambassadors from the kyng of Arragō and Castell into this Realme, who were hyghly entertayned and royally receyued, and repayred muche to the Courte. It happened on a daye, that there were certayn noble men made a wager to runne at the rynge, and parties were taken, and whych partye atteyned or toke awaye the ringe oftenest with a certayne courses, should wyne the wager. Wherof, the kynges grace hearing, offered to be on the one partye with. vi. companions. The Ambassadors hearynge therof, were muche desirous to see thys wager tried, and specially the Ambassadors of Spaigne, who had neuer seen the kyng in harneys. At the daye apointed, the king was mounted on a godly Courser, trapped in purpull veluet cutte, the inner syde wherof was wrought with flatte golde of Damaské in the stoole, and the veluet on the other syde cut in letters. So that & gold appered as though it had been embroudered with certayne reasons or poyses. And on the Veluet betwene the letters were fastened, castels and sheses of arrowes of doket golde, with a garmēt the sleues compased ouer hys harneys, and his bases of thesame worke, with a great plume of fethers on his head peace, that came doune to the arson of his sadell, and a great company of fiesh gentelmen, came in with his grace rycheley armed and decked, with many other right gorgeously appareyled, the trōpettes before them, Goodly to beholde, wherof many straungers, but specially the Spagniardes much reioysed, for they had neuer seen & kyng before that tyme armed.

On the other syde came in an other bende of gentelmen, freshly appareyled, and pleasaunt to beholde, all appareyled in clothe of golde, chakered with flatte golde of Damaske, and powdered with Roses. and so euery man ranne, but to conclude, the pryce was geuē vnto the king, euery man did runne xii courses, the kyng did beare awaye the rynge. v. tymes and atteyned it iii. & these courses thus fynished, & Spanish Ambassadors desyred to haue some of the badges or deuises, whiche were on the kynges trapper: his grace therof knowing, commaunded Euery of them to take therof what it pleased them, who in effect toke all or the more parte for in the beginning they thought that they had bene counterfeit, and not of golde.

In this yere from diuers Realmes and Countreys came many Ambassadors, of Fraunce, Denemarke, Sootlande, and other Realmes, whych were highly enterteyned.

¶ THE. II. YERE.

ON May daye, than next folowyng in the. ij. yere of his reygne, hys grace beyng yonge, and wyllyng not to be idell, rose in the mornynge very early to fetche May or grene bows, hym self freshe and, rycheley appareyled, & clothed all his Knyghtes, Squyers and Gentelmen in whyte Satyn, and all hys garde and yomen of the Croune in white saicenet. And so went euery mā with his bowe and arrowes shotyng to the wood, and so repared again to the Courte, euery man with a grene bough in his cappe, and at his retornyng, many bealyng of his gooyng a Mayng, were desirous to se hym shote, for at that tyme hys giace shotte as strong and as greate a length as any of his garde. There came to his grace a certayn man with bowe and arrowes and desyied his giace to take the muster of hym, and to se hym shote, for at that tyme hys grace was contented, the man put his one fote in his bosome, and so did shote, and shote a very good shote, and wel towardes his marke, wherof not onely his grace but all other greatly merueyled. So the kyng gaue hym a rewaid for his so doynge, whiche person afterwarde of the people and of them in the courte was called, tote in bosome.

Thesame yere in the feast of Pentecoste, holden at Grenewyche, that is to say the Thursday in thesame weke, hys grace with two other with hym chalenged all commers, to fighte with them at the barriels with targout and casting y s pere of viii fote long, and that done his grace with the sayde two aydes to fight euery of them xii. strokes with twohanded swordes, with and against all comers, none except beyng a gentelmā, where the kyng behaued hymselfe so wel, and deliuered hymselfe so valiauntly by his hardy prowes and greate strength that the prayse and laude was geuen to his grace, and his aydes: notwithstanding that diuers valyaunt and strong persons had assayled hym and his aydes.

From thence the whole Courte remoued to Wyndesore, than begynnyng his progresse, exercisyng hym self daily in shotyng, singng daūsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, playng at the recorderis, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, makyng of halettes, & dyd set. ii. goodly masses, euery of them fyue partes, whiche were songe oitētimes in hys chapel, and afterwarde in diuerse other places. And whan he came to Okyng, there were kept both lustes and Turneys. the rest of thys progresse was spent in huntyng, hawkyng and shotyng.

The kyng beyng thus in hys progresse harde euery daye more and more complayntes of Empson and Dudley, wherfore he sent wryttes to the Shyryfes of London, to put them in execution, and so the xvii day of August, they were both behedded at the Towre hyl, and their bodies buried and their heades

Empson and  
Dudley be-  
hedded.

The sayde progresse finished, his grace, y Quene, with all their whole trayne, in the month of October folowyng, remoued to Grenewyche. The kyng not mynded to se yong Gentelmen, vnexpert in marciall feates, caused a place to be prepared within the parke of Grenewyche for the Quene and the ladies to stande and se the fighte with battaill axes that should be done there, where the king hym self armed, faught with one Gyot a gentelman of Almayne, a talle man, and a good man of armes. And than aftei they had done, they marched alwayes two and two togethers, and so dyd their teates and enterprises euery man very well. Albeit, it happened the sayde Gyot to fight with syr Edward Haward, which Gyot was by hym stryken to the grounde.

The morow after this enterpriise done, the kyng with the Quene came to the Towre of London. And to thentent that there should no displeasure nor malice be borne by any of those Gentelmen, which fought with the axe agaynst other. The kyng gaue vnto the a certayn summe in golde, valewed at. cc. marke, to make a banket amongst themselves



with all- The whiche banket was made at the Fishmongers Halle in Teames strete, where they all met to the number of. xxiij, all appareyled in one sute of livery, after Almain fashion, that is to say, their vtter garmentes all of yealow Satyne, yealow hosen, yealow shoes, gyrdels scaberdes, and bonettes with yealow fethers, their garmentes & hosen all cutte and lyned with whyte Satyn, and their scaberdes wounde about with satyne. After their banket ended, they went by torche light to the Towre, presentinge themselves before the kynge, who toke pleasure to beholde them.

From thence, the. viii. daye of Nouember, his grace remoued to Rychemond, and willed to be declared to all noble men and gētelmen, that his grace with two aides, that is to wit mayster Charles Brandon, and mayster Compton, duiyng two dayes would answer al commers with spere at the Tylt one daye, and at turney with swordes, the other.

And to accomlishe this enterpryce the. xiii. daye of Nouember, hys grace armed at all peces with his two aydes entred the feelde, their bases and trappers were of clothe of golde, set with redde roses, ingreyled with gold of brouderye. The counter parte came in freshly, appareyled euery man after his deuise. At these lustes the king brake more staues then any other, and therfore had the pryce. At the Turney in likewyse, the honor was his. The second night were diuerse straungers of Maximilian the Emperours court, and Ambassadors of Spayne with ij. kyng at supper: when they had supped, the kyng willed them to go into the Quenes chamber, who so did. And in the meane season, the kynge with. xv. other appareled in Almayne Iackettes of Crymosyne, & purple Satyne, with lōg quartered sleues, with hosen of thesame sute, their bonettes of whyte veluet, wrapped in flat golde of Damaske, with visers and white plumes, came in with a nommery, and after a certayne tyme that they had played with the Quene and the straungers, they departed. Then sodenly entred. vi. mynstrels, rychely appareled, playng on their instrumentes, and then folowed. xiiii. persones Gentelmen, all appareyled in yealow Satyne, cut like Almaynes, bearyng torches. After thē came. vi. disguised in whyte Satyne and grene, embroudered and set with letters and castels of fyne golde in bullion, the garmentes were of straunge facion, with also straunge cuttes, euery cutte knytte wyth poyntes of fyne golde and tassels of the same, their hosen cutt and tyed in likewyse, their bonettes of clothe of syluer, wounde with golde. Fyist of these. vi. was the kyng, the erle of Essex, Charles Brandon, syr Edward Hawarde, syr Thomas Kneuet, & syr Hēry Guylforde. Then parte of the Gētelmen bearing torches departed, and shortly returned, after whome came in. vi. ladyes appareled in garmentes of Crymosyn Satyn embroudered and traussed with cloth of gold, cut in Pomegranettes and yokes, strynged after the facion of Spayne. Then the sayde. vi. men daūced with these. vi. ladies and after that they had daūced a season, the ladies toke of the mens visars, wherby they wer known: Wherof the Quene and the straungers mōch praised the kyng, and ended the pastime.

It is to be noted that at this tyme the Quene was great with childe, and shortly after this pastyme, she toke her chamber at Richemond, for the whiche cause the kynge kept his Christmas there. And on Newyeres day, the first day of Ianuary, the Quene was deliuered of a Prince to the great gladnes of the realme, for the honour of whom, fyers were made, and diuers vessels with wyne, set for suche as woulde take therof in certayne streates in London, and generall processions therupon to laude God. As touchynge the preparacion of the Princes Christening, I ouerpasse, whiche was honorable done, whose godfathers at the font were the Archbishop of Caunterbury, and the erle of Surrey. Godmothei the lady Katheryne Countesse of Deuonshire, daughter to kynge Edward the fourth

Agaynste the. xii. daye of the Epiphanie at nighte, before the banket in the Hall at Richemond, was a pageaūt deuised like a mōutayne, glisteringe by night, as though it had bene all of golde and set with stones, on the top of the which mountayne was a tree of golde, the braunches and bowes frysed with gold, sprēdyng on euery side ouer the mountayne, with Roses and Pomegarnettes, the which mountayne was with vices brought vp to-  
wardes

wardes the kyng, & out of thesame came a ladye, appareiled in cloth of golde, and the chyl-  
dren of honor called the Henchemen, whiche were freshly disguised, and daunced a Morice  
before the kyng. And that done, recntred the moūtaine and then it was drawn backe, and  
ther was the wassaill or banquet brought in, and so brake vp Christmas.

Shortly after, and before the Quenes churcheinge, the kyng rode to Walsingham. The  
Quene beyng Churched or purified, the kyng and she remoued from Rychemonde to West-  
minster, where was preparacion for a solempne Iustes in the honor of the Quene, the kyng  
being one, and with him thre aydes: his grace beyng called *Cure loial*, & lorde William erle  
of Deuonshire, called *Bon voloure*, Sir Thomas Kneuet named *Bon espoir*, Sir Edwarde  
Neuile, called *Valaunt desire*, whose names were set vpon a goodly table, and the table  
hanged in a tree, curiously wrought, and they were called *Les quater Chualers de la forrest  
saluigne*, these foure to runne at the tilte against all cōmers, with other certayne Articles  
cōprised in the said table

A place in the Pallayce was prepared for the kyng, and also the Quene, rychely hanged  
the inner parte with cloth of golde, and the vtter with ryche clothe of Arras. These  
Iustes beganne the xiii daye of February. After that, that the Quene with her trayne of  
ladyes had taken their places, into the Pallays was conueyed a pageaūt of a great quantite,  
made like a forest with rockes, hilles and dales, with diuers sundrie tices, floures, lathornes,  
ferne and grasse, with six forsters, stādyinge within thesame forrest, garnysed in cotes and  
hodes of grene Veluet, by whome lay a great number of speres, all the trees, herbes &  
floures, of thesame forrest were made of grene Veluet, grene Damaske, and silke of diuers  
colours, Satyn and Sercenet. In the middes of this foirest was a castell standing, made of  
golde, and before the Castel gate sat a gentelman freshly appareiled, makyng a garlande of  
Roses for the pryce. This forrest was drawn, as it were by strength of twoo great beastes, a  
Lyon and an Antelop, the Lyon floryshed all ouer with Damaske golde, The Antelop was  
wrought all ouer with siluer of Damaske, his beames or hornes & tuskes of golde: these  
beastes were led with certayne men appareiled like wilde men or woodfouses, then bodies,  
heddes, faces, handes, and legges, couered with grene Sylke flosshed. On either of the sayde  
Antelop and Lyon, sate a ladye richely appareiled, the beastes were tyed to the pageant  
with greate chaynes of golde, as horses be in the carte. When the pageant rested before  
the Quene, the forenamed foirsters blew their hornes, then the deuise or pageant opened on  
all sides, and out issued the foresayd foure knyghtes, armed at all peeces, euery of them a  
sper in his hande on horsebacke with great plumes on their heddes, their basses and trappers  
of clothe of gold, euery of them his name embroudered on his basse and trapper. On the  
other parte with great noyse, aswell of Trompettes as of Diōmes entred into the felde,  
The erle of Essex, the lord Thomas Hawarde with many other cleane armed, their trappers  
and basses all of Cymosyn Satyn enbroudered with braunches of Pomegarnettes of golde,  
and posies wyth many a freshe Gentelmen, rydyng before them, their fotemen also well  
appareiled. And so the Iustes beganne, and endured all that daye.

The morow beyng the xiii. daye of February after dynner, at tyme conuenient, the  
Quene with the ladyes repared to see the Iustes, the trompettes blew vpon, and in came many  
a noble nian and Gentelmā, rychely appareiled, takyng vpon their horses, after whome folowed  
certayne lordes appareiled, they and their horses in cloth of golde and russet tynsell.  
Knyghtes in clothe of golde, and russet Veluet. And a greate number of Gentelmen on  
fote, in russet satyn and yealow, and yomen in russet Damaske and yealow, all the nether  
parte of euery mans hosen Skarlet, and yealow cappes. Then came the kyng vnder a Pa-  
uilion of clothe of golde, and pūpul Veluet enbroudered, and powdered with H. and K. of  
fyne golde, the compass of the Pavilion aboue, enbroudered rychely, and valenced with flat  
golde beten in wyre, with an Imperiall croune in the top of fyne golde, his basses and trap-  
per of clothe of gold, fretted with damaske gold, the trapper pēdant to the tail. A crane  
and chafron of stele, in the frount of the chafrō was a goodly plume set full of musers or  
tumbling spangles of golde. After folowed his three aydes, euery of them vnder a Pa-



uilion of Crymosyn damaske & purple poudred with H. and K. of fyne golde, valenced and frynged with golde of damaske: on the top of euery Paulion a greate K of golde smythes worke, the number of the Gentelmen and yomen attendant a fote, appareiled in russet and yealow was. C. lxxviii Then next these Paulions came xii. chyldien of honor, sitting euery of them on a great couisei, rychely trapped and enbroudered in seuerall deuises and facions, where lacked neither brouderie nor goldsmythes worke, so that euery chylde & horse in deuice and facion was contrary to other, whiche was goodly to beholde

Then on the counter part, entred syr Charles Biadon, fyrst on horsbacke in a long robe of Russet satyn, like a recluse or a religious person and his horse trapped in the same sewte, without dromme or noyse of mynstrelsy, puttinge a byll of petition to the Quene, the effect wherof was, that if it would please her to licence hym to runne in her presence, he woulde do it gladly, and if not, then he woulde departe as he came. After that his request was graunted, then he put of hys sayde babyte, and was armed at all peces with ryche bases & hoise, also rychely trapped, and so did runne his horse to the tylte ende, where diuers men on fote appaieled in Russet satyn awaited on him next after came in alone young Henry Guylford Esquier, hym selfe and his horse in russet cloth of golde and clothe of siluer, closed in a deuice, or a pageant made lyke a Castell or a Turret, wrought of Russet sercenet florence, wrought, and set out in golde with hys worde or posye, and all his men in Russet satyn and white, with hosen to the same, and their bonettes of lyke colors, demaunding also licence of the Quene to runne, whiche to him graunted toke place at thende of the tylte. Then came nexte the Marques Dorset and syr Thomas Bulleyn, like two pilgrims from saint Iames, in taberdes of blacke Veluet, with palmers battes on their helmettes, wyth long Iacobs stauies in their handes, their horse trappers of blacke Veluet, their taberdes, hattes, & trappers set with scaloppe schelles of fyne golde, and strippes of blacke Veluet, euery strip set with a scalop shell, their seruantes all in blacke Satyn, with scalop shelles of gold in their breastes. Sone after came in the lord Henry of Buckyngham Eile of Wylshire, hym selfe and his horse appareiled in cloth of siluer, enbroudered with a posye, or his worde, and arrowes of golde in a posye, called *La maison du refuge*, made of Crymosyn damaske, broudered with Roses and arrowes of golde, on the tope a greyhonde of siluer, bearinge a tree of Pomegarnettes of golde, the braunches thereof were so large that it ouer sprede the pagent in all partes. Then entied syr Gyles Capell, syr Ronlande with many other knyghtes, rychely armed and appareiled. And thus beganne the Iustes, whiche was valauntly acheued by the kyng and his aydes, emōges whome his grace atteyned y price. These Iustes fynished, euery man with drew, the kyng was disarmed, & at time cōuenient he and the Quene heard euēsong, and that night all the Ambassadors supped with the Kyng, & had a great banquet. After supper, his grace with the Quene, lordes and ladies came into the white Hall, within the sayde Pallays, whiche was hanged rychely, the Hall was scafolded and rayled on all partes. There was an interlude of the gentelmen of his chapell before his grace, and diuers freshe songes that done, his grace called to hym a great man, or a lord of Irelād called Odonell, whome in the presence of the sayde Ambassadors, he made knyght then the mynstrels beganne to playe, the lordes and ladies beganne to daunce

And in the moste of this pastyme, when all persones were moste attētyue to beholde the daunsyng, the king was sodenly gone vnknewen to the moste parte of the people there, onesles it werc of the Quene & of certayne other. Within a littell while after his departing, the trompettes at thende of the Hall began to blow. Then was there a deuice or a pageant vpō wheles brought in, out of the which pageant issued out a gētelman rychely appareiled, that shewed, howe in a garden of pleasure there was an arber of golde, wherein were lordes and ladies, moche desirous to shew pleasure and pastime to the Quene and ladies, if they might be licenced so to do, who was answered by the Quene, how she and all other there were very desirous to see them and their pastime. then a great cloth of Arras that did hang before the same pageant was taken awaye, & the pageant brought more nere, it was curiously made and pleasaut to beholde, it was solemne and ryche, for euery post or pillar therof,

therof, was cōuered with fise golde, therin were trees of Hathorne, Eglantynes, Rosiers, Vines and other pleasaunt floures of diuers colours, with Gillofers and other herbes all made of Satyn, damaske, silke, siluer & gold, accordingly as the natural trees, herbes, or floures ought to be. In which arber were vi ladies, all appareiled in white satyn and grene, set & embrioudered full of H & K of golde, knytte together with laces of golde, of damaske, & all their garnientes were replenished with glytteryng spangles gylt ouer, on their heddēs were bonettes all opened at the iii quarters, ouerfrysed with flat gold of damaske, y orrellettes were of rolles, wrethed on lampas douck holow, so y the golde shewed thorow y lāpas douck, y fassis of their head set full of new deuised facions. in this garde, also was the kyng and v. with him appareiled in garmētes of purple satyn, all of cuttes w H. & K. euery edge garnished with frysed gold, & euery garmēt ful of poyses, made of letters of fine gold in bullyō as thicke as they might be, & euery persone had his name in like letters of massy gold. The fyist *Cuer loyall*, The secōd *Bone volure*, in the iii *Bone espoier*, The iiii. *Valyaūt desyre*, The fyft *Bone foy*, The. vi. *Amoure loyall*, their hosē, cappes, & cotes, were full of poyses & H. & K. of fine gold in bullyō, so y the groude coulede scace appere & yet was in euery voyde place spāgles of gold. Whē time was come, y sayd pageāt was brought forth into presence, & then discēded a lord & a lady by coples, & then the mynstrels, which were disguised also daūced, and the lord & ladies daūced, that that it was a pleasure to beholde

In the meane season the pagiaunt was conueyed to the ende of the place, there to tary till the daunces were finished, and so to haue receyued the lordes and ladies againe, but sodanly the rude people ranne to the pagent, and rent, tare, and spoyled the pagent, so that the lord Stuard nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, excepte they shoulde haue foughten and drawen bloude, and so was this pagent broken.

After the kyng and his cōpaignions had daūced, he appointed the ladies, gentelwomen, and the Ambassadors to take the letters of their garmentes, in token of liberalitie, which thing the common people perceyuyng ranne to the kyng, and stripped hym into his bosen and dublet, and all his companions in likewise. Syr Thomas Kneuet stode on a stage, and for all his defence he lost his apparell. The ladies likewise were spoyled, wherfore the kynges garde came sodenly, and put the people backe, or els as it was supposed more inconuenience had ensued. So the kyng with the quene & the ladies returned to his chamber, where they had a great banquet, and all these hurtes were turned to laughyng and game, and thought that, all that was taken away was but for honoi, and larges and so this triumph ended with myrthe and gladnes. At this banquet, a shipman of London caught certayn letters which he soule to a goldsmith for: in lxxxxviii. by reason wherof, it appeared that the garmentes were of a great value.

After this great ioy came sorowfull chaunce, for the young Prince, which was borne vpon Neweyeres daye last past, vpon the xxii daye of February, beyng then the euē of saint Mathy, departed this world at Rychemonde, and from thense was caryed to Westmynster, and buried.

The kyng lyke a wyse prynce, toke this dolorous chaunce wonderous wysely, and the more to comfort the Quene, he dissimuled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardely but the Quene lyke a naturall woman, made much lamentacion, how be it, by the kynges good perswasion and behauiour, her sorowe was mytigated, but not shortlye. This yere also in the moneth of Februarie, came frō kyng Ferdinādo, the kynges father in law, and kyng of Arragon and Castell certayne ambassadours, whiche made request to the kyng, on the behalfe of the kyng their mayster, to haue ayde of the kyng of xv C Archers, with valyaunt Capitaynes to gouerne and conduyte them. For his entent was to make waire on the Moores, beyng Infideles and enimes to Gods law. The kyng and his counsail hearing this request, thoughte it much honorable to ayde a Chistian Prynce, and in especiall his frende and father in lawe, agaynste the Infideles enemyes to Chistes lawe, wherfore the kyng gently graunted them their request. When tydinges were spread in the court of this

ioiney



ioiney agaynst the infideles, the lorde Thomas Darcye, knyght of the order of the gartier, made hūble suyte to the kyng, to be capitayne general of that Crewe or armye. The kyng and hys counsayll for his great valiauntnes and approued wysedome graunted his request: many lordes & knyghtes made suyte to be in thesame iorney, but the kyng answered them, & he retayned them still for other greater considerations and purposes. There were appointed to go with the sayd lord Darcie, lord Antony Grey, brother to the Marques Dorset, Henry Guyldeforde, Westō, Broune, Wiham Sydney, Esquyers of the kynges house, syr Robert Cōstable, syr Roger Haystynge, and syr Raufe Elderkare, and diuers other gentelmē to be capitaynes. The lord Darcie and all the other capitaynes toke their leue of the kyng, and went into their countreys to prouide for all thinges, mete and necessarie for the voiage.

The kyng this tyme was moche entysed to playe at tennes and at dice, which appetite, certain craftie persons about him perceauyng, brought in Frenchmen and Lombardes, to make wages with hym, & so he lost much money, but when he perceyued their craft, he exchuyd their compaignie, and let them go. The kyng beyng lustye, young, & coragious, greatly delited in feates of chyualrie, in so much that he made a chalenge of Iustes, agaynst all cōmers to be proclaimed at his mannoure of Grenewyche, to be holden there the. iii. first dayes of May then next ensuyng, whiche noble courage, all yonge persones highly praysed, but the auncient fathers moch doubted, considering the tender youth of the kyng, and diuers chaunces of horses and armure in so much that it was openly spoken, that stele was not so strong, but it might be broken, nor no horse coulde be so sure of fote, but he may fall: Yet for all these doubttes, the lusty prince proceeded in his chalenge.

The first daye of Maye the kyng accompanied with many lusty Batchelers, on greate and well doyng horses rode to the wodde to fetch May, where a man might haue seen many a horse raysed on highe with galope, turne and stoppe, meruaylous to behold. where he and in other as syr Edward Haward, Charles Brandon, and Edward Neuell, which were challengers with the kyng, shiffted them selves into cotes of grene Satyn, garded with Crymosyn Veluet. On the other parte the Earles of Essex, of Deuenshyre, the Marques Dorset, the lorde Haward, were all in crymosyn Satyn, garded with a pouced garde of giene Veluet and as they were returning on the Hyll, mete with them a shippe vnder sayle. The master hayled the kyng and that noble compaignie, & sayde that he was a Maryner, and was come from many a straunge porte, & came hither to se if any dedes of armes were to be done in the countrey, of the whiche he might make report therof in other countreys. An Heraulde demaunded the name of his shippe, he answered she is called *Fame*, and his laden with good *Renoune*. Then sayde the Heraulde, if you wil bring your shippe into the bay of *Hardines*, you must double & poynt of *Gentilnes*, and there you shall se a compaignie that will medle with your merchaundise. Then sayd the kyng, sythen Renowne is their merchaundise, let vs bye it and we can. Then the shippe shofte a peale of Gonnes, and sayled forth before the kynges compaignie, ful of flaggies and banners, till it came to the tylte yearde. At after nonne, the kyng & his thre felowes entred into the felde, their bardes and bases of Crymosyn and blew Veluet, cut in quadiāt cuttes, embroudered full of Pomgranettes, and all the wayteis, in sylke of thesame colour. The other partie were in Crymosyn Satyn and giene Veluet. Then began the trompettes to sounde, and the horses to runne that many a spere was brast, and many a great stripe geuen and for a trueth the kyng exceded in nūber of staues all other, euery day of the. iii. dayes. Wherfore on & iii. day, the Queene made a great bāket to the kyng, & all them that had Iusted. & after the bāket done, she gaue & chefe price to the kyng, the. ii. to the Erle of Essex, the. iii. to & erle of Deuenshyre, & the. iii. to the lord Marques Dorset. Then & Herauldes cried, my lordes, for your noble feates in armes, God sende you & loue of your ladies & you most desire.

¶ THE. III. YERE.

THE king euer desirous to serue Mars, begā another Iustes y xv day of y sayd moneth: y kyng & his bend were all in grene sylke, & y eile of Essex & his bend in blew, garded with gold, & all y speies were paynted of thesame colours. There was good rüning & many a spere brast, but for all the sport euey man feared, lest some yll chaūce might happē to the kyng, & fayne would haue had him a loker on, rather then a doer, & spake therof as much as thei durst but his couiage was so noble that he would euer be at the one ende.

In this passe tyme, the lord Darcy & other appoynted to the vyage agaynst the Moores of Barbaria (at the instance of Dōpēfernādo father to the Quene) made suche diligence, that they and all their people were ready at Plymouth by the middes of May, and there mustered their souldiers before the lorde Broke, and other the kynges commissioners. The sayde lord Darcie, as capitayne geneall ordeyned for hys Prouost Marshal, Henry Guylford Esquier, a lusty yongmā, and well beloued of the kyng, Then, when the winde serued to their purpose, and all the armye were set aborde in their shippes, which were vytaled and prest at all poyntes, the Capitayne and other departed out of Plymmouth hauē, the monday in the Rogaciō weke with iii shippes Royal and the wind was so fauourable to them, that the firste day of Iune, beyng the euen of the feast of Pentecost, he arrived at the porte of Caleys in Southspayne, and immediatly by the aduse of his counsayll, dispatched to the kyng of Arragon two Gentulmen, called Ihon Barthelmew, and William Symonde, with letters to certefie the king and his counsayll of their arriuall, and what payne they had taken to come to his countrey, in fulfilling the kyng their masters commaundement. The messengers did so moch that they came to the kyng, beside the citie of Cyuill, where he then lay, and declared to hym how the lord Darcie by the kyng their masters apoyntement, was come thither with. xvi. C. archers mo, according to the sayd kyng of Arragons request, and laye still at Caleys to know his pleasure. The kyng of Arragon answered them gentelly, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from hys most best beloued sonne were welcome, and hartely thanked them of theyr paynes, and prayed the messengers to retorne to their capitaine shewing hym that the kyng in all haste would sende his counsaill to him, and so they departed from the kyng, and made reporte to the lord Darcie, which kept his shippe in great estate, and would not lade, but only suffered such as were sicke and feble, and few other to go a lande.

The Englishmē which went a lande, fell to drinking of hote wyne and were scace masters of them selves, some ranne to the stewes, some brake heggies, and spoyled orchardes & vyneyardes, and orynges before they were ripe, and did many other outrageous dedes: wherfore y chefe of the toune of Caleys, came to complaine to the lorde Darcie in hys shippe, which sent forth his Prouost Marshal, which scacelie with payne refrayned the yomen archers, they were so hote and wilfull, yet by cōmaundement and policie, they were all brought on borde on their shippes.

Saterdaye the. viij. daye of Iune, the Bishop of / & other of the kynges counsayll, arriued at Caleys, and there abode tyll wednesdaye, beyng the euen of Corpus Christi, at which daye the lord Capitayne toke lande, and was honorably receyued of the kyng of Arragons counsayll, and on the morrow highly fested at dynner and supper. And after supper, the bishop declared the kyng of Arragons pleasure sayng: my lord Capitayne, the kyng my master in moste humble wyse geueth you thanks for your greate paynes and trauell, as moche as though he proceded in this pretensed enterpryce, but he with the aduse of his counsaill circumspectly, considering the suertie of his awne realmes and dominions hathe perfectie knowlege, that his aduersarye of Fiaunce, prepareth to inuade hys cōtreis in hys absence. wherfore he intending not to leue his Realmes, voyde of men and shippes (whiche might be a great comfort to his enemies to inuade). & therefore he



hathe taken an abstinence of warre with the Moores tyll another time. Well saith the lorde Darcie, sythe it is fully concluded that we shall do no seruice to your master, we maye not saye agaynst his determination, cōsidering we were sent to him, but sūrely it is agaynst my hart, which ever hath desired to fight agaynst Gods enemyes, but with your conclusion, I and all myne must be content. You do as you should do, said the Bishop, and the kyng my master geueth like thanks to the kyng his sonne, and to you all, as though he had pceded in his iorney. And you shall haue wages for all your souldiers. and if it shall please you to come to the court, you shall receyue high thanks of the kyng, & such chere as there can be made you. That is not my desire sayed the lorde Darcie, for my men shall not say that I brought them out of their cōtrie, and now to do my selfe pleasure, leaue them without an hēdde, as men of men forsaken. nay nay my lorde, the kynges banket is not my desyre. So the lordes departed for y night, & the next day in the morning was sent wages, to conuict thaim into England, with diuerse giftes geuen to the lord Darcie, & other gentle men. Yet y notwithstanding, he was highly displeased, how beit like a wise man he dissimuled & matter

The same daie, beyng the. xiii. daie, of Iune and Fridaie, an Englishe manne desired of a maide, that had been at the Bakers to bye bread for her maistres store and not to sell, to haue a lofe for his money, she answered, that she had none to sell, he said he would haue one, and folowed her and when she perceiued that, she cried, a force a force, the tounes men of Caleis, or Caleis males, sodainly rong their common bell, and all the toun went to barneis, and the fewe Englishmen that wer on land wēt to their bowes. The Spaniardes cast dartes, and sore anoyed and hurt the Englishmen and the likewise hurt and slew diuerse Spaniardes. Then the Capitaines of Englande for their part, and the lordes of the Counsaill for their parte, toke suche pain, that the fraie was ceased, and but one Englishman slain, and of the Spaniardes diuerse slain.

Then all Englishe men were commaunded to go aborde with their shippes. The lordes of Spayne came to the lorde Darcie, sayng Sir we praie you, sithe you knowe the kynges pleasure and haue your wages, that you with all your people will go with your shippes awaie, for we perceiue you owe vs some displeasure. Then he boldly answered sayng, that he would all the worlde knew, that he was as able to conduit his menne homewarde, as he was to bryng them out of their countrey, without the kyng of Arragōs wages, (sayng his honor) and as for the fraie, it was against his will and without his knowlege and so that night he and all his men, went aborde with their shippes.

When this iorney was come to this poynt, Henry Guilforde, Westō, Browne, and Willyam Sidney young and lustie Esquires, desired license to see the Courte of Spayne, whiche was to them graunted. and then ther departed from Caleis, and came to the Courte of the kyng of Arragon, where ther wer highly entertained, & he dubbed Henry Guildford, Weston, and Browne knightes, and gaue to sir Henry Guildforde, a Canton of Granado, & to sir Westō, and Browne, an Egle of Sciele on a cheffe to the augmentation of their armes. William Sidney, so excused himself, that he was not made knight, and when ther had sojourned there a while, they tooke their leaue of the kyng and quene, & so returned through Fraunce into England, where they demained theselves so y ther had the kynges fauoure, notwithstanding it was thought contraiy.

Duryng whiche seāson the lorde Darcie, the. xvii. daie of Iune made saile towarde Englande, and arriued at Plimmouth, and came to the kyng at Wyndsoie, and in August thus ended this voyage.

Duryng the tyme that the Lorde Darcie was in Spayne, the Ladie Margaret Duches of Sauoy, & daughter to Maximilian themperor, and gouernor of the countreis of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, Zelāde and other the lowe countreis apperteynyng, to Charles the yong prince of Castell, then beeyng of tendre age, sent in thende of Mau to the kyng of England to haue. xv. c. archers, to aide her against y duke of Geldres which sore troubled the countreis aforsaid. The kyng tenderly regarding the request of so noble a lady, & also because there

was

was a communicaciō hangyng at their tyme of marriage, to he had betwene the young Prince Charles, and the lady Marie his sister, moste iently graūted her request, and appoynted sir Edward Pounynges knight of the garter, and cōptroller of his house, a valiant capitain & a noble warrior, to be the lieutenaut & conductor of the said xv c archers, whiche accopaignied with the lord Clyntō his sonne in lawe, sir Matthew Broune, Sir Ihon Dighby, Ihon Werton, Richard Weithrill, Sherley Esquires & diuerse tall gentlemen and yomen, well knownen men and tried, to the said nombre of xv c toke their shipping a mile beside Sādwich, the xviii. daie of Iuly, & landed at Armew the xix. daie, not without some trouble by reason of a litle storme, & sent Lancastre Herauld to aduertise the lady of their arriuall, which sent to thē lord Bresly knight of the Toyson, and diuerse other to welcome thē, and so conduited thē to Barow, where the lorde of the toune made them greate there. And the same day at after noone, came the lady Margaret to Barow, where ſy capitain with all his vnder capitaines receiued her at the gate, she welcomed thē hartely, & so she did all the souldiers whiche stode along reinged in the strete. And on saterdaie beyng the xxvi. daie of Iuly, she sawe all the cōpaignie shote, & the same night the capitain and other toke his leaue of her, & the morowe beeyng sondaie departed to Rosindale, and so on thursday the last daie of Iuly came to Buldike, & that daie the ladie Margaret came thither. And the next day, the whole armie of Almaines, Fleinynges, and other apperteinyng to the said lady, met with thenglishemen without Buldike, where thei set furth in ordre, the lady Margaret being present which toke her leue of all the capitaines and departed to Buldike, whome sir Edwards Pounynges conduited to the toune gate, and after returned to thaimie / Tharmie to the nombre of x M of the ladies part, & xv c Englishmen passed through Biabant, & came the x daie of August beyng s Laurēce daie, before a litle castle stādyng on the nigher side of the riuer of Mase called Brymuoyst strongly bulwarked, in the whiche wer c. men belongyng to the bastarde of Gelders, with a capitain called Lankesell van Gelder, whiche robbed & spoyled all the parties of Brabāt. Thei within shot fierisely at tharmie as it passed by, and did them litle hurt. The same night Thomas Hert chief gouernor of thēglish part made his approch of his ordinaūce, & in the morning bet doune as much as might be beaten doune for the bulwarkes, & the next daie beyng the xi. of August the castle was assaulted valiantly, & takē by force, & the capitain and lxxx & odde men wer slain & xix taken, of the which xi were hanged, Ihon Mortō capitain of e Englishmē, & one Guiot anesquire of Burgoyne cryyng Burgoyne S George. there was one Englishman slain and no more.

On thursdaie the. xiiii. daie, tharmie feried ouer the riuer of Mase in to the land of Geldres, and there sojourned at a litle churche, of our ladie daie the Assumpcion that night, and the nexte daie thei came to a toune called Aiske, belongyng to the Bastarde Geldres, where all the people wer fled, and there was vndermined and caste doune, a litle castle standyng of the said riuer newly edified.

The xx. of August thei brent the toune of Aiske, and brent al the cōntrey about, and came at last to a toune called Straulle, a strong toune double diked & walled, and within it iii C lx good men of warre beside the inhabitauntes, whiche at the firste comyng shot Gonnes fierisely and hurte many, and there they planted their siege.

Sir Edward Pounynges, whiche euer was in the forward with his archers, caused fagottes to be made, and trenches to be digged and cast and his men wer so diligent, that his trench in the morning approached so nye the toune gate, that thei within were halie dismayed and desired to speake with the lordes, and so thei did. And on. S Barthelmewes eyen, were sixe men sent out of the toune to treate, and sixe hostages deliuered for them, and then it was agreed that all men of warre should departe with a white sticke in then handes, & to forfet all other thynges, and all the toune dwellers to bee prisoners at the will of the Prince of Castle. The next daie, after the men of warre were departed, erly in the morning sir Ihon Dighby knight, and Ihon Norton Esquire, toke possession of the toune with. CC. Englishe menne: and at after None the Admirall of Flaunders, sir Edward Pounynges, & the



lorde Discilstain, chief capitaines of tharmye, with all other noble men, wit Trüpettes, & Arthoys and Lancastre, and Ostriche, officers at armes in their coates of armes before them: gorgeously appareled, entered the toune, and in the toune hall, toke thoth of thinhabitantes, and y night returned to their armie.

The. xxvi. daie of the same moneth, sir Ihon Dighby, and Ihon Norton, came out of the toune with all their Englishmen, and for them entered a captain called Yonker Otes, with CC. l Almaines, to kepe there a garrison: the whiche daie the armie went before Venlow & sent Artoys with a trumpet to somon the toune: but thei would not here them speke, but shot gunnes at them. The. xxviii. daie, the armie removed vnto the Northside of Venlow, and part went ouer the water and made trenches to the water. The capitain of the Englishmen made trenches euen to the toune dicke, and the artillerie bet doune the towers of the walles, and euery daie was some skirmishe. And the. xxix. daie as certain Englishmen went a foraging, it happened x. of sir Ihon Dighbys men to go. v. mile from the armie, and to mete with. xxiii. horsmen of Geldres which set on them, but they withdrew themselves into a litle garden, and shot at their enemies, and slewe two horsmen and v. horses, gauled and hurte many of the, discomfited the remnant, and brought two greate horses to tharmie, and euery man was sore hurte, but in no perell of death thāked be God. The siege thus continuing, not without skirmishes. xxix. daies sir Edward Pownynges, sir Ihon Dighby dined with monsire de Rony and all other Englishe capitaines, and petie Capitaines, dined with an Almain called Clene Anderlyne, except sir Mathew Broune, and Ihon Fogge whiche kepthe the felde, and Richard Wethill whiche kepthe the trenche and was sore besette: and in the dinner tyme, thei of the toune issued out on thenglishmen and hurt and toke, one Sheldwiche of Cāterbury prisoner, and one Miles. and thenglishmen hurt and slew many of theim, and compelled them to returne by force of Arrowes, and so thei reculed with one prisoner. For Miles, whiche was led betwene two of the Gelders, perceiuyng rescue comyng, after as he came to an hill, thrust the two Gelders doune the hill before him, and so ranne back to his compaignie, which thyng the two Gelders that led him perceiuyng ranne to Sheldwiche and slew him. The Burgonions perceiuyng, that sir Edward Pownynges was displeased with this chaunce, exhorted him with his menne to assault the toune, whiche, by thādouse of bastard Emery answered that the cause was theirs, and not his Masters: And if he gatte the toune by assault, the kyng his Master should not haue it, but if they would geue the assaulte, he would ioyne with them, whiche thing they would not do, because thei had kinsemen and frendes, within the toune: sayyng one daie a fewe Almaines assaulted a Bulwerke, and wer slain and taken.

The Englishe capitaines perceiuyng that thei laye there in vain cōsideryng the strength of the toune, and also how their armie was not in nombre to environ the toune, for euer thei had one Gate open, wrote to the kyng, which willed them with all spede to returne; and so thei did.

Sir Edward Pownynges went to the Courte of Burgoyne, where he was highly entertained of the young prince, & the Lady Margaret his aunte, and receiued great thākes and giftes for his pain. And other capitaines, as sir Ihon Norton, sir Ihon Fogge, sir Ihon Scot & sir Thomas Lind, were made knightes of the Prince. And the lady Margaret, perceiuyng the coates of the souldiers to be foule with lying on the ground, (for euery man lay not in a tent) gaue to euery yoman a cote of wollen clothe of yellowe, red, white and grene coloures, not to her lile laude and praise among thenglishmen. After that sir Edward Pownynges had ben highly feasted, and more praised of all men for his valiantnes, and good ordre of his people, he returned with his cōpaignie into England, and had lost by warre and sickenes, not fully an C. persones.

When the Englishmen were departed, Geldres issued out daily, and made skirmishes and fraies with the Burgonions, and asked for their Archers, and Winter beganne sharply to approche, and by aboundaunce of rayne, the riuier of the Masse roase so high, that the Trenches were drowned, and of force men were compelled to remoue. And when the

Capitaynes considered the strengthe of the Towne, howe it was fortified, victayled and manned, and howe by the rysing of the Ryuer it was made stronger: thei determined to raise the Siege and too burne and destroye all the Villages and Townes aboute, of the whiche tounes of Velow, should haue succor in winter, and to mete again at the Prime time of the yere. Thus was the siege raised, and the countrey wasted and spoyled, and then euery captain returned home.

In Iune the kyng beyng at Leicester, tidynges wer brought to him, that Andrew Barton a Scottishe manne, and a pirate of the sea, sayng that the kyng of Scottes, had warre with the Portingales, did robberye nacion, & so stopped the kynges stremes, that no merchauntes almost could passe, and when he toke thenglishemenes goodes he said they wer Portyngales goodes, and thus he haunted and robbed at euery hauens mouthe. The kyng moued greatly with this craftie pirate, sent sir Edmond Haward lord Admiral of England, and lord Thomas Haward sonne and heire to therle of Surrey, in all the hast to the sea, whiche, hastily made redy two shippes, and without any more abode, toke the sea, and by chauce of wether were seuered. The lorde Haward liyng in the Dounes, perceiued where Andrew was making toward Scotlāde, and so fast the saied lorde chased him, that he ouertooke hym, and there was a sore battaill thenglishmen wer fierce, and the Scottes defended them manfully, and euer Andrew blewe his whistell to encourage his men, yet for al that, the lord Haward and his men by cleane strength entred the mayne decke. then the Englishemen entered on all sides, and the Scottes foughte sore on the hatches, but in conclusion, Andrewe was taken, whiche was so sore wounded, that he died there: then all the remnaunte of the Scottes wer taken, with their shippe called the Lion.

At this while, was the lord Admirall in chace of the Barke of Scotlande, called Ienny Pirwyn, whiche was wont to saile with the Lion in compaignie, and so muche did he with other, that he laied him on borde, and fiercely assailed him, and the Scottes as hardy and well stomaked men them defended, but the lorde Admirall so encouraged his men, that they entered the Barke and slewe many, and toke all the other.

Thus wer these two shippes taken, and brought to Blacke Wal, the seconde daie of August, and all the Scottes wer sent to the Bishoppes place of Yorke, and there remained at the kynges charge, til othei direccion was taken for them.

After this, the kyng sent the bishop of Winchester, and certain of his counsaill, to tharchbishop of Yorkes place; where the Scottes wer prisoners. & there the bishop rehearsed to thē, wher as peace was yet betwene England and Scotland, that thei contrary to that, as theues & pirates, had robbed the kynges subiectes within his stremes, wherfore, thei had deserued to die by the law, & to be hanged at the low water marke. Then said the Scottes, we knowlege our offence, & aske mercie & not the lawe. Then a priest, which was also a prisoner said, my lordes we appele from the kinges iustice to his mercy. Then the bishop asked him, if he were auctorised by thē to say so, & thei cried al yea yea, then said he, you shal find y kynges mercy, aboue his iustice. For wher you wer ded by y law, yet by his mercy he wil reuiue you, wherfore you shal depart out of this realme within. xx daies, vpon pain of death, if you be founde after the. xx. daie, and prae for the king, and so they passed into the Countrey.

The kyng of Scottes, hearyng of the death of Andrewe of Barton, and taking of his two shippes, was wonderfull wrothe, and sent letters to the kyng, requyng restitution, according to the league and amitie. The kyng wrote with brotherly salutacions, to the kyng of Scottes, of the robberies and euill dooynges of Andrew Barton, and that it became not one Prince, to laie a breache of a league, to another Prince, in doyng Iustice vpon a pirate or thiefe, and that all the other Scottes that were taken, had deserued to dye by Iustice, if he had not extended his mercie. & with this answer, the Scottishe Herauld departed home.

Duryng this season, there began greate warre, betwene Pope Iuly, and the Frenche kyng, Loys the. xii. the occasion beganne by one Ihon Bentiuoyle, a greate lorde of Italie, whiche kepte the citee of Boloigne le Grace, from the Pope, whiche, by the aide of the Frenche kyng, gatte



gatte the saied citee, from the forenamed Ihon Bentiuoyle: but afterward because the saied Pope Iuly, tooke peace with the Venecians, the French kyng turned from the Pope, and made warre on hyin, in the behalfe of Ihon Bentiuoyle, and toke from hym again, the said citee of Boloigne.

The kyng of Englande, wrote often to kyng Loys of Fraunce, to desist from the persecutyng of the Pope, which was his fiende and confederate: to which writyng he gaue litle regard, wherefore, the king sent him woorde, to deliuer hym his lawfull enheritaunce, bothe of the Duchie of Normadie and Guyan, and the countreis of Aniw and Mayne and also of his Croune of Fraunce, els he would come with suche a power, that by fine force he would obtayn his purpose. For all these writynges, the French kyng still made warre in Italie, and the kyng could of him, haue no certain nor determinate answer. Wherefore, after greate deliberacion had, by the aduise of his counsaill, he determined to make warre on the French kyng, and his Countreis, and called to him Maximilian the Emperor, and Ferdinand kyng of Arragon, and diuerse other princes, and made preparacion, bothe by sea and by lande, and fortified his frontiers against Fraunce, and set fouth shippes to the sea for defence of his merchautes, whiche wer daily in ieeperdy, vnder a pretended peace of the French kyng, Lewes the xii.

The kyng this yere, kept the feast of Christmas at Grenewiche, wher was such abundance of viandes serued, to all comers of any honest behauior, as hath been fewe times seen. And against Newyeres night, was made in the halle a Castle, gates, towers, and dungion, garnished with artillerie, and weapon after the moste warlike fashion. and on the front of the castle, was written *le Fortresse dangerous*, and within the castle were vi Ladies, clothed in Russet Satyn, laide all ouer with leues of Golde, and euery owde, knit with laces of blewe silke and golde. On their heddes, coyfes, and cappes all of gold.

After this castle had been caried about the hal, and the quene had beheld it, in came the kyng with five other, appareled in coates, the one halfe of russet satyn, spangled with spangels of fine gold, the other halfe riche clothe of gold, on their heddes cappes of russet saun, embroudered with woikes of fine gold bullio. These vi assaulted the castle, the ladies seyng them so lustie and coragious, wer content to solace with them, and vpon farther communicacion, to yeld the castle, and so thei came doune and daunced a long space. And after the ladies led the knyghtes into the castle, and then the castle sodainly vanished, out of their sightes.

On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a xi. other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande, thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold & after the banquet doen, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei tooke their leaue and departed, and so did the Quene, and all the ladies.

The. xv daie of Ianuarij began the Parliament, where the Bisshop of Cantorburie, began his oracion with this verse, *Iusticia & pax osculate sunt*, vpon whiche, he declared how Iustice should be ministered, and peace should bee nourished, and by what meanes, Iustice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And there vpon he shewed, how the Frêche kyng would do no Iustice, in restoryng the kyng his right enheritaunce, wherefore, for lacke of Iustice, peace of necessitie must tyme to waite.

In this Parliament was graunted, twoo sitenes of the temporaltie, and of the clergie twoo dismes. Duryng which Parliament, one Newbolt yoman of the kynges Garde, whom, the kyng highly fauoured, slewe wilfully a seruaunt of my lorde Willoughbies, in the palace at Westminster, wherefore, the kyng abhorryng that deede, and setting a side al affeccion, caused him to be haged, in the Palace of Westminster, where he hong twoo daies, in example of other.

In this season, one Iherome Bonuise, whiche was borne in Luke, and was a factor in London for Merchauntes of that nacion, and had played Bankroute, and was conueighed out of the realme for debt, was now in suche fauor with Pope Iuly, that he made hym his Collector, and Proctor in Englande: and so he kept a greate porte, and resorted to the kyng and his counsaill, for the Popes affaires, (which then was sore troubled by the Frenche kyng) so that he knewe, bothe the Popes counsaill, and the kynges, and falsly and vntuly, resorted by nighte, to the Frenche Ambassadors, liying in London, and to them discouered, what the kyng and the Pope entended, which was not so closly doen, but the king knewe it: and so he was laied for, and was taken commonyng, with one of thesaid Ambassadors, vpon Londō wall at midnight, & brought to the Tower, where he remained, till by the suite of his frendes, he was deliuered, and shortly for shame, voyded the realme.

After that it was concluded, by the body of the Realme, in the high Courte of Parliament assembled, that warre should bee made on the Frenche kyng and his dominions, the kyng with all diligence caused newe shippes to be made and repaired, and rigged the old, caused Gonnes, Bowes, Arrowes, and all other artulery, and instrumentes of warre to be made, in suche nombre and quantitie, that it was wonderfull to se what thynges wer doen, bothe for sea and lande in so shorte space

The kyng of Arragon whiche also had warie with the French kyng, and hearyng that his sonne the kyng of England would make warie in Fraunce, diſ write to hym that the duchie of Guyan, was his true inheritaunce, whiche, adioyned to his cōtreie of Biskay: wherefore, if the kyng of Englande would entende to recouer his Duchy first, and send an armie of men to biskaye, and so to begin at bayon, whiche is the keye of Guyan, he would aide them with ordinaunce, horsemen, and beastes for carriages, with other necessities apperteignyng to thesame.

The kyng and his counsaill puttynge their affiaunce in the promise of the kyng of Arragon, prepared a noble armie all of footemen, and smial ordinaunce, trustyng to the kyng of Arragon for aide of horsemen and grate ordinaunce, and of thesame made capitain, the noble lorde Thomas Grey Marques of Dorset, to whoin, he assigned many other gentlemen, as you shall here after in the next yere.

### ¶ THE IIII. YERE.

THE kyng greatly studyng, to furnishe furthe his warre, whiche he had begonне against the Frenche kynge, caused sir Edwarde Hawarde his Admirall, with all diligence to take the sea, whiche, with all spede possible made ready diuerse goodly and tall shippes, as the souereigne and other to the nombre of. xviii. beside litle shippes and in his compaignie were Capitaines, sir Weston Browne, Griffith Doune, Edwarde Cobhain, Thomas Wyndham, Thomas Lucie, Willyam Puton, Henry Shirborne, Stephen Bull, George Witwange, Ihon Hopton, Willyam Gunstone, Thomas Draper, Edmund Coke, Iho Boidet, with diuerse other. When all these were shipped, they sailed to Douer, and skowred the seas, and so came before Portesmouthe, aboute the middles of Maie

The. iiij.  
yere.

The third daie of Maie, a gentleman of Flaunders called Guyot of Guy, came to the kyng, with v C Almaines all in white, whiche was cutte so small, that it could scarce hold together. After they had mustered at Blacke Heithe, the kyng made hym knight, and gaue hym a greate chayne, and a yerely pencion, and sent hym with his band to Southampton. About midde Maie, the lorde Marques and other noble men, appoynted by the kyng for the iorney of Biskay, as the Lorde Hawarde, sonne and heire to the eile of Surrey, the Lorde Broke, the Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Ferreis, the lorde Ihon, the lorde Anthony, and the lorde Leonard Grey, all three brethren to the Marques, sir Griffith App Rice, sir Morreis Barkely, sir Willyam Sandes, the Baron of Buitford, sir Richard Cornwall his brother, Willyam Huse, Iho Melton, Willyam Kyngston Esqunes, sir Henry Willoughby.



Willoughby, and diuerse other with souldiours, to the nombre of. x. M. men, came to Southampton and there mustered. To se the lordes and gentlemen, so well armed and so richely appareled in clothes of gold; and of siluer, and Veluettes of sundery colours, pounsed and embroudered, and all pete capitaines in Satin and damaske, of white and grene, and yomen in clothe of thesame coloures. The Baners, Penons, Standerdes, and Gittons, fiesh and newly painted, with sundery beastes and deuises, it was a pleasure to behold. And when sir Willyam Sandes knight, appoynted Threasoier for the waires had paid all the wages, then euery man was commaunded to his shippe. Then you should haue seen byndyng of males, and fardelles, trussyng of coffers and trussers, that no manne was idle: and so on the. xvi. daie, all the armie wei shipped in Spanishe shippes, vtailed for that iorney, and passed the Needles of Wight all thesame daie, and so did the Lorde Admirall, whiche laie abidyng the wynde at Portesmouth, and toke his course to Britain, of whō I will speke after

The wynde serued the Marques and his compaigne so well, that he with his whole armie arriued in Biskay, at a Porte called Passagh, Southe West of Fountrabie. The thirde daie of Iune, the lorde Marques and all his faire compaignie landed, and tooke the felde, and him wisely embattailed for his sauegard. The Biskaynes that brought vitails to the armie, saied to the souldiours: Sirs you bee arriued her, in trust that the kyng of Arragon will helpe you with ordinaunce and cariages, we here no preparacion that he maketh, nor neuer sent vs worde to prepare for your commyng, of the whiche wee maruell muche. These wordes ranne daily through the hoste, whiche made many men sad & to muse: and the Biskanes sore feared, least thenglishemen would destroye their countrey, because their kyng lepte not promise with them, but the Marques made suche streight Proclamation, that no souldiour durste do any iniurie to them. Within three daies after that the armie had lien in the feld, there came to him an erle, and another noble man, to welcome hym and his compaignie. Then the Lorde captain remoued his feld, and toke another place nerer Fountraby, more plenteous of water and woodde, and there pitched his felde, euery daie looking for aide of the kyng of Arragon, but he harde of none. Then he called a Counsaill, and deuised how thei might haue beastes to draw ordinaunce and cariages then one sir Ihon Stile an Englisheman, caused to be bought twoo. C. Mullettes an Asses, of suche price as the Spanyardes gayned greatly, and when they were putte to cary, they would neither here nor drave, for they were beastes which were not exercised a fore. Then the Lorde Marques muche lamented that chaunce, for if he had had redy two hundred drawyng beastes, he might naue runne a greate waie in Guian with his power, whiche then was not fortified, neither of men of warre, nor municions, nor artilarie.

The Frenchemen of Bayon, hearyng of the Englishemennes campe, made a greate askry betwene the riuier of saint Maria and Bayon. the Englishmen perceiuyng thesame, passed y riuier in good ordre of battail, al being on foote for lacke of the horsemen that the kyng of Arragon promised, and so with arrowes chased the Frenchemen on horsebackes that thei fled, and many horses foundered, and many a man was brosed or thei came to Bayon. at the whiche thenglishmen laughed & lamented. Firste, to se their cowardnes, second, to remembre what thei might haue doen, if thei had had horses mete for their purpose: yet all this notwithstanding, thei retired to their campe in suche ordre, that the Spanyardes wondered muche, bothe at their fierce coiage and sobre oide.

The kyng of Nauar, hearyng of the puissaunt armie of the English men lyng in Biskey so nere to his countrey, was sore troubled, & wondered much what the matter should meane: wherfore, he sent to the lord Marques, a bishop and diuerse other, to shewe to hym and all his counsaill, that if it pleased them, his countrey should sende them victaill, and all thynges necessarie for their mouey, and to do any other pleasure that thei could do, whiche might be to the pleasure of hym and all his armie, so y his realme should be sure of any inuaciōs to be made by his people.

The Marques beyng captain generall, with the aduise of the other Lordes and counsaill,  
muche

muche highly thanked the king of Nauar of his good wil, aide, and comfort, which thynges onely they required: and if it pleased him, that his people will and maie victaill vs, we shall not onely paie them for it, but also warraunt the passyng and repassing for vs and oures in sauetye, and that by vs no preiudice shalbee dooen to his realme, nor by our content. With which answere the kyng of Nauar was ioyous, and suffered his people to victaill, and resort to the hooste, with all thynges necessarie and belongyng to thesame, in greate windes and stormes, for that tyme happened muche wind and raine, whiche soie encombered the souldiours, that laye nightly on the bare grounde, for euery man had not a tent or pavilion, whereof some were lame, and some deffe, with other diseases.

When the armie had lien there. xxx daies, in the seconde moneth there came from the kyng of Arragon, a bisshop and other nobles of his counsaill but whē it was knowen that it was thesame bisshop that made the answere to the lorde Darcie at Caleis Males, as you haue had the last yere, then many said, he came for no good but for delaiues. but he required the lord Marques to take pacience, for shortly suche prepare should bee made, that he should see and proue, that it should be to the honor of his Master, and to his greate renoume: to whom the Marques answered, that vpon confidence of the kyng of Arragons promise that thei should lacke no beastes mete for drawyng, and horsemen, the kyng of England had sent hym and his companions thether, whereof we haue trusted sithe our frate hether commyng, whiche thynges if wee had had, we had dooen other enterprises then we haue dooen: for now we haue lien here in campe to the greate charge of our Master the kyng of England, and to no profite, and to our losse and greate hurt. For at our arriual the cōtrey of Guyan for the which we came, was vnprovided of men of warr, municions, and ordinaunce, by reason whereof (if all thynges had been accomplished of the part of your Master as we trusted) we might haue had that whiche we came for, and if our commission had not been to folowe the kyng your Masters will, as to whom we bee sent, I assure you we would haue dooen other wise or this. but now the Frenchmen haue fortified, victailed and manned their tounes, and wee haue spent tyme and dooen nothyng at all, lyngeryng for the kyng your Master, to the losse of vs and greate blemishyng of our honours.

The bisshop perceiuyng that the Englishe capitaines were couragious and discontent with their idle abode, flatteryngly desired them to tary a while for the best, for a backe enemye saied he, is to bee regarded. Then saied the lorde Marques capitain generall, if we knewe the Kynges entent, it would suffice vs. Then saied the bisshop, you shall knowe it shortly: and so he departed from the armie.

Tharmie this lyngeryng, euer desirous to be at the busines that thei came for, their victaile was muche part Garlike, and the Englishemen did eate of the Garlike with all meates, and dranke hote wyne in the hote wether, and did eate all the hote frutes that thei could gette, whiche caused their bloudde so to boyle in their belies, that there fell sicke three thousande of the flixe, and thereof died. xviii hundred men.

The lorde Marques and other capitaines perceiuyng this mischief, sent to the kyng of Arragon certain Lordes of the hooste to knowe his pleasure. The whiche answered them with gentle fashion, that the counsaill of Englande and his counsaill, had taken an ordre in all thyng of late and how the duke Dalua a greate prince, of Spain, should shortly with an armie royall ioyne with them, and so to procede in their enterprise. With whiche answere and small chere, the lordes of Englande departed, and made repoit to their capitain accordyng, whiche thought it verie sleight, but euer he regarded his Masters commaundement, and counsailed all the lordes to be content with thesame.

The armie liyng thus still, and the sickenes not slaked, the people beyng idle, some euill disposed persones saied, that euery capitain was allowed viii. d. for a common souldier, whiche was vntrue, for thei had allowed onely. vi. d. and so began together compaignies, the lordes perceiuyng this, toke with theim their trustie seruauntes, and toke the beginners of the mischief, whiche wer of the retinue of my lorde Willoughby, and put them in warde.



When thei wer arrested, other of like eul disposicion began to clike and face, whiche thyng beyng perceiued, the lorde Marques by the aduice of other capitaines caused serche to bee made, and so founde out the beginner of the mischief, whiche was deliuered to William Kyngston Esquire then Priuost Marshall, and so was put to death to the terror of all other.

Durynge the tyme that the armie laie thus lyngeryng, the Frenchmen diuerse tymes came to behold the Englishemen, and when thei sawe any part of the armie remoue toward them, mecontented thei fled and so the English archers euery daie went a forraging on the borders of Guian almoste to Bayon, and brent many pretie vilages, but euer they desired to haue tidynge of the king of Arragon, and to know what thei should do, for they wer commaunded to be ruled by them.

The Englishemen thus lyng idly abidyng the aide of the kyng of Arragon, tidynge came daily into the host, how the Duke Dalua was comyng with a great pissaunce to royne with the English army, and so to inuade Guian: the Englishe capitaines were ioyfull of these tidynge, not so muche for the aide of the Spanyardes which they litle regarded, but for the beastes for cariage of greate artillerie, whiche they brought not with them, in hope of the kyng of Arragons promys: for if thei had had beastes for their cariage, and greate ordinaunce accordyng to the appoyntement, they would haue doen otherwise, whiche thyng sore greued their hartes.

Now thei thus loking for the Duke Dalua, hard euery daie how he marched towarde them, and was within a daies iorney or litle more of them, of the which the English menne were merueilous ioyfull, but the Duke which pretended another thyng, sodainly remoued his armie in a night with such diligēce that he entered the realme of Nauar, and was before the cite of Pampilona the chief cite of Nauar before the kyng wist of it, whiche nothing suspected of that policie.

Thus the kyng was sodainly trapped, supposyng tharmie of Spain to haue been reised to inuade Guian, and hauyng nothing defensable for the warre, in the night fled out at a posterne into Fraunce where he after died. The cite of Pampilona and all the countrey of Nauar, beyng vnprovided of artillarie and other defences, yelded theselves to the Spanyardes, and thus was the realme of Nauar wonne. whiche thyng made the lorde Marques and his compaignie not a litle to marueil. So shortely after came to the lorde capitaine and the Englishemen, diuerse Lordes sent from the Kyng of Arragon, whiche saied The kyng our soueraigne lorde, sendeth to you greate gramerces, and highly thaketh you for your pain, and so it is that by Goddes grace and your good abode, he with his power hath taken and conquered therealine of Nauar, and if that countrey had not bee taken, thei might haue intercepted all suche ordinaunce and victail, as the king of Arragon our master might haue sent to you, but now you bee in suche a suretie and his puyssaunce with you, and yours with his, that ye maie sauely ioyne, whiche you shall see shortly, ye and he hymself in proper person to ioyne with you. Well saied the lorde Marques capitaine generall, we haue iourned long here abidyng his comyng, and if the commission and expresse commaundement of the king my soueraigne lord wer not, that I should do nothing without the assent of the king your master, I assure you that the French menne should haue knowen that Englishmen had been here, and not to haue hen so long in idleness as we haue done: but if the kyng your master doo as you reporte, it shalbe muche to his honor and to our greate comforte, and so the lordes of Spayne departed.

As the armie of Englishmen thus laie in campe, there was a village called Sanota Maria, in whiche diuerse of the Englishmen, and especially suche as had been sicke, resorted and reposed themself, not to the litle auantage of the toune, so it fortunēd that a Spanyard gaue euill language to the Englisheman, whiche gaue him a buffet on the face, the toune rose and sett on the Englisheman, and gathered in suche a multitude, that the Englisheman whiche was the first beginner was slain, because only three Englishemen came to his rescue, which wer all hurte. The Almaynes that laie at the tounes ende, strake Alarum whiche hearyng

hearyng the campe, cued to haines euery man. The tidynges were brought to the campe, that thei of the toun had slain an Englishman and would bid battaill the souldiers hearyng this, in a rage ranne to the toupe in suche maner, that the capitaines could not stay them, and slewe and robbed the people without mercy. The people fled ouer the water into Guyan. The Capitaines seyng this, with their priue seruauntes kepthe the straighes, by the which the souldiers returned with pillage and naperie, brasse, pewter, beddes, plate, and other houshold stuffe, and apparell. whiche was commaunded to be laied doune by the lordes on a hepe. And after the lordes went to the toun to se what haime the Englishmen had doen, there thei found many Biskaynes slain, and the toun robbed and the people fled. Then thei by sobre meanes & gentle exhortacion, brought all the souldiers to the campe: then Proclamacion was made that euery man vpon pain of death should bring in his pillage. Now ther wer. xxi. men, of whio one was a gentleman, whiche had taken awaie. x. thousande Dukates, who fled toward Gascoyne and were taken, and brought before the lord capitaine and other, and adiudged to dye: of the whiche. vii. wer put in execucion, and the other. xiiii. should haue died the morow after, if the lordes of Spayne had not been there at their iudgement which with greates diligence and labor gat them pardon and so all the pillage almost was restored, and the cuntry pacified.

Then one daie the Frenchemen whiche hard of this riot and trouble in the hoste, issued out of Bayon toward the Englishe mennes armie, the Englishmen hearing therof, marched toward them, & when the French men perceiued that thei wer askried, thei sodenly returned. Thenglishemen perceiuyng that the Frenchemen would not tary, went to a good toun called saint Ihon de Luce, and bient, robbed and killed the inhabitauntes, and so from thence spoiled diuerse other villages, aboute the borders of Guyan. Thus the armie laie till the moneth of October, and winter began sore to encrease, and the lord Marques capitaine generall fell sore sicke, & then the lorde Haward had vnder hye the whole gouernaunce of tharmie, to whom wei sent diuerse lordes of the priue counsaill of Spain, sayng: the king our master sendeth you word, that he would gladly come to you but the season is spent, the ground is so moyste that cariage cannot be conueighed, the feldes so barren that beastes cannot fede, and the wether so troubleous that people cannot well lye abroad in campe therefore he would desire you all these thynges considred, to breke vp your felde, and seuer your self to the townes and villages of his coultre, till the spryng of the vere, at whiche tyme there shall resorte to you, freshe succours out of Englande, and he hymself will be with you with all ordinaunce necessary, as becometh to suche an armie, and then shall procede the firste pretehse enterprise, to the honor of the kyng your master and ours, and not to your small fame and renoume. When this message was hard by the whole counsaill, no manne was contented, but the lorde Haward whiche had the whole gouernaunce vnder the Marques saied. what report of honour can we make of the kyng of Arragon your master, for at his desire we be come hether, and here haue lien in campe a long space, euer taryng for performance of his promise, & yet nothing hath he performed, our people be dedde of the flixe in great nombre. we gentlemen euerychone doth muche lament this long idlenes, by reason wherof many a tall man hauyng nothyng to do, but abidyng your masters pleasure, hath fall to some mischief, or by sickenes, or els for misdoynge executed by Iustice. What shall the kyng our master report of our slothfulnes, whiche hath spent hym innumerable treasure and nothyng gained? And yet we would make Winter warie, and the king of Arragon your master vs denieth of suche thynges as he promised, and willet vs like cowards to our dishonor, to reise our Campe without any notable act doen on the Frenchemen, for whiche cause we came

The Spanyardes perceiuyng the grudge of the Englishmen, saied that tyme passed could not be reuoked, and that they had not lien idly, for the frontiers of Guyan had sustened such damage, as in many yeres thei shall not recouer again, and all this while the Frenchmen durst not medle with you, so that you haue lost no honor, and if you tary here this Winter by your daily skirmishyng, thei shall receiue greates damage: duryng whiche tyme,



the kyng our māster hath commaunded, that thynges mete and necessarie for you to be at your commaundement, and in the spring of the yere, he shall ioyne with you, so that your enemies and his shall well knowe your pūssaunce, for he taketh all enemies to you, to be his, so with faire wordes the counsaill of Spayne departed

Then the lorde Haward beyng chief, because the Marques was sick counsailed with all the other lordes and capitaines, and so in the ende of October thei agreed to breake vp their Campe, and so thei did, and the lorde Marques and his people went to saint Sebastian, the lorde Hawarde and his retinew to Rendre, & the lord Willoughby to Garschang, sir Willyam Sandes and many other capitaines to Fruntrabie, and so every captain with his retinew wer seuered in different villages.

The English souldiers, what for sickenes, and what for miserie of the countrey, euer desired to returne into England. The kyng of England aduertised by the kyng of Arragon of his entent, and how he would set forward the first spring, sent Wynsore his Herauld of Armes to his armie willyng them there to tary, and that he would send them newe aide, vnder the conduite of the lorde Harbeit his Chamberlain which lettre when it was redde, the souldiers began to murmure and grudge attter suche a sort, sayng that thei would not abide and die of the flixe in suche a wretched countrey, to be defrauded and mocked of the kyng of Arragon the next yere, as thei wer this yeie, and spake such outrageous wordes, that the capitaine could not stae them, in so much that thei in a tury had slain the lorde Haward & diuerse other, if thei had not folowed their mynades, and so thei hired shippes and putte the lorde Marques in one, whiche was so weake that he asked where he was and then every man shipped, whiche was in Novembre, and in the beginnyng of Decembre thei landed in England. The kyng of Arragon was soie discontent with their departing, for thei spent much money and substaunce in his countrey, and saied opely, that if thei had taried he would haue inuaded Guyan, and the Englishmen were glad that thei were departed out of such a countrey, where thei had litle health, lesse pleasure, and much losse of tyme. but by then lying therē, the Kyng of Arragon stole the realme of Nauer, and the Englishmen left as much money there, as he sent into England with his daughter.

When the Marques sailed into Spayne in the moneth of May, the same tyme sir Edward Hawarde Lorde Admirall of Englande, as you haue hard before sailed toward Britain, and on Trinitie Sundaie arrived at Bertram Bay in Britain, with xx greate shippes, and sodainly set his men on lande: then the Britaynes made an askrie, and sette their beacons on fire, and shot out of a bulwarke that they had fortified at the poynt of the Baye. but the Englishe men whiche wer in the ship of Willyam Gonstone Grocer of Lōdon, toke first land maugie them all, and all other after, and so manfully thei set on the bulwarke that thei wan it, and the Britons fled and many slain. Then the Admirall set his men in an ordie, and passed in the countrey seven myles, burnyng and wastyng townes and villages: and in his returne he skirmished with diuerse men of armes and slewe diuerse of them, and notwithstanding the Britons fought valiantly for defence of their couētry, yet thei lost and nothing wan: and so the lorde Admirall returned to his shippe.

Vpon mondaie the xxiii. day of May he landed in the mornynge, and commaunded to burne the lorde Piers Meguns place, and the toun of Conket and diuerse other places, and chased the Britones to the Castle of Brest, and for all assembles and showes that the Britons made, yet thei suffered the Englishmen peaceably to returne with their praies and gaines. The Britons seyng the hurte that the nauie of England did to them, saied alas the king of Englande hath euer before this time succoured vs, and now he intendeth to destroye vs, shaine come to him that is the cause thereof

The first daie of Iune the Englishmen toke lande in Croyton Bay: then the Lordes of Britain sent worde to the Lord Admirall, that if he would abide, thei would fight with him in plain felde. The Admirall rewarded the messenger, and said, go say to them that sent thee, that al this daie thei shall finde me here, taryng their commyng. Then he to encour-

rage diuerse gentlemen dubbed theim knightes, as sir Edwarde Broke, brother to the lorde Cobham, sir Griffithe Doune, sir Thomas Wyndhā, sir Thomas Lucie, sir William Pirton, sir Henry Shurborne, sir Stephen Bull, sir Ihon Burdett. Then the lorde Admirall highly incouraged his men, when he sawe the Britons come, whiche wer. x. thousand at the least, the Englishemen but onely. xxv. C. or fewe aboue, bidding the remembre the honor and renoume that should come to them, if thei gained the iorney, and yet if thei wer slain, their valiaunties was to be praised, & their true diligence to do their master seruice much to be allowed.

When the Britons sawe the order of the Englishemen and their banners displaid, thei wer sodainly astonnied: then a gentleman of Britain of much experience, aduised the other capitaines not to fight, but to returne a litle & to take a strong ground, and to wātche the Englishinen when thei returned to their shippes, and then to take thauantage. And so the capitaines began to returne and when the commons sawe them icturne, all thei ranne awaye as faste as thei might, supposyng that their capitaines had seen or knowen some greate perill toward them, because thei were not priuy of their Capitaines counsaill. And when thei came home to their houses, some saied the battaill was greate, and some saied that the Englishemen wer. xl. thousande. The lord Admirall seyng this chaunce, when night came departed to his shippes. but yet they knewe not why thei fled, till after he hard the truthe. The gentlemen of Britain called a great counsaill, sayng that the Englishmen daily wasted the countrey on the sea coast, and that there was no trust in the commonaltee, and that the gentlemen alone could not defende the countrey, wherefore, thei concluded to sende a messenger to the lorde Admirall, desiryng hym of a safe conduite for diuerse persones to speke with hym, the whiche he gently gaunted. Then certain lordes of Britain toke a bote, and came to the ship of the lorde Admirall, where he was set with all the counsaill of the capitaines about him. Then thei desired him humbly to surceste of his rigorous and cruell warre, and especially of burning of townes whiche to you is no profite, and if you will haue the Castle of Brest, it shall be at your commaundement, so that you be able to defend it, and we desire nothing so muche as peace. Naie saied the Lorde Admirall, wee are sent hether to make warre and not peace. Then thei humbely requied hym for Goddes sake to graunt them peace for sixe daies, so that thei might sende to the kyng their lorde, to aduertise him of their trouble and calamitie. Then the lorde Admirall answered, that gentlemen ought to defend then cōūtrei by force, rather then to sue for peace with the whiche sayng the Britons wer ashamed yet thei hartely thanked him, and so he made them a banket and thei departed and thei sent a lande for freshe water and other freshe victuailes, and then hearing that there wer men of warre vpon the sea, he coasted from them alongest al the coastes of Normandy, still skowryng the seas, so that no enemye appered. and at the last came and laie by the isle of Wight, to see if any enemies would appere on the englishe coast: during whiche time diuerse shippes kept the North seas, vnder the conduite of sir Edward Kehyngham, Ihon Lewes, Ihon Louedae, whiche diligently skowed the seas.

This yere the King had a solempne Iustes at Grenewiche in Iune first came in ladies all in White and Red silke, set vpon Coursers trapped in thesame suite, freated ouer with gold, after whom folowed a fountain curiously made of Russet Sattin, with eight Gargyles spoutyng Water, within the Fountain sat a knight armed at all peces. After this Fountain folowed a lady all in blacke silke dropped with fine siluer, on a couer trapped in the same. After folowed a knight in a horse litter, the Coursers and litter appareled blacke with Siluer droppes. When the Fountain came to the tilt, the Ladies rode rounde aboute, and so did the Fountain and the knight within the litter. And after them wer brought two goodly Coursers appareled for the Iustes: and when thei came to the Ilttes ende, the two knightes mounted on the two Coursers abdyng all comers. The king was in the fountain and sir Charles Brādon was in the litter. Then sodainly with great noyse of Trompettes, entered sir Thomas Kneuet in a Castle of Cole blacke, and ouer the castell was written, *The dolorous Castle*, and so he and the erle of Essex, the lorde Haward and other ran their



their courses, with the King and sir Charles Brandon, and euer the king brake moste speres.

The Kyng euer remembering his warres, caused all his shippes and Galies to be rigged and prepared, with all manner of ordinaunce and artillery, mete for shippes of warre. And emongest all other, he decked the Regent, a ship royall, as chief ship of that nauie, and then caused souldiers mete for thesame shippes, to muster on blacke Hethe, and he appointed capitaines for that tyme, sir Anthony Oughtred, sir Edward Ichyngham, Willyam Sidney, and diuerse other gentlemen, whiche shortly shipped and came before the Isle of Wight, but in their passage a Gale was lost by negligence of the Master.

The Kyng euer desiring to see his nauie together, roade to Portesmouth, and there he appoynted capitaines for the Regent, sir Thomas Kneuet Master of his horse, and sir Ihon Carew of Deuonshire. And to another ship royall called the souereigne, he appoynted sir Charles Brādon, and sir Henry Guildforde, and with them in the souereigne were put. lx of the tallest yomen of the kynges Gard, and many other gentlemen were made Capitaines. The king made a greate banquet to all the capitaines, and euery one sware to another euer to defend, aide, & cōfort one another without failyng, and this they promised before the Kyng, whiche committed them to God, and so with great noyse of minstrelsie, they toke their shippes, whiche were xxv. in nombre of greate burden, and well furnished of all thynges.

The Frenche kyng hearyng what dammage thenglishmen had done in Britaine, strongly furnished his Nauie in the haven of Brest, to the nombre of xxxix saile, and for chief ordeined a Carike of Brest, apperteinyng to the Quene his wife, whiche was Duches and heire of Britayne called Cordelier, whiche was a strong ship furnished in all poyntes, and so they set forwarde out of Brest the x. daie of August, and came to Britayne Bay, in which place the self same day, beyng the daie of S Laurence, the Englishe nauie was arrived.

When the Englishe menne perceiued the French Nauie to be out of Brest haven, then the lorde Admirall was very ioyous, then euery man prepared according to his duetie, the Archers to shote, the Gonners to lose, the men of Aimes to fight, the Pages went to the toppe Castle with darts. thus all thynges beyng prouided and set in ordre, the Englishe men approached toward the Frenchmen, whiche came fiercely forwarde, some leuyng his Ancre, some with his foresaile onely to take the moste auantage and when they were in sight, they shot ordinaunce so terrebly together, that all the sea coast sounded of it. The Lorde Admirall made with the greate ship of Depe, and chased her stil sir Henry Guildford and sir Charles Brandon, made with the greate Caricke of Brest, beyng in the Souereigne, and laicd stenne to stenne to the Caricke, but by negligence of the Master, or els by smoke of the ordinaunce or otherwise, the Souereigne was cast at the sterne of the Caricke, with whiche auantage the Frenche menne showed for ioye: but when sir Thomas Kneuet whiche was ready to haue borden the greate ship of Depe, sawe that the Souereigne had missed the Caricke, which sir Anthony Oughtred chased hard at the starne, and bowged her in diuerse places, and set a fire her powder as some say, but sodainly the Regent crappeled with her a long boord and when they of the Caricke perceiued that they could not depart, they let slip and Ancre, and so with the stenne the shippes turned, and the Caricke was on the wetherside, and the Regent on the lye side, the fight was very cruell, for the archers of the Englishe parte, and the Crossebowes of the Frenche part did their vttermoste: but for all that the English men entered the Caricke, whiche seying a varlet Gonner beyng desperat put fire in the Gonnes powder as other saie, and set the whole ship of fire, the flame wherof, set fire in the Regent, and so these two noble shippes which were so crappeled together that they could not part, were consumed by fire. The Frenche nauie perceiuyng this fled in all hast, some to Brest, and some to the Isles adioynyng. The Englishmen in maner dismayed, sent out boates to help them in the Regent, but the fire was so great that in maner no man durst approche, sayyng that by the Iames of Hull were certain Frenchmen

Frenchmen that could swymme saued. This burnyng of the Caricke was happy for the Frenche nauie, or els thei had been better assailed of the Englishemen, whiche were so amased with this chaunce, that thei folowed them not. The capitain of this Carick was sir Piers Morgan and with hym. ix. C. mē slain and ded: and with sir Thomas Kneuet and sir Ihon Carow wer. vii. C. men drowned and brent, and that night all the Englishemen laie in Bartram Baie, for the Frenche flete was sparkeled as you haue hard.

The lorde Admirall called al the capitaines together, desirying them not to be abashed with this chaunce of warre, for he thought now that this was the worste fortune that could happen to them, therefore to studie how to be reuenged, and so thei concluded all to go to the sea, whiche thei did, and on the coast of Britain toke many shippes, and such as thei could not cary awaie they set on fire, small and great to a greate nombre on all the coast of Britain, Normandy and Picardy, and thus thei kept the sea.

The kyng of England heying of the losse of the Regent, caused a greate shippe to be made, suche another as was neuer seen before in Englande, and called it, *Henry grace de Dieu*.

The French kyng heying that his flete was thus deuied, and of the losse of his greate Carick, he sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Prior Ihon, whiche had three Galies of force, with diuerse Foystes & Rowgalies so well ordinaūced and with suche peces as was not seen in shippes before his comyng. for he laye on the coast of Barbary to defende certein of the Religion of the Rhodes comyng to Tripoly, and at the Frenche kynges request came into Britain and there taried.

In Nouembre the kyng called his high Couite of Parliament, and there was concluded that the kyng hymself in person, with an armie royall would muade his realme of Fraunce, with fire and Sworde, which thing beeyng knowen to his subiectes, and especiall to suche as should go with him, no man can doubt, but that preparacion was made of harnais, weapon, arullery, banners and all other thynges necessary for such an enterpryce.

The kyng after this Parliament ended, kept a solemne Christemas at Grenewiche to chere his nobles, and on the twelfe daie at night came into the hall a Mount, called the riche Mount. The Mount was set full of riche flowers of silke, and especially full of Brome slippes full of coddies, the braunches wer grene Sattin, and the flowers flat Gold of Damaske, whiche signified Plantagenet. On the top stode a goodly Bekon geuyng light, rounde aboute the Bekon sat the king and fise other, all in coates and cappes of right Crimosin veluet, enbroudered with flat gold of Dāmaske, their coates set full of spangelles of gold, and foure wood houses drewe the Mount till it came before the queene, and then the king and his compaignie disconded and daunced then sodainly the Mount opened, and out came sixe ladies all in Crimosin satin and planket, enbroudered with Golde and perle, with French boddes on their heddes, and thei daunced alone. Then the lordes of the Mount tooke the ladies and daunced together. and the ladies reentred and the Mount closed, and so was conueighed out of the hall. Then the Kyng shifted him and came to the Quene, and sat at the banquete whiche was vey sumptuous. And after the Purificacion of our Lady, the Kyng created sir Charles Brandon Viscount Lisle. In Marche folowyng, was the kynges nauie of shippes royall, and other mete for the war set furth to the nombre of xlii. beside other Blangais, the lorde Admirall was chief, and with him sir Water Denereux lorde Ferreis, sir Wolstan Browne, sir Edward Ichyngham, sir Antony Poyntz, sir Ihon Wālop, sir Thomas Wyndam, sir Stephin Bull, Willyam Fitz Willyam, Arthur Plantagenet, Willyam Sidney Esqunes, and diuerse other noble and valaunt Capitaines thei sailed to Portesmouth, and there laie abidyng Wynde. duryng whiche tyme, the kyng sent into Flaunders for such thynges as he neded, and caused them to be brought to Caleis against his cōmyng.

When the wynde serued, the nauie royall of England wayed anker and made saile into Britain, and came into Betram Bay, and there lay at Anker in the sight of the Frenche Nauie. Now you must vnderstand, that all the greate Nauie whiche the Frenche kyng had prepared



## THE. V. YERE OF

pared, lide in the haven of Brest, so well furnished in al thynges, that no doubt it was a wonder to se: but when thei wer ready to sette furthe, and sawe the Englishe flete on the coast, thei determined clerely to saue theselves in Brest haven. Then the Englishemen determined clerely to sette on them in the haven, and so in good ordre of battaill sailed forward, but at the first entry, one ship, wherof Arthur Plantagenet was capitain, fell on a blynde rocke & brast asunder, by reason wherof all the other staid to the greate displeasure of all the remnaunt, and not to the litle ioye of the Frenchmē whiche shot at them without doing any harme. So the Englishe capitaines perceuyng that the haven was daungerous to entre without an expert lodesman, cast about and returned to their harborough at Bertram Baye again.

The Frenchmen perceuyng that the Englishmen intended to assaile them, moored their shippes as nye to the Castle of Brest as thei could, and set bulwarkes on the land on every side to shote at the Englishmen. Also thei frapped together. xxiii. greate Hulkes, that came to the baye for salt, and set them on a rowe, to the intent that if the Englishe menne would haue assaulted them, thei would haue set them on a fire, and let them drive with the streame emongest the Englishe Nauie. Prior Ihon also laie still in Blacke Sable or Whitesande Baye, and plucked his Galies to the shore, and sette his Basiliskes and other ordinaunce in the mouthes of the Baye, whiche Baye was bulwarked on every side, that by water it was not possible to be wonne.

The lorde Admirall perceuyng the Nauie of Fraunce to lye this in feare, and not willing nor daryng come abrode, but to lye as prisoners in a dongeon, wrote to the Kyng to come thether in persone, and to haue the honor of so high an entrepryse, whiche wrytyng the Kynges counsaill nothing allowed, for putting the kyng in ieperdy vpon the chaunce of the sea. Wherefore the king wrote sharply to hym, to accomlishe that whiche appertained to his duetie whiche caused hym to take courage and put thynges in aduenture as after you shall here.

## ¶ THE. V. YERE.

The. v. yere.

AS you haue hard before, the lorde Admirall of England lay still on the coast of Britain in the Bay, called Bartrames Baye, so that for feare of hym and the Englishe Nauie, neither the greate shippes in Brest haven durst once moue to the sea ward, nor yet Prior Ihon for al his strong Galeies would once set out a saile: sauynge now and then sende furthe his small Foystes, to make a shew before the English Nauy, whiche chased them to their bay, but because the English shippes were so greate thei could not entre the bay, and so manned out boates and toke one of the best Foystes, and that with greate daungier, for the Galeis and the bulwarkes shot all at one time, that it was a wöder how the Englishemen escaped.

The Admirall of Englande perceuyng the Frenche mennes pollicy, called a counsaill, and there determined firste to assaile Prior Ihon and his Galeis, lyng in Whitsand baye, and after to set on the remnaunt in the haue of Brest. Then first was appoynted that Water lorde Ferreis, sir Stephin Bul and other capitaines, should go a lande with a conuenient, compaignie, to assault the bulwarkes of Whitsand bay, while the Lorde Admirall entered with rowe Barges and litle Galies into the bay, so that the Frenchmen should be assailed bothe by water and land. Thus was it fully agreed by the whole counsaill. but alas, this noble captain counsailed by a Spanishe knight called sir Alphous Charant, whiche saied that he might entre the Bay with litle ieopardy, called to hym Willym Fitz Willyam, Willyam Cooke, Ihon Colley, and sir Wolstan Browne as the chief and his moste trusty frendes, and declared to them that the matter was litle, and the honor greate, if they only tooke on them that enterprise, and let none other know of it. Thei like men of haute courage and desiryng honour, gladly assented so on saint Markes daie the. xxv. daie of Aprill, the said Admirall put himself in a small rowe barge, with three other small rowing shippes

and

and his awne ship boate, and so rowed sodainly into the Baye, where Prior Ihon had moored his Galies iust to the ground, whiche Galies with the bulwarkes on the lande, shot so terribly that thei that folowed were afraid but assone as he came to the Galies, he entered and draue out the Frenche men. William Fitz William within his shippe was sore hurte with a quarell. The bay was very shalowe, and the other shippes could not entre, for the tide was spent, whiche thyng the Frenchmen perceuyng, and that there could come no succoure to the Admirall, with Morris pikes entered again the Galies, and fought with the Englishmen in the Galies. And the Admirall perceuyng their approchyng, thought to haue entered again into his rowe Barge whiche by violence of the tide was driuen doune the streame, and so with a pike was throwen ouer the borde and so drowned, and there the forenamed Alphous was slain, and all the other boates and vesselles scaped hardely, for if thei had taryed, the tide had failed them and then all had been lost. The lorde Ferreis and other capitaines muche were dolent of this chaunce, and some saied he did it without counsaill, and so he hath sped. And therefore although that they would haue sette on the Naue in Brest haven yet hauyng no Admirall nor commission, thei determined to do nothing farther till thei knew the kynges pleasure, and so sailed into Englande. The Frenche Naue perceuyng that the Englishmen made toward England, came out of their hauens, and Prior Ihon set furthe his Galies and Foystes, and coasted Britain and Normandy, and coasted ouer to the coast of Sussex and al his compaignie, and landed on the sea coast, and set fire on the poore cotages. The gentlemen that dwelte nere, shortly reised the cuntrye, and came to the coast and droue Prior Ihon to his Galies. This was all the hurt that this stout captain of so great fame did to England, sauyng he robbed certein poore Fishermen of Whitynges. The kyng hearyng of the death of his Admirall was not a litle sory, considering both the nobilitie of his birthe, and the valiauntnes of his persone, but all sorowe auaieth not when the chaunce is past. Therefore the kyng hearyng that the Frenche Naue was abrode, called to hym the lorde Thomas Haward, elder brother to sir Edward Haward late Admirall, and sonne and heue appaiant to the Erle of Suriey, and made him Admirall, willyng him to reuege his brothers death, whiche with greate reuerence, thanked the kyng of the high truste that he had put him in. And then immediatly went to the sea, and so nobly & valiauntly did skower the sea, that the French men had no lust to kepe the coast of Englande, for he fought with them at their awne portes.

The kyng whiche had all thynges necessary and mete for the warre, intending to passe the sea in propre person, appoynted the valiaunt lord George Talbot Eile of Shewesbury, and high Steward of his household to be capitain generall of his forwarde, and in his compaignie wer lorde Thomas Stanley Erle of Derby, lorde Decowrey Prior of S. Ihons, sir Rober Radcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, the Lorde Hastynges, the Lorde Cobham, sir Rice Ap Thomas, sir Thomas Blount, sir Richard Sachuerell, sir Ihon Dighby, sir Ihon Askewe, sir Lewes Bagot, sir Thomas Cornewall, and many Knightes and Esquiers and souldiers, to the nombre of viii M. menne, whiche all passed the sea, and to Caleis in the middle of May.

The lorde Herbert called sir Charles Somerset, chief Chamberlain to the kyng: the ende of thesame monethe with. vi M. men passed the sea in whose compaignie were these Erles of Northumberlande Percie, of Kent Graye, of Wilshire Stafford, the lorde Fitzwater, the lorde Dudley, the lorde Delawar, sir Thomas West his sonne, sir Edward Husey, sir Robert Dimmocke, sir Daue Owen, with many other gentlemenne, some with speeres on horsebacke, some with pikes on foote, some with dimilaunces, and this was the rereward. Such good diligēce was made that these two capitaines with all their compaignie, furnished with artillerie, poulder, tentes, cariages, and all thynges necessary for the warres wer landed at Caleis the last daie of Maij.

After thei had sojourned certein daies in Caleis, and that all thynges requisite wer ready, thei caused a Trompet to blowe and made Proclamacion, that euery man should departe out of the toune, and so to begin the campe. The erle of Shrewesbury with his compaignie first toke the felde, after him folowed the lorde Herbert with his compaignie, in maner of a



rereward And after him folowed the valiaunt sir Rice ap Thomas, with. v C. light horse and Archers on horsebacke, and ioyned hym to the foreward. Then was there ordre taken what persons should conduite the victalers that came from Calais, and who should conduite the victalers that came out of Flaunders, for without sufficient conduite no creature durste bryng any victaile to the armie. These two lordes thus embattailld removed the xvii. daie of Iune to Sandisfelde, and on the xviii. daie thei came to Margison, on þe farre side of the water, as though thei would haue passed streightly to Bulleyn, but they thought otherwise, for the nexte daie thei tooke another waie, and coasted the countrey with suche diligence, that the xxii. daie of Iune thei with all their people ordinaunce, and habilimentes of waie, wer come before the strong cite of Tirwin, and pight their Tentes a myle from the toune, and for that night embattailld themselves and as certain capitaines wer in counsail, in the lorde Herbertes tent, sodainly out of the toune was shot a gonne, the pellet wherof slewe a noble captain called the Baron of Carew, sitting there in counsail, whiche sodain aduventure dismaied muche the assemble. But the lorde Herbert valiauntly cōforted them, sayng: this is the chaunce of warre, if it had hit me you muste haue been content, a noble harte in waie is neuer a feard of death. All the countrey of Aithois and Picardie fortified their holdes, and made shewes as the English army passed, but thei durst not once assaile them.

The cite of Tirwin was strongly fortified with wales, rampaires, bulwarkes, with diuerse fortresses in the diches, whiche wer so brode and so plume stepe þat was wondre to behold. The lorde Pountremy was captain generall, and with him wer within the cite. vi. C. horsemen furnished, and twoo M v C Almaines beside the inhabitants of the city, the walles & towers wer ful of ordinaunce, which did oftentimes great displeasure to the Englishmen. The Erle of Shrewesbury laied siege to the toune. on the North West side, and the lorde Herbert on the East side or end ward, the Frenchmen issued out of the toune and skirmished with the Englishmenne, but the Archers shot so fast that they draue the Frenchmen into the cite, and slewe and toke diuerse of them. The lord Herbert which laie in the open sight of the toune, hauing no hill or other thyng to succour or defende him, caused greate trenches to be made, and so maygre his enemies he approched very nere the cite likewise the Erle of Shrewesbury with the forward, gatte into an holowe ground or valey nere to the cite. Daily the Frenchmen shot at the Englishmen, and diuerse tymes issued out and skirmished, and euen thei lost by skirmishyng, but by shotyng of ordinaunce thei hurte diuerse Englishmen. Wherefore the lordes commaunded the pioners to raise a greate trenche, in whiche thei laied the great ordinaunce, and daily as thei might they approched sir Rice ap Thomas with the horsemen daily skowered the countrey, & many tymes encountered with the Frenchmen, and slewe and toke diuers prisoners, so that the Frenchmen drewe not toward the siege, but turned another waie. Vpon the Mundaie beeyng the. xxvii. daie of Iune. xxiiii. Cartes charged with victaill, wer by the Garrison of Calais conduited to Guisnes, and there the Crewe of the castle and toune of Guisnes with thre. C. foote men, vnder the conduite of sir Edward Belknappe, all beying in nombre iii. C. lx. men, set furthe to conduite thesai red victailes to thar me lying before Tirwyn, and so thei passed to Arde. And while the Carters passed the toune, the horsmen fell a drinkyng in the waie, and the foote men wer all out of ordie. The duke of Vandosome captain genēall of Picardie, whiche laie in a bushement in the forest side of Guysnes with. vii. C. light horsemen, toke his aduantage and set on the victailers, the Carters perceiuing that, losed their horses and fledd to the toune, whiche was but a myle of and left their Cartes. Sir Nicholas Vaux captain of Guysnes did al he could, to byng the foote men in an ordre. but the Frenchmen set on so quickly that thei could not set them in ordre, the horsemen of Guysnes whiche wer but onely. xxiiii. toke then speres and ioyned with the Frenchmen. the Archers of Englande whiche passed not lx shot manfully, and a noble captain called Balner De lien and diuerse other, but the Frenchmen were so many in nombre and in good ordre, that thei slew viii. gentlemen of the Garrison of Guisnes, and. xxx. Archers slain and many hurte, and so thei

thei distrussed the victailles, and caused sir Nicholas Vaux, and sir Edward Belknappe to flee toward Guisnes. This misauenture fell by taryng of the horsemen and breaking of array, for it tharchers had taryed together it had happened otherwise, for the fewe Aicheis that held together, slewe and hurt diuerse Frenchemen. For on the felde laie lxxxxvii. great horse whiche neuer wēt thence, by the which it appered that the Frenchemen went not quite awaie without losse. When tidynges of this misauenture came to the lordes at the siege, thei were not a litle displeased and sir Rise ap Thomas caused his Trompet to blowe to the struppe, and he with his horsemen sought the Duke of Vandosme all the countrey, whiche hearyng of the comyng of sir Rise, with greate hast retreated backe to Bangey Abbey, where the Frenche kynges greate army laie. Sir Rise hearyng y he was returned came the next daye agayn to y sege. The rumour of this skyrmysh sprong all the English pale toward Flaunders, wherefore the townes fiered ther bekons & rang *alarme*, diuers honorable men y had passed the see w cōpanies of souldiours & were in Caleis, marched forward in order of battaile, but hearyng of y departūg of *Mōsire de vādosme*, thei rested. Then was new prouisiō made for vitale & sent daily frō Caleys to Turwyn by such conduite, y the Frenchmen would no more meddill, and the army also was well vitaled out of Flaunders and Henawde.

The army of England thus lay before the strong towne of Tuiwin. y noble kyng of England not forgettyng his entrepryce prepared al thing redy to passe the see in proper persone, and caused sir Ihon Wilshire to puruey for iii C hoies to carry ouer his artillery & habilimēts of warre and all his shippes of warre were on the see skowering euery coste of his realme. And when all thinges were prest he accompanied with many noble men and. vi. C. archers of his garde, al in white gabberdines & cappes, departed from his manour royal of gienewich the xv day of Iune and so he and the quene with smal jorneyes came to Douer castell & there rested, and made the quene gouernour of the realme & commaunded William Warram then bishop of Cantorbury and sir Thomas Louell a sage knight and diuers other, to gyue then attendaunce on the quene. And commaunded theire of Surrey to drawe toward the north partes lest the Scottes woulde make any entrepryce in his absence. Then the kng toke leue of the quene and of the ladies which made such sorow for the departyng of their lords and husbendes, that it was greate dolor to beholde, and so he with all his army toke his shippe the last day of Iune beyng the daye of saint Paule.

In the mornyng when the kyng was shipped and made saile, al y army folowed, to the number of iij C shippes, and the winde was so, that they were broughteuon on the coste of picardy open vpon saint Ihons Roade, & with the flud they haled a lōg the coste of Whitsand w trūpettes blowyng and gones shotyng, to the great feare of them of Bolleyn which plainly might beholde this passage, and so came to Caleys hauē.

The kyng was receiued into a bote couered with arras, & so was set on londe. He was appareilled in almayne ryet crested & his vābrace of the same & on his head a chapeau mōtahyn with a riche coronal, y folde of the chapeau was lined with ciunsyn satē, & on y a riche brooch with y image of saint George, ouer his ryett he had a garment of white cloth of gold with a redde crosse, & so he was receiued with procession & w his depntie of Caleys called sir Gylbert Talbott, and all other nobles and gentlemen of the towne & countrey, & so entred in at the lanternegate & passed the stretes tyll he came to Sainte Nycholas churchie, & ther he alighted & offered, & frō thens he went to the stapleinne where he supped.

When the kyng entred Caleys, al the banished men entred w him & were restored to y liberty of y towne. To tell of y gonne shott of y towne and of the shippes at the kynges landing it was a great wonder, for mē of good estimaciō reported that they harde it at Douer. The kyng lyeng thus in Caleys, all his army except a few of his counsail and other that gaue their attendaunce on hym laye encamped at Newnam bidge, in which campe about a. xl of the clock at night there arose an eskrye, so that the towne of Caleys began *alarme*, with that the kyng waked and came to the walles, and demaunded what the matter ment, the yo-



man of the têtes, called Richarde Gybson, shewed him howe that certayne horsmen & footmē of Fraunce, profered to come ouer the hauē, & the Archers that laye next the see side entred into the water & defended ȳ passage, w̄ which defence the Frenchinē returned, & so ȳ kyng was satisfied. But after this a Frēchmā of Whitsād bay & one of Bullain were takē, ȳ one called Charles de bone, the other Peter vernowne, which confessed ȳ frō the toune of Whitsand came lx horsmen & ii. C. footmen of the garrison of Bullein & the countrey adioynnyng entēdyng to passe by Rice banke at the low water marke, ouer ȳ hauē of Caleis at a certayn foord shewed to thē by a spy which serued the yomā of ȳ têtes of vitailles, & shewed thē that the tentes were piched vnder Caleis walles betwene the towne & the cāpe, so that thei might burne thē quykly or the towne could issue, or the cāpe, remove. But the Englishmen kept so good watch as you haue harde that their entreprice came to none effect. The morow after being the first day of Iuly, ȳ noble lord Haward admirall of Englād landed at Whitsand Bay, & entred, spoyled & brent the toune, & returned to his ships for all ȳ Bullonoys, & so recōpensed the imaginaciō that the bayly of Whitsand & the Bullonoys had entreprised for the burning of the kynges tentes.

On friday at night blew such a storme ȳ seuered all the nayy, & some were drowned. Vpon the. viii. day of Iuly, the lord Marques Dorsett, therle of Essex, the lord Lisle rode into Flaunders & ther toke ȳ moustes of the lord Lynny, the lord Walō, sonne to the lord of Barow, & bastard Emery which w̄ ther retinue were then admitted into the kyngs wages & the lord Linny w̄ a. C. & l speies was appointed to go to ȳ lord Herbert. & the lord Walon & bastard Emery w̄ ther bondes were appointed to go to therle of Shrewsbury liēg before Tirwyn. These strāgers were warlycke persons on light horses. While the siege laye thus before Tyrwyn as you haue harde, the Frenchmen diuerse times issued out on horseback and many a staffe was broken & many a proper feat of armes done. Likewise the Almaynes on foot would diuerse times issue out w̄ handgonnes, and morish pycks & assaile the Englishmē, but by force of the archers thei were euer driuen home agayn, & euery day the Englishmen shott at the towne and dyd them muche displeasure.

The. xxi. day of Iuly (when all thinges by counsaill had byn ordered concernyng the order of battayle) the kyng passed out of ȳ towne of Caleis in goodly array of battaile & toke the felde: And notwithstanding ȳ the forward & the rewarde of the kynges great army were before Tirwyn as you haue harde. Yet the kyng of his awne battayle made. iii. battailes after the fasshion of the warre, the lord Lisle marshall of the hoste was capitaine of the forward, and vnder him iii. M. men. Sir Richard Carew w̄ iii. C. men was the right hand wyng to the forward, & ȳ lord Darcy w̄ iii. C. mē, wyng on ȳ left hand, ȳ skourers and forriders of this battaile were ȳ Northūberland men on light geldynges. Therle of Essex was Lieutenant general of the speies, and sir Ihon Pechy was vice gouernour of the horsmen before ȳ kyng went. viii. C. Almaynes al in a plūpe by them selfs. after thē came the standard w̄ the redde Dragō, next the banner of our lady, & next after the banner of ȳ trinite, vnder ȳ same were all the kings houshold seruaūtes, then went ȳ bāner of ȳ armes of Englād borne by sir Henry Guildford, vnder which bāner was the kyng him self w̄ diuers noble men & other to the nōber of. iii. M. mē. The duke of Buckynghā with vi. C. mē was on ȳ kyngs left hād egall w̄ ȳ Almaynes, in likewise on ȳ right hād was sir Edward Pounynges w̄ other. vi. C. men egall with the Almaynes. The lord of Burgainie w̄ viii. C. men, was wyng on ȳ right hand, sir Willhā Cōpton w̄ ȳ retinue of ȳ bishop of Wichester, & master Wolsey ȳ kings Almoner to ȳ nōber of. viii. C. was in maner of a reieward, sir Anthony oughtred & sir Ihon Neuell w̄ the kings speies ȳ folowed, were. iiii. C. & so ȳ hole army were. xi. M. & iii. C. men. The master of the ordinaunce set foorth the kinges artillary, as sawcons, slynges bōbardes, cartes with powder, stones, bowes, arrowes & such other thinges necessary for the felde, the hole nomber of the cariages were. xiii. C. the leders and driuers of the same were. xix. C. men and all these were rekened in the battaile, but of good fightynge men ther were not full ix. M.

Thus in order of battaile ȳ kyng rode to Seutreyca & ther lodged ȳ first night, on friday ȳ garrisō

garrisō of Bulleyn mustered nye to Fines Mill, & were askryed by ſ Northūberland mē, which marched toward thē, but ſ Frenchmen returned. On saterdaie the hoste remoued to Hambwell and ther rested. On sonday, & on mondaie he entered into the French grounde nye to Arde, & ther every gentlemā had on his coat of armes, & these tydyngs were brought to ſ kyng ſ ſ Frēch army approched which tidinges pleased him well, for he desyred nothing but battaile. Tewsday the. xxvi. day of Iuly the kyng passed forward in order of battaile & euer ſ Frenchmen costed a farie of to take the Englyshmen at some auantage, but thei kept them so close in order that they could not fynd them out of array. Howbeit, by negligence of the carters ſ mistoke ſ waye a greate Curtall called the Ihon Euangelist, was ouerthrowen in a depe ponde of water and coulde not quickly be recovered.

The kyng heryng ſ his enemies approched, leuyng the gonne (because the master carpenter sayde ſ he would shortely way it out of the water) set forward his hoste, and in good order came to Dornahan where is a fayre castell standyng in a wodde countrey, the Frenchmē were euer lurkyng in the woodes viewing the kyngs cōdute & order as he passed, and so he lefte the towne of Dornahan on his right hande, and came to a village on a hille riuier where ſ ordinaūce pitched. And when ſ kyng came to the ryuer he perceyued ſ many gentlemen made daūger to entre into the riuier. Wherefore he a lighted downe of his horse and without any more abode entred the riuier, then all other entred and came ouer. Then was tydynges brought to hym, that the Frenchmen were nere at hande and would fight that nyght: the kyng still abode in order of battaile, euer lokinge for the comynge of the Frenchmen, and at night woorde was brought that they were reculed, and then he entred into his tente.

The courage of the kyng.

ND

Wednesday the. xxvii. daye of Iuly the releffe of the speres brought in askry, wherefore the kyng commaunded to blow to the standaide, and auanced his banner & toke a faire feld on banke abidyng the commyng of the Frenchmen. The capitaines generall of the army of the French kyng were the lord dela Palice and the lord of Piens, accompaigned with the duke of Longuyle, therle of saint Polle, the lord of Floringes, the lord Cleimounde, & Richard dela Pole traytour of England sonne to ſ duke Ihon of Suffolke. With these capitaines were cōmyng xi. M. footmen and. iij. M. hoismen, all prest in battaile & came within miles of the kyng of Englande, and there the footmen staled and came no farther certaine horsmen to the number of iii. M. and aboue marched forward and at the ende of a wolde shewed them selves open in the sight of the English army. The kyng perceiuyng there demeanure, commaūded al his footmen not to remoue, but to stand still. The Frenchmē remoued and came somewhat nerer to a place of execution. Then the master Gōner losed a pece of artillery or two. As the kyngelay thus still abydyng his enemies, and that the horsmen stode still in sight, the great armye of France approched, whiche the Englishmen could not descrye by cause of an hyl that was betwexte them. The Northerne men ran to ſ Frēchmen, which manly encountered with them and strake some of them downe and maugre all their powre brought certaine prisoners to the kyng of England. Therle of Essex capitaine of the kynges speres with ii. C. speres lay in a stale, if the Frenchmen had come nerer. Then sodainly apered in sight a great company of hoismen and the kyng knewe not what thei were. but at ſ last it was perceyued that it was the valiant knyght sir Rice app Thomas with his retinue whiche came to the kyng aboue none. which gently receyned hym and sent hym to therle of Essex, which incontinently departed and compassed the hilt and ranne to therle and when they were ioyned, they drewe them about the hyl accompaigned with sir Thomas Gylforde capitayne of. ii. C. archers on horsbacke to thentent to haue set on the Frenchmē, which perceiuyng ſ, & dowghtyng more nomber to come after, sodainly drewe back & ioyned them w ther great battaile. Then therle of Essex & the English horsmen folowed them tyll they came nere the great army of France and then staled, and sent light horsmen to know ſ cōdute of ſ French army. When ſ Frenchmen of armes were returned to ther battaile, both ſ footmen & horsmen reculed in order of battell and went back a pace, the Englishe styrrers perceiuyng this folowed. iii. leages and returned to therle, makinge reporte of, that they had sene, and then he brake vp his stale and came to ſ kyng decaryng



The dry  
Wednesday.

claryng to him how þ Frenchmen were reculed. This daie was called the drye wednesday, for the day was wonderfull-boat and þ kyng and his army were in order of battaile from vi. of þ clock in þ mornynge tyll iii. of the clock at after noone, and some died for lack of moysture & allmost in generall every nian was burned about the mouth with hete of the stomack, for drynke lacked and water was not nere. After this þ kyng remoued towarde Tywyn hauyng his horsmen behynde hym, lest the Frenchmen should sodainly set on hem behynde & as the kyng was setting forward, the lord Walowne of Maundeis came to the kyng w his horsmen which were in the kynges wages, and the kyng declared to him what had chaunted. As the army passed by negligence the same day in a lane, was ouerthrowen one of the kynges great bōbardes of Lion, called the redde gonne, and there left. When the night began to appoche the kyng rested and toke his campe. ii. myles from saint Omers on the northsyde

On the thursdaye beyng the. xxviii. daie of Iuly the master carpēter with an hundied carpenters and laborers without knowlege of þ marshall went to waye vp þ great gonne that was in the ponde as you haue harde, & by force of engynes drew it vp and laied it on a carte redy to cary: But sodainly out of a wodde issued viii. C. Frenchmen with speeres, crosbowes and handgōnes, and assayled the poore labourers which valiantly defended them selves: but oppressed with multitude, the most parte was slayne and the remnant taken, and they & þ pece of ordinaunce caried to bulleyne. This misauenture tel, for the master carpēter would worke all of his awne hedde without counsayll, with which chaunce þ kyng was sore displeased. The Frenchmē toyous of this chaunce, assembled a great number, to take the other gonne þ lay still in the high way. Wherefore the lord baines beyng capiteyne of the pioners and laborers heryng of þ misauenture, and considering that þ other gonne was lyēg behynd prepared al maner of engines to recover the same. The morowe after the kyng intended to reyse his camp, but when he harde of þ great pece of ordinaunce that was left behynde, and that the Frenchmen assembled together, he was in a greate musyng and so taryed and commaunded the Almaynes to retreate back and to succum them that went for þ pece of ordinaunce. The Almaynes went forth and staled within two mile, where the pece of ordinaunce lay, and farther they woulde not go. The earle of Essex with his company of speeres, sir Rice ap Thomas, w his compaignie, sir Ihon Neuell with the Northūberland men sett forward to helpe the lord Barnes for recovery of the gonne. And sodainly the northren hoisemen espied where al the great army of the Frenchmen were commyng forward, and so reported to therle of Essex, þ to sir Ihon pechy Lieutenant of the horsemen and speeres & other capitaines, which were in the place where the said gonne was left with a hundred horsmē, which heryng therof sent woorde to sir Rice, which heryng therof desied the erle of Essex to come & to take grounde in that place where he was, which remoued in greate haste. In the meane season by þ diligent labor of þ lord Barnes, þ pece of ordinaunce was sayed & carted, and furthe was it caried, by this time the French army apiered in sight.

When therle of Essex saw the great number of the Frenchmen in ull hast he sent to the lord Walon, willyng hym w his company to come to there ayde, the lord Waloun sayde to þ messenger, go tell your capityne y I come hither to serue the kyng of England more then one daye, and therfore I would all thenglishmen would returne, for w þ great power of Fraunce they be not able to fight, for I esteeme them. ix. or. x. M. mē at the lest with this aunswere þ messenger departed & made relacion to the erle of Essex & other capitynes whiche there w were sore discontent. by this time þ scowlers of the Frenche parte were come harde to þ bādes of the Englishmen: then began þ light horsmen to skyrmyshe, ther was folowyng and reskuing on both parties, & in open sight some of both parties slayne. Then marched forward the hule battaile of the Frenchmen with stādaids, penōs and banners waueryng, and sumptuous bardes, & riche barnys glytteryng, the men of armes in great nōber were in rāges a long iedy to chace and charge. Sir Rice ap Thomas beyng a mā of great experience, sagely perceyued in what case þ matter stode, saide to therle of Essex, sir we be not. vii. C. horsmē, let vs not be to folysh hardy, our cōmission was to fette þ gonne & none other, let vs folowe the same, therle agreed therto & so softly & not in flyēg  
maner

maner retreated & folowed ſy gonne. The Frēchinē perceiuyng ſy cried al is ours let vs folowe, then pricked forward in M. men of armes & came iuste to ſy backes of ſy Engliſhmen, then the Engliſhmen cried ſanct George & caſt them ſelfe about and made retourne to ſy Frenchmen, ſir William Tyler & ſir Ihon ſharpe were ſy fiſt ſy charged, and after all the other Engliſhmen, there was a dreadfull chase, for the men of armes of Fraunce ſlede ſo faſt, that glad was he that might be formoſt, the hole hoost ſeynge ther horſmen returnyng in flight, ſodainly in greate haſt returned without any more doyng. Then the erle of Eſſex ſtaled to an hil, & ther cauſed his trōpet to blowe to the ſtandard for feare of ſubtyll dealing. and when they were gathered together vnto array, he returned

The xxix daye of Iuly the kyng with his army came to Aikus, and there embattailed him ſelfe in a ſtrong grounde, and to hym came therle of Eſſex and the other capitaines with the gonne, and made repoitte of ther aduenture, which thanked them hartly, and ther he lay till Mōday in which tyme came many noble men of Flaunders to viſite him & many of the common people came to ſe hym.

Mondaye the fyrſte daye of Auguſte, the kyng remoued his campe to a village myddell way betwene Sayncte Omers and Tyrwyn, and ther ſell ſuche a rayne that the ordynaunce coulde ſcace be remoued the arable grounde was ſo ſofte.

Thursday the iij day of Auguſt, the kyng in good order of battaile came before the citie of Tyrwyn & planted his ſege in moſt warlike wiſe, his campe was enuironed with artillerie, as Fawcones, ſerpentyneſ, caſt hagbushes, and tyde harowes, ſpen treſtyls, and other warlike detence for the ſauegarde of the campe. The kyng for hym ſelfe had a howſe of tymber with a chimney of yron, & for his other lodgynges he had greate and goodly tentes of blew water worke garnyſhed w yelow & white, diuerſe romes within theſame for all offices neceſſary, on ſy topp of ſy paulions ſtoode ſy kynges beſtes holdyng fanes, as ſy Lion. ſy Dragon, the Greyhounde, the Antelope, the Dōne kow within all the lodgyng was poyncted full of the ſonnes riſyng, the lodgyng was C. xxv foot in length

The kyng lyeng before Tyrwyn, his greate ordinaunce ſore bet ſy towne walles, and ther within likewise ſhot out of the towne ordinaunce, & ſlewe diuers Engliſhmen in the trenches, among whiche ſhottes ther had one gonne that every day & night was ordinarily ſhotte at certeine howies without fayle this gonne was of Thengliſhmen called the whystelyng gonne, but it neuer did harme in the kynges ſeld. The ſiege thus lyeng before the citie of Tyrwyn, ſir Alexander Baynain a capitaine of ſy myners, cauſed a myne to be enterpriſed to entre into the towne, but the Frenchmen perceiuyng that made a countermyne and ſo deſtroyed the other myne, and diuers myners ſlayne within theſame. The French army hōued euer a farre to take the Engliſhmen at auantage as ther went a foragynge, & many a ſkirmiſh was done, and many good feates of armes achieved on bothe ſydes, and diuers priſoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certaine light horſmen called Stradiotes with ſhorte ſtyoppes, heuer hatts, ſmall ſpeies, & ſwerdes like Semiteries of Turkey. dyuers tymes, the northre light hoirmiē vnder ſy conduite of ſir Ihō Neuell ſkirmiſhed with theſe ſtradiottes and toke diuerſe of them priſoners, and brought them to the kyng.

While the kyng lay thus before Tyrwyn, the capitayne of Bullen knowynge by hys eſpialles that many of the gairryſon of Caleys were with the kyng at the ſiege, and alſo that daylye vitailles were brought out of Englande to Caleys to ſuccour the campe, imagined a greate entrepriſe and ſent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honour they ſhoulde obteyne yf they hurted, or ſpoyled the out partes of Caleys, the kyng of England beyng on that ſyde the ſee. The men of warre perceiuyng ſy good courage of ſy capitaine, aſſented to his purpoſe, and ſo with all diligence they to the number of a. M. men in the euenyng ſet forward, and came to Newnam Bridge by iij of the clock in the morning, and founde ſy watchmē ſy kept the bridge a ſlepe, and ſo entered ſy bulwerke & ſlewe ſy watchmen, & toke ſy ordinaunce of ſy bridge & then let ſy bridge fall, ſo ſy al entered ſy wold. The capitayne of Bulleyn kept vi C. men for a ſtale at ſy bridge, & ſent ſy other into the mariſſhes and meadowes where the Cattell fedde, and ſome of the

Frenchmen



Frenchmen came to Caleys gate, & were askryed of *ȝ* watch and so rang *alarme*: The English souldiours ran to the walles, and saw the Frenchmen without the toune walles: then they knewe that Newnam brydge was lost, and would haue issued out, but Sir Gylbert Talbott deputie there, would not suffer any gate to be opened. Now it happened that without Caleys gates were Richard Hunnyng & Richard Bycks of the Caterie, and. *iiij.* or. *iiij.* of the kynges seruantes whiche lay there to sende prouisions to the hoost. which beryng of this *alarme*, called to them the kynges bakers, and cowpers, and a fewe shippemen, which lay in the hauen, and coragiously folowed the Frenchmen. Thenglishmen were not past. *x.* skore persones, and sett on *ȝ* Frenchmen as they were a forragyng or they might assemble together, & slew them doune right, and toke no prisoners in maner, and so they came to Newnam brydge & toke it and put the Frenchmen backe. But or Thenglishmē had thus gathered them selves together, the Frenchmen had forraged all with in the riyer vp to saint Peters, and had driuen away the cattell and the ordinaunce of Newnam brydge and so passed till they came where the stale lay, and ther they taried lokyng for ther company that were gone a forragyng to Caleys walles. About *v.* of the clock in the morenyng, *ȝ* gate of Caleys called Bulleyn gate, was opened, & then issued out one Culpiper the vnder marshall, with. *ii.* C. hundred archers with the banner of saint George, and with great hast came to Newnam bridge, where they found the kynges seruantes and the other that had wonne the brydge, and then they all together marched toward the Frenchmen, which kepte the stale. The Frenchmen thought it had ben there awne company that had returned, till they saw the banner of saint George, then they knewe that their company were ouerthrowen, and that they must nedes fight or dy. Then thenglishmen though they were the smaller number, valiantly set on the Frenchmen, which with great force them defended, but at the last they were all discomfited and. *xxiii.* slayne and. *xii.* skore taken prisoners and ther ordinaunce and hole booty recovered. These prisoners were brought to Caleys, and there sold

The foly of  
a Cowper.

in open market. Among all other a Cowper of the towne of Caleys bought a prisoner of this booty *ȝ* dwelt in Bulleyn, and had of the prisoner *C.* crownes for his raunsome, and when the mony was paid, the Frenchman prayed the Cowper to se hym saue deliuered and to conduite hym out of danger, the Cowper gently graunted and without any knowlege of his fiendes, all alone went w the Frenchman till he came beyonde the Cawsey and ther would haue departed. but the Frenchmen perceived, that the Cowper was aged and that no reskewes was ny, by force toke the Cowper prisoner & carried him to Bulleyn, and made hym paye *ii.* C. crownes for his raunsome, thus thowhe foly was the poore Cowper deceived

The. *xi.* daie of August beyng thursday, the kyngelyeng at the siege of Tyrwyn, had knowlege that Maximilian theperour was in *ȝ* towne of Ayre. The kyng prepared all thinges necessaie to mete with theperour in triumphe. The noble men of the kynges campe were gorgeously appparelled, ther coursers bairded of cloth of gold, of damaske & bioderie, there apparell all tissue clothe of gold and syluer, and golde smutbes woorke, great cheynes of balderickes of gold, and belles of bulliou, but in especial *ȝ* duke of Buckingham, he was in purple satten, his appparell and his barde full of Antelopes and swannes of fyne gold bullion and full of spangyls and littell belles of gold meruelous costly and pleasāt to behold. The kyng was in a garment of gicate riches in iuels as perles and stone, he was armed in a light armure, the master of hys horse folowed him with a spae horse, the hennxmen folowed berynge the kynges peces of harnys, euery one mounted on a greate courser, the one bare the helme, the seconde his graugarde, the thirde his speare, the fourth his axe and so euery one had some thyng belongyng to a man of armes. the aparell of the *ix.* hennxmen were white clothe of golde and crymsyn cloth of gold, richely embrawdred with goldesmythes woorke, the trappers of the corsers were mantell harneys coulpended, and in euery vent a longe bel of fyne gold, and on euery pendant a depe tassell of fyne gold in bullion, whiche trappers were very ryche. The kyng and theperour mett betwene ayre and the campe, in the fowlest wether that lightly hath bene sene. Theperour gently entertained

tertained the kyng, and the kyng lykewyse hym, and after a littell communicacion had betwene them, bicause the wether was foule, departed for that tyme. The Emperour and all his men were at that daie all in black cloth for the Emprice his wife was lately diseased. After that the kyng was this returned to his campe, with in a daye or twayne ther arryued in the army a kyng of aimes of Scotlād called Lyon with his cote of armes on his back, and desyred to speke with the kyng, who with in shoite tyme was by Garter cheffe kyng of aimes brought to the kinges presence, where he beyng almost dismayed seyng the kyng so nobly accompanied, with few woordes and metely good reuerence, deliuered a letter to the kyng, which receiued f letter and redde it him selfe, and when he had redde it, without any moie delay he him selfe answered after this sorte. Nowe we perceyue the kyng of Scottes our brother in law & your master to be f same person whome we euer toke hym to be, for we neuer esteemed hym to be of any truthe & so nowe we haue founde it, for notwithstandinge his othe, his promise in f woorde of kyng, & his awne hand and seale, yet nowe he hath brokē his faith and promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer, and entendeth to invade our realme in our absence whiche he dirst not ones attempte, our person beyng presente, but he sheweth him self not to be degenerate from the condicions of his foiclothers, whose faythes for the most parte hath euer byn violated and ther promises neuer obserued, further than they liste. Therefore tell thy master, first that he shall neuer be comprised in any league where in I am a confederate, & also that I suspecting his treuth (as now the dede proueth) haue left an earle in my realme at home whiche shalbe able to defende him and all his powre, for we haue prouided so, that he shall not tynde our land destitute of people as he thynketh to do but thus saye to thy master, that I am the very owner of Scotlād, & f he holdeth it of me by homage, and in so much as now contrary to his bounden duety he beinge my vassall, doth rebell against me, w Gods help I shal at my returne expulse him his realme, & so tell hym sir sayd the kyng of Armes, I am his naturall subiecte, & he my naturall lord, & f he commaundeth me to saye, I may boldely saye w fauour, but the commaundementes of other I may not, nor daie not saye to my souereigne lord, but your letters may with your honour sent, declare your pleasure, for I may not say suche woordes of reproche to him whom I owe only my alleageaunce & fayth. Then sayd the kyng wherefore came you hyther, will you receyue no aunswere? yes sayde Liō, your answere requireth doying and no witynge, that is, that immediatly you should returne home well said the kyng I will returne to your damage at my pleasure, and not at thy masters somonyng. Then the kyng commaunded garter to take hym to his tente, & make him good chere, which so dyd, and cheished him wel for he was sore appalled after he was departed, the kyng sent for all the chefe capitaynes, and before them and all his counsaill caused the letter to be redde, the tiewe tenor whereof foloweth worde, by worde.

The letter of the kyng of Scottes

"Right excellent, right high, and mighty Prince, our deerest brother & Cousyng, we commaunde vs vnto you in our mayst haity maner & receyued Fia Raff heraulde your letters quharuntill, ye approue and allow the doynge of your commissioners lately beyng with ours, at the borders of bathe the realmes for making of redresse, quylke is thought to you and your counsell should be continnet and delaet to the xv daye of October. Als ye write, slaars by see aught not cōpere personally, but by their attorneis. And in your other letters with our heraulde Ilay, ye ascetaiue vs ye will nought entre in the treux taken betwext the mast Christian kyng and your fater of Aragon because ye and others of the hale hege, nether should ne may take peace, treux nor abstinēce of warre with your common eneyne, without consent of all the confederates. And that the Emperour kyng of Aragon, ye and euery of you be bounden to make actual warre this instant sommer agaynst your common enemie. And that so to do is concluded and openly sworne in Paules kyrke at London vpon sainte Markes daie last by past. And fether haue denyed sauconduite vpon our requestes f a seruitor of ours might haue resorted



your presence, as our herauld Ilay reportes: Right excellēt, right high and mightie Prince our derest brother and Cousyng, thesayd metyng of our and your commissioners at the borders, was peremptorily appoynted betwyxt you and vs eftur diuerse dietes for reformation before continued to the Commissioners metyng, to effecte that due redresse shuld haue ben made at the sayde metyng, lyke as for our parte our Commissioners offered to haue made that tyme: And for your part na malefactour was then arrested to the sayde diet. And to glose thesame, ye nowe wright that slaars by see nede not comperer personally, but by their attourneys, quylk is agayne the lawe of GOD and man And gef in crimenall accion, all slaars sulde nought comperer personally, na punicion sulde folowe for slaughter, and than vane it were to seke farther metynges or redresse And hereby apperes as the dede shewes, that ye wyll nouthur kepe gude weyes of iustice and equitie nor kyndnes with vs, the greate wronges and vnkyndnes done before to vs and our lyeges we ponderate quhilk we haue suffered this long time in vpberyng, maynsweryng nounredressyng of Attempitates, so as the byll of the taken of in baldyng of bastard Heiron with his complices in your cuntree quha slewe our waiden vnder traist of dayes of metyng for iustice, and therof was filat and ordaynt to be delyuered in slayng of our liege noble men vnder colour by your folkes, in takyng of vthers oute of our realme, prisonet and cheinet by the craggis in your cōtre, with haldyng of our wifes legacie promist in your diuise lettres for despite of vs, slaughter of Andiew Barton by your awne commaund quha than had nought offended to you nor your lieges vnredressed, and breakyng of the amitie in that behalfe by your dede, and with haldyng of our shippes and artillarie to your vse, quharupon eft our diuise requisitions at your wardens, Commissioners, Ambassadors, and your selfe, ye wrate and & als shewe by vthers vnto vs, that ful redresse shuld be made at the sayde metyng of commissioners, and sa were in hope of reformation, or at the lest ye for our sake walde haue desisted fra inuasion of our fiendes and Cousynges with in their awne countreis that haue nought offended at you as we firste required you in fauoure of oure tendre Cousyng the duke of Geldre, quham to destroye and disinherite ye send your folkes and dudde that was in them. And right sa we latly desyred for our brother and Cousyng the mast Christen kyng of Fraunce, quham ye haue caused to tyne his countree of Millaigne, and now inuades his selfe quha is with vs in secunde degree of blude, and hase ben vnto you kynde withoute offense and more kyndar than to vs: notwithstandinge in defense of his persone we mon take parte, and therto ye because of vthers haue gyuen occasion to vs and to our lyeges in tyme by past, nouthur doynge iustly nor kyndely towardes vs, procedyng alwayes to the vter destruction of our nerest frendes, quha mon doo for vs quham it shall be necessarie In euill example that ye wyll hereafter be botter vnto vs quham ye lightlye fauoure, manifestly wanged your sister for our sake incōtrary our writtes And sayeng vnto our herauld that we gree you fayre wordes & thinkes the cōtrary, in dede such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dudde vs, trustyng that ye shoulde haue emended to vs or worthun kyndar to our frendes for our sakes, and sulde nought haue stopped oure seruitors passage to labour peax, that thei might as the papes halnes exhorted vs by his breuites to do And therapon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes & to haue remitted thesame, though vther informacion was made to our haly father pape Iuly by the Cardinal of Yorke your Ambassadors. And sen ye haue now put vs fra all gude beleue through the premisses, and specially in denyenge of saueconduyte to our seruantes to resoite to your presence, as your ambassadour doctor west instantly desyred we sulde sende one of our counsayll vnto you apon greate matters, and appoyntyng of differentes debatable betwyxt you and vs, furtheryng of peax yf we might betwyxte the most Christen kyng and you, we neuer harde to this purpose saueconduite denied betwixte infideles. Herefore we write to you this tyme at length playnes of our mynde, that we require and desire you to desiste fra farther inuasion and vter destructiō of our brother and Cousyng the mayst Christen kyng, to whome by all confederacion bloude and alye and also by new bande, quhilk ye haue compelled

pelled vs lately to take through your iniuries and harmes without remedy done daily vnto vs, our lieges and subdites, we are bounde and oblist for mutuall defence like of vthers, like as ye and your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasions and actuall warie. Certifieng you we will take parte in defence of our brother and Cousyng y maist Christen kyng. And wil do what thyng we mayest may craue cause you to desist fra persuite of him, and for denyt and pospoynt iustice to our lieges we mon gyue letters of Maque accordyng to the amitie betwixte you and vs, quhar to ye haue had lyttell regarde in tyme by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the beare hereof to saye, gife it like you to here him and gyf hym credence: right excellent, right high and mighty Prince our dearest brother and Cousyng, the Trinitie haue you in keepyng Geuen vnder our signet at Edynboure the xxvi daie of Iuly "

When the kynge rede this letter, he sente it in all haste to the Earle of Surrey into England, whiche then lay at Pomfrett, and caused an other letter to be deuised to the kyng of Scottes, the copie whereof foloweth

" Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince, &c and haue receiued your writyng, Dated at Edenburgh the xxvi daie of Iuly by your heraulde Lyon this beaer, wherein after reheisall and accumulaciō of many surmised iniuries grefes and damages doone by vs & our subiectes to you and your lieges, the specialites wherof were superfluous to rcherse, remembryng that to them and euery of them in effect reasonable aunswere founded vpon lawe and cōscience hath tofore ben made to you and youre counsaill, ye not only requye vs to desiste from farther inuasion and viter destruction of your biother & Cousyng the French kyng, but also certefie vs that you will take parte in defence of thesayd kyng, and that thyng whiche ye trust may rather cause vs to desiste, from persuite of him, with many contriued occasions and cōmunications by you causeles sought and imagened, sownyng to the breache of y perpetuall peace, passed, concluded and sworne, betwixt you and vs, of which your unimagened quaielles causeles deuised to breake with vs contraiye to your othe promised, all honor and kyndnesse. We cannot maruayle, consideryng the auncient accustomed maners of your progenitours, whiche neuer kept lenger faythe and promise than pleased them. Howebeit, yf the loue and dread of God, myghnes of bloud, honour of the world, lawe and reason, had bound you, we suppose ye woulde neuer haue so faine proceded, specially in our absence. Wherin the Pope and all princes Christened may well note in you, dishonorable demeanour when ye lyeng in awayte seke the waies to do that in our syde absence, whiche ye would haue ben well aduised to attempte, we beyng within our realme and present And for theudent approbation hereof, we nede none other proues ne witnesse but youre owne writynges heretofore to vs sent, we beyng within our realme, wherin ye neuer made mencion of taking parte with our enemye the Frenche kyng, but passed the tynie with vs tyll after our departure from our said realme And now percase ye supposyng vs soo faire from our said realme to be destitute of defence agaynst your inuasions, haue vterred the olde iancour of your mynde whiche in couert maner ye haue longe kept secrete. Neuen thelesse, we remembryng the brytlnes of your promise and suspectyng though not wholly belenyng so much vnstedfastnes, thought it right expedient and necessarie to put our saide realme in a readynes for resisting of your sayde enterprises, hauyng firme trust in our Lorde GOD and the right wysnes of our cause with thassistence of our confederates and Alies weeshalbe able to resyste the malice of all Scysmatyques and their adherentes beyng by the generall counsayll expressly excommunicate and interdicted, trustyng also in tyme conueniente to remember our frendes, and requyte you and oure enemies, which by suche vnnaturall demeanour haue gyuen sufficient cause to the dysherison of you and your posterite for euer from the possybilite that ye thynke to haue to the royalme, whiche ye now attempte to invade. And yf the example of the kyng of Nauarre beyng excluded from his royalne for assistance gyuen to the Frenche king cannot restrayne you frō this vnnaturall dealyng, we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the sayde Frenche kyng as the kyng of Nauarre hath now: Who is a kyng withoute a realme, and so the French kyng peaceably suffereth



hym to contynue wherunto good regarde woulde be taken. And lyke as we heretofore touched in this oure wryting, we nede not to make any further aunswere to the manyfolde greues by you surmised in your letter. forasmuche as yf any lawe or reason coulde haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue ben many and often tymes sufficiently answered to thesame. Excepte onely to the pretended greues touchynge the denyeng of our saueconduyte to your Ambassadoure too bee last sent vnto vs. Where vnto we make this aunswere, that we had graunted thesayde saueconduite, and yf your herapld would haue taken the same with him lyke as he hath ben accustomed to sollicitee saueconduytes for inarchauntes and others heretofore, ye might as sone haue had that as any other, for we neuer denyed saueconduyte to any your lieges to come vnto vs & no further to passe, but we see wel lyke as your sayde herapld hath heretofore made sinister reporte contrary to trouthe so hath he done nowe in this case as it is manifest and open. Fynally as touchyng your requisicion to desist from farther attemptyng againste our enemy the French kyng, we knowe you for no competent iudge of so high auctoritie to requyre vs in that behalfe. wherfor God wyllyng we purpose with the ayde and assistance of our confederates & Allies to persecute thesame, and as ye do to vs and our realme, so it shalbe remembred and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our lord and our Patroue saint George. Who righte excellent, right highe and myghtie Prynce. &c. Yeu en vnder our signet in our campe before Tyrwyn the. xii. daye of August.

When this letter was written and sealed, the kyng sent for Lyon the Scottyshe herapld, and declared to him that he had wel considered his masters letter, and therto had made a reasonable answere, and gane to him in reward a hundred angels, for which reward he humbly thaked the kyng and so taried with gartier al night, and euery he sayde that he was sory to thynke what damage shoulde be done in Englande by his Master or the kyng returned, and so the nexte daie he departed into Flaunders wyth hys Letter to haue taken shyppe to sayle in to Scotlande, but or he coulde haue shyp and wynde hys master was slayne.

After the defyaunce declared by the kyng of Scottes herapld, the kyng of England wroto to the quene and other whiche he had left behynde of his counsayll, to prepare in all haste for the defence of thesayde kyng of Scottes, which so did w great diligence as you shal here shortly after. While the kyng lay thus at siege before Tyrwyn, the Frenchmē studied all the wayes possible how to vitayle the towne of Tyrwyn, & imaged in a night by some waye to conuey vitayle to the towne wherfore euery day they sent ther stadiares to espie by which way they might take then most auantage, and many times the English horsmen met w the stadiares and of them slew parte.

The French kyng woulde in any wise that the kyng of Englande shoulde be fought with all, wherfore he sent the duke of Vandosme, The duke of Longuyle with diuerse other valiant captains of Blagoy. Then was ther a conclusiō taken that the duke of Alanson should wyth v. M. men fight with the Earle of Shrewesbury, or els to kepe that nother he nother the lord Harbert should ayde or come to the kynges battayle, & with the king should skyrmysh the duke of Vandosme & Longuyle, while in the meane season the cariages with vitayle might entre the towne. For accomplyshyng of this entrepryse, the Frenchmen made greate puruauance and all on horsebacke, this was not so secretly cōcluded but the kyng of England had an ynkelyng therof, and sent woorde to the Emperour whiche laye at Ayre and knewe nothyng of this deuise and desyered hym to come to the campe to haue his aduysē. which gladly answered that he woulde come the morowe after. The kyng continually sent forth his lighthorses to seke the countrey and to se yf any apparaunce were, and they euery brought tidynges of such things as they sawe, so that alwaies it was forsene that the kyng nor his people shoulde be taken vnpuruyed, nor the Frenchmen shoulde not come on them suddenly vnaskyed.

While these thynges were thus in commonyng and imagenyng. Theemperour Maximilian and all his seruauentes whiche were reteyned with the kyng of England in wages by the day, euery

euery person accordynge to his degree, and Themperour as the kynges soldioure were a Crosse of sayncte George with a Rose, and so he and all his trayne came to the kynges campe the xiii day of August beyng Frydaye, and there was receyued with greate magnificence and brought to a tente of cloth of golde all ready apparelled accordynge to his estate, for all the tente within was syled with clothe of golde and blew velvet, and all the blew velvet was embrowdered with H. K. of tyne golde, and hys cupboorde was rychely furnished and officers appoynted to geue on hym attendaunce and there he taryed tyll Sunday, and from thence he went agayne to Ayre for his pleasure. The kyng and his counsaill were enformed by their espialles, and also it was confessed by certayne prysoners, howe the Frenche armye whiche lay at Blangoy, entended to vitayle the cytee of Tyrwyn. Wherefore on Frydaye at nyght, the xiii day of August the Duke of Buckyngham, the Earle of Essex, the Marques Dorsett the Lorde of Burgaynye, the Lord Willoghby, and dyucise other gentelmen with vi thousand men on foote and the Lorde Walon and the Lorde Ligny with ther horsemen were layed at Gyngate on the south syde of Tyrwyn, where they were all nyghte in order of battayle, awaytynge the reskewe of the cytee, but the Englishmen were askryed, and so the Frenchmen brake there purpose for that time and so the Duke of Buckyngham and his compaygmens returned to the campe. Monday the. xiiii daye of August by infortune, with oute any cause knowen, there fell a greate debate betwene the Almaynes of the kynges felde and Thenglyshemen, in so muche that they fell to fyghtynge and many men slayne, the Almaynes sodaynely ran to the kynges ordynaunce and toke it, and embattayled them selves, and bent the ordynaunce agaynste the kyng and his campe. Thenglyshemen were greatly fumed with this matter in so muche the archers set forward to haue ioyned with the Almaynes, and they lykewyse prepared there pykes, but the capitaynes tooke suche payne that the fray was apesed and al things done for that time, but as this commotion was in trouble, the Emperour came from Ayre and saw all the demener of both parties and was glad to se the discrete handelyng of the capitaynes. After themperour was come to the kynges felde, the kyng called Thēperour and all the lordes of his counsayll together assertynyng them that he was credibly enformed that the Frenchmen entended to reskewe the cytee of Tyrwyn, wherefore it was agreed that the master of the ordynaunce shoulde in haste make fyue bridges ouer the water for the army to passe ouer, to thentent to besege the cytee on that syde the carpenters dyd so there deuen that nyght, so that by daye all the brydges were made, so that all the horsemen passed ouer and askryed the country. On Twesdaye the xvi day of August the kyng reysed hys campe and with great ordynaunce and all other artillrye and carriage he passed the Ryuer and to him came Sir Ihon Neuell with hys lyghte horsemen and tolde him that behinde the tower of Gyngate was a great plume of horsemen. In the meane season, as Sir Ihon Neuell tolde the kyng these tydynge, by a nother waye was therle of Essex Sir Ihon Peché and the kings speres passed and skirmished wyth the plume of speies that Sir Ihon spake of, and there were many profers made on bothe sides, but in conclusion the Frenchmen were compelled to leaue their stale, and one horseman taken and sente to the kyng whiche in hope of pardon of his Raunsome shewed howe that the Frenche armye with their full power and strength were commynge from Blangoy the number of fyften thowsande horsemen of armes to ayde Tyrwyn on that side of the water. And to thientente that the armye of the Lorde Stewardé and the Lorde Chamberlayne shoulde not ayde the kyng, there were appoynted. v thousande of the. xv thousande hoisemen on the other side of the water. As these tydynge was tolde came one from Sir Ryce, and sayde that a prysoner that he had that day taken confessed that the cytee shoulde be reskewed the same day, and that he had askryed a number of horsemen to hys iudgemente vpon the poynt of syx thowsand. Then sodaynely came the Northren men whyche affirmed that they had sene the Frenche armye in order of battayle commynge forward, but they iudged them not past twelfe thowsande men. Then the kynges felde was pyched and the ordynaunce set, but some counsaylled the kyng to take downe hys tentes but the kyng sayde I will this daye that my felde be made and sett in as royall wise as maye be,



bee, and all my ryche tentes sett vp, whyche was done. Then the kyng called the Lorde Darcy, and commaunded hym to kepe his felde, treasure ordynaunce and other stuffe, whyche was lothe to goo from hys Master but by streyte commaundemente. Then every man prepared hym selfe to battayle resortynge to the standarde, the horsemen marched before the footmen by the space of a myle, still came courrouses berynge tydynge that the Frenche armye approached. The kyng had sette forwarde and to auance hys banner in name of GOD and Sanct George. The Almaynes seyng this (to what purpose it was not knowen) sodainly embatteled them selves on the left hande of the kyng and left the brest or fronte of the kyngs battayle bare. As the kyng was thus marchyng forwarde towarde the battaile, to him came the Emperour Maximilian with xxx men of armes he and all his compaignie armed in on sute with redde crosses. Then by the counsaill of the Emperour the kyng caused certayne peces of small ordinaunce to be laied on the toppe of a long hill or banke for the out skowerers. thus the kynges horsemen and a fewe archers on horsebacke marched forwarde. The kyng woulde fayne haue been afore with the hoisemen, but his counsaill perswaded him the contrary, and so he taried with the footmē accompanied with the Emperour.

The Frenchmen came on in iii ranges. xxxvi mens thickenes & well they perceined the kynges battayle of footmen marching forward. the erle of Essex capitayne of the horsemen, and sir Ihō Peche with the kynges horsmen and the Burgonyons to the number of a xi C stode with banner displayed in a vale. The lorde Walonne and the lord Ligny with hastarde Emery and there bende to the number of. iiii C hoisemen severed them selves and stode a syde from the Englishmen: so then the Englishmen were but. vii C yet they with banner displayed remoued vp to the toppe of the hill, and there they mett with sir Ihon Gylforde a C. alle archers on horsebacke, which had askryed the Frenchmen. Now on the topp of the hill was a fayre plaine of good grounde, on the left hand a lowe wodde, and on the right hand a falowe felde. The lord Walonne and the Burgonions kept them a loofe, then appeared in sight the Frenchmen with banners and standardes displayed. Then came to the capitaynes of the Englishmen of armes, an English officer of armes called Clarenceux and sayde, in Gods name sett forward, for the victorie is yours for I see by them, they will not abide, and I will go with you in my coate of armes. Then the horsmen set forward, and the archers alighted and were set in order by an hedge all a long a village side called Bomye. the Frenchmen came on with xxxiii standardes displayed, and the archers shotte a pace and galled their hoises, and the English speres set on freshly, cryēg sanct George, & fought valiantly with the Frenchmen and threw downe their standarde, the dust was great and the crye more, but sodainly the Frenchmen shocked to their standarde and fledde, and throw away there speres, sweides, and mases and cut of the bardes of their horses to ronne the lighter, when the hinder parte saw the former fly, they fled also, but the soner for one cause which was this. As the English hoisemen mounted vpp the hill, the stradiates were comyng downe wardes on the one syde of the hill before the French hoste, which sodainly saw the banners of the English hoisemen, and the kynges battayle folowyng vpwarde, wenyng to them that all had been horsmen, then they cast them self about and fledde, the Frenchmen so fast in array that the stradiates could haue no entre, and so they ran still by thedes of the ranges of the French army and when they behynde saw the fall of their standardes and then stradiates in whome they had greate confidence retorne, they that were farthest of fledde firste, then vp piansed the Burgonyons and folowed the chace. this battaile was of horsmen to hoisimē but not in egal number, for the Frenchmen were. x. to one, which had not byn sene before tynie, that the English horsemen gatt the victory of the men of armes of Fraunce. The Frenchmen call this battaile the journey of Spurres because they rāne away so fast on hoisbacke. This battaile was the. xvi. daye of August, in the whiche battaile was taken the duke of Longuylo, loys brother to therle of Dunoys whiche had maned the Marques of Rutilons heyre, the lorde Cleremounde and many other noble men to the number of. xii. skore and all brought to the kynges presence, and lykewyse all the standardes and banners

banners were brought to the king. The Burgoniōs kept their prisoners and brought them not to sight. The fame wēt that *Mouſire de la Palayce* was by them taken and lett go. Thenglyshemen folowed the chace iii. myle longe from the ſelde to a water in a valey, and there a Frenchman sayde to Sir Gyles Capell that one daye they woulde haue a daye, whiche answered hym agayne in Frenche that it was a biagge of Fraunce, and so Thenglyshmen returned to the kyng, whiche was commyng forward who gaue them thanks with greates praisynge for their valiantnes, and there he made Sir Ihon Peché bannarette and made Ihon Car knyght which was sore hurt, and sir Ihon Peché had his guyd home taken and diuers of his men hurt, they folowed so farre. Then the kyng retreated to Gyngate, to whom came sir Rice and shewed him how bothe the Frenchmen had skirmished with hym all daye on the other syde of the ryuer, and how therle of Shrewesbury with banner displayed was al daye prest in order of battayle to haue fought with the duke of Alanson and therle of saint Polle and the lord of Florences which with v. M. men as you haue heid were appointed to reskewe the towne on that syde where the lord of Shrewesbury lay, and to let him to come to aid the king, but how so euer that it happened, they stode still and came not downe but only skirmished with Sir Rice. The citie of Tyrwyn was this day in hope of ayde, and when they saw ther helpers comyng nere, they thesame day proudly issued out on the lord Harbert & skirmished with his people very valiantly, and they within also shot out ordinaunce of all partes. The lord Harbert and his capitaines coragiously defended them, and so sore they set on the Frenchmē, that they drave them by force to their gates for all ther succours, and many of them were slayne this night the kyng sent for the duke of Longeuyll and the lord Cleremounde and diuerse other noblemen, and the duke supped at f. kyngs borde that night.

Then the Frenchmen after this discomfiture assembled together and returned to Blangoy. xii. myle from the coste, and there talked of their losses, and because they knewe not who were taken and who were slain, therefore they sent an heraulde to the kyng to knowe the number of the prisoners, the kynges counsaill according to there desyer sent to them the names. The kyng beyng asseyntayned that the French kynges purpose was yet agayne to geue hym battayle, commaunded the best of the prisoners shoulde be conueyed to the towne of Ayre in Flaunders but when Thenglyshmen had brought them thither, the capitayne denyed that Thenglyshmen shoulde entre the towne with prisoners of Fraunce with whome he and his countrey had peace but yf the Frenchmen would desyre lodgyng for their ease, they shoulde be permitted to entie. But thenglyshmen in a fury answered, that yf you wyl not suffer vs to kepe our prisoners, we will slay them. then the Frenchmen mekely prayed the capitayne to suffer the Englishemen to entie, and sware to their keepers to be true prisoners, and so they entered, and after were conueyed into England. The Lord Powntremy of the house of Cresquy capitayne generall of Tyrwyn perceyued the discomfiture of the French partie, and perceyued how the Earle of Shrewesbury and the Lord Harbert had brought thither great ordinaunce so nere the towne that neuer it coulde not be brought, and that in the walles was suche batterie that it was not lyke to continue, yet he manfully defended the cytee and shotte gonnes euery daye as he was accustomed and neuer was in despayre, tyll the. xviii. daye of thesayde moneth he sawe the kyng remoue his campe from Gyngate and layed his campe on the southe syde of the towne betwene their reskewe and the towne then when he sawe this and considered that hys succours were put backe and that the towne was sore febeled, and that the kynges greatest ordinaunce was bent agaynst the towne, he therfore by the aduyse of other capytaynes sent to therle of Shrewesbury and the Lord Harberte a trumpet, desyerynge abstinence of waite for a daye, they incontynente sent to the kyng to knowe his pleasure, the kyng answered that he woulde not graunte till he knewe the consideracion, then the capitayne sent woorde that with sauſeconduyte he would come and speke with the kynges counsaill, which to him was graunted, then he sent certayne commysioners whyche offered to delyuer the towne with all the ordinaunce and municions without any fraude, so that the townes men that woulde there dwell myght haue



haue life and goodes safe, and that ſ men of waire myght departe wyth horse and harneys, for goodes they sayde they had none, and there horse and harneys was of lytell valure to so great a prynce. After that the kyng and his counsayll had debated this matter, it was answered the commissioners that although the kyng knewe thei penury of vitayle and the dayly mortallite among them and that the towne by reason of great batteries was not able long to resiste, yet because they asked maicy he woulde not extende rigor, and graunted there requeste. so that they delyuered the towne with all the ordynaunce as they had promysed, to the whyche all they were sworne, and so returned. And thesame nyght Therle of Shrewesburye entred the tounne and had the walles and towres and the banner of saint George was set in the highest place in signe of victory, & the lord Powtremy with al the garyson departed with horse and harneys accordyng to the appointementes. Then the lord George Talbot erle of Shrewesburye, with in C men serched the towne for fere of treason or that any inconuenience might be vnto the king and his people. and after that he saw all thing sure he called all the townes men together, and sware them to be trew to the king of England. When all this was done, the kyng on the xxiii day of August entered into the cytye of Tyrwyn at ix. of the clokke before noone with great triumphe and honour, his persone was apparelled in armure gilt and gauen, his garment and barde purple veluet full of borders, and in all places trauesed with branches in ronnyng worke of fyne golde, the branches were of hawthorne wrought by goldesmythes crafte wounde with a braunche of Roses, and every flower, lefe & bury were embossed. After whome folowed his benxmen with the peces of armure accustomed. Thus with greate glory this goodly prince entered and toke possession of the towne of Tyrwyn and was receued at the Cathedral church with procession, and they heard masse & dynd in the bishoppes palyce, and at after none returned to his campe, Jeuyng in the towne the Earle of Shrewesbury with his retinue. The xxvi daye of August the kyng remoued agayn to Gyngate, and there it was agreed that the walles, gates, bulwarkes and towres of Tyrwyn should be defaced, rased and cast downe. of whiche conclusion the Emperour sent word to saint Omers, and to Ayre, which beyng Ioyous of that tidynges (for Tyrwyn was to them a scourge) sent thither pyoners with all maner of instrumentes, and so they and thenglish pioners brake down the walles, gates and towers of the foundation & filled the diche and fyered the towne, except the Cathedral church and the palayce, and all the ordinaunce was by the king sent to Ayre, to be kept to his vse. After this, it was concluded that the king in person should ley his siege to the citee or towne of Turney, wherfor he set forwarde three goodly battayles, the first was conduyted by thele of Shrewesbury, the second battayle led the kyng hym selfe with whome was Themperour. The rereward was conduyted by the lord Harbert. and so the first night thei laye in campe besyde Ayre, whiche night vitale was skant, diuerse Englishmen tarried in Tyrwyn when the kyng was past for pillage & fyered certayne houses, on whom came sodainly the French stradiates, & some they slew and some they caste into the fier, they that fledde, scaped narrowly.

Wednesday the xiiii daie of Septēber the king and his army came to Beatwyn, and there had plentie of all thynges, and on the morowe he with his army passed forward and came to a strait where was a foorde and all the carriages must nedes come downe a stepe hill to the foorde & so to the streyt, where as one wagon scare alone might passe, and the wether was hoat and the beastes had not dronke all daye, wherfore at the foorde the horses woulde drynke maugie ther leders, and so the currages wēt not all hole together which was a dowtfull case, but yet by wise order thei passed the streyte & so did the army & came to a place betwene Caun and Camblyne and there lodged that night in a playne bairen grounde, and the next day he remoued his campe and the forward passed a bridge called pount Auandien into Flaunders side & there lay, the king lay at the other ende of the bridge on Arthoys syde, & the rereward lay in a fayre ground behynde the king.

Saterday the xvii. day of September tidinges came to ſ kyng how the Frenchmen had assembled a great puissaunce & would fight with the king, wherfore the king caused his forward

Tyrwyn  
burned.

ward to remoue farther & sent the Almaynes to kepe the passage the pount dassaus. Then the great ordynaunce passed the bridge of pount auandien and the king was remoued fro thence & as his tentes were taking vp an askrye was made that the enemies were in sight, which noyse was sodainly seased and sir William Sandes with. vii C Englishmē & strangers was appoynted to kepe y<sup>e</sup> bridge and certayne ordynaunce was to him appoynted

When the king and all the cariages were passed, then the lord Harbert remoued ouer the bridge and encamped hym behynde the kyng by a fayre mylle, when the kynge was encamped and all thynges in order, there came to him a noble man of Flaunders called the lorde Rauesten which after his humble reuerence done, shewed the king that the young prynce of castel Charles and the lady Margarete gouernes of thesayde prince most hartely desyied him for his pastime after his long trauayle to come and repose in his towne of Lysle and to see his brother y<sup>e</sup> prince and the ladies of the court of Burgoyne: sayenge that it became not ladies to visite him in his marcyall, campe, whiche to them was terrible. The king gently gaunted his request, & then he sent his officers thether to make prouision and appoynted the duke of Buckyngham the Marques Dorsett therle of Essex and the lord Lysle and diuerse other to geue ther attendaunce on him, and committed his campe to his counsayll. Then he mounted on a courser, his apparell and barde were cloth of syluer of small quadrant cuttes trauersed and edged with cutt cloth of golde, and the border set full of redde rooses, his armoure freshe and set full of iuels the Master of hys horse Sir Henry Guylforde and the henshmen folowed as you haue heard before, and the coursers richly apparelled and so were many capitaynes that wayted on the kyng by the way met the king the lorde Rauesten with many noble men and a myle withoute the towne ther mette with him the Bourgesses of Lysle and presented to him the keyes of the towne, sayeng, that Themperour their souereigne lord had so commaunded them to do. The king praised ther obediēs to their souereigne, & thāked y<sup>e</sup> Emperour & thē for so high a presente as the keyes of such a towne. Neuerthelesse he had suche confidence in them, that he trusted them no lesse then his awne subiectes, and so deliuered the keyes to the prouost of the towne whiche was well accompanied. then mette the king a great number of nobles of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, and Henawde, which nobly receaued hym. After thē came the Cōūtye Palatine or Paulsgraue one of y<sup>e</sup> electors of the empire with xxx horses al his men gorgeously apparelled after the fasshon of his countrey, and humbly saluted the king. At the gate of Lisle the capitayn of the towne stode with a garrison in armure wel appoynted, all the strets were sett on bothe sydes with burnyng torches and diuerse goodly pagiantes pleasant to beholde. thus he passed thorowe the towne with his swerde and maces borne before hym, and alighted at the hall dore with his swerde borne, where mett w<sup>th</sup> him thēperour, the prince of castel & the lady Margaret and hūbly saluted him: then for reuerence of thempour, the kyng caused his swerde to be put vp and his maces to be leyed downe, then was the kyng and all other nobles lodged and feasted according to their degrees.

In the towne of Lisle was a noys that iii gonnes with handgonnes should haue slayne y<sup>e</sup> kyng. For which rumour many were attached, but nothinge proued, but when this tidynges came to the campe, they were neuer mery tyl they saw the king agayne, great was the chere with bankettes, playes, commodities, maskes and other pastymes that was shewed to the king in the courte of Burgoyne, and so in solace he sporned there Sondaye and Mondaye the. xix. daye of September. the. xx. daye he sent woorde that his army shoulde remoue towarde Tournay, and so they remoued to a place conuenient betwene Tournay and Lisle, and certayn capitaines were appoynted to kepe y<sup>e</sup> passage at the bridge of Auandien.

After that the kyng had taryed at Lisle. iii. daies, and had well reposed him selfe, he toke his leaue and thanked the Emperour & the young prince & the lady Margaret & all the ladies of all his high chere & solace and about vi. of the clock at night, he departed out of Lisle, and y<sup>e</sup> noble men brought the kynge forth and so returned, and then the capitayne shutt the gates.



When the kyng was a mile and more out of the toune, he asked were his campe lay and no man there could tell the way, and guyde had they none, the night was darke and mistie: thus the kyng taryed a lōg whyle and wist not whyther to go, at last they mette with a vitayler commyng from the campe whiche was ther guyde and brought them thither. The master of the ordynaunce shotte dyuerse peces of ordynaunce but they were not harde, but in safene the king with all his company returned.

The. xxi. daye of September the kyng reuoued his campe towarde Tournay and lodged within iii. myles of the cyne, on a corne ground by the ryuer. The whiche nyght came to the kyng Theimperour and the Paulsgrauē whiche were lodged in ryche tentes and nobly serued of all vyandes and thynges necessarye. The people aboute Tournay were with their goodes fledde to the cytie, and yet the cytie had no men of warre to defende it, but with multitude of inhabitants the cytee was well replenished the king commaunded sir Rice and his horsemen to vewe one quarter, and therle of Essex and his company another quarter, and the lord Walowne & the lord Ligny the other quarters: so the xxii. day of september these iii. capitains at one time were sone opely w<sup>th</sup> banners displayed before the towne, and there made a long stale & returned. The king sent Gartier king of armes & a pursuuant of armes with a trouppett to somon the citee, which declared that the kyng of England and of Fraunce commaunded them to yelde to him his citee & to receaue him as there naturall lord, or he would put them and ther citee to swerde, fyre, and bloude. To whome they proudly answered, y<sup>e</sup> ther toke no citee of him to kepe nor none would they rēder, w<sup>ch</sup> which answer he departed. Then they fortified there walles, & made prouysion for vitaille, corne, wine, & artillerie, & for all fortificacions that might be gottē. And the citee of it selfe was strong, well walled, & turryted w<sup>th</sup> good Bulwarkes & defenses: But when they sawe the kyng with suche a puisaūce draw nere ther cytee, they were sore abashed and called a generall cōsaiyll. then the prouost sayde, brethern you knowe how y<sup>e</sup> the kyng of England sent an heraulde to somon vs to rendre to hym this cytee, or els he woulde put it & vs to the swerde, fyre, and bloude, we answered we would be at defence: now he is come in our sight to fulfull the message sent by his herauld, & now is come the time of our defence, & in this matter stādeth iii. mischiefes, one is our hōūden deuty & allegeaūce that we owe to our so-ueraigne lord king Loys of Fraunce, the seconde the lifes of vs, our wifes, children, and neighbours, the thirde how to defende the finall destruccion of this aūcient cytee which is lickely to fall, which cytee was neuer conquered & now our cytee is hole (your liues in sauntie, your goodes your own): determine whither you wyl haue warr or peace: then the cōmon people cried all war, war, war, then said the prouost take cōpassiō of wifes & childrē & of the old folke, cōsider yf you haue no quick reskue you can not continue against yōder puisance, al tho your corages were as good as Hectors or Achilles, this y<sup>e</sup> wisest of the citee and I haue cōsidered. Then sodainly was ther in y<sup>e</sup> counsaill, a vauntpailer, a botcher which heying this, called a great number of his affinitie & went out of the counsaill, & so out of the gates & sett fier of the suborbes on all sydes. When the counsaill saw the myndes of the commons and that ther wayes might not be folowed, then they comforted the people and maynteyned them for ther defence. The kyng Raysed his campe & came in Array of battayle before Tournay, the Earle of Shiesbury with the forward was a litell space on the right hand brest with the kyngs battayle, and the lorde Harbert with the rere-ward on the left hande in lyke manner, the day was fayer and the harneys glistered and banners waded that they of the cytee were sore affrayed. thus stode the kynges battayles in Array before Tournay. Then the kyng commaunded hys greate ordynaunce to be caried in the waye passyng towards the cytee & so euery thing accordyng to his commaundement was accōplished. Then the kyng him selfe with a fewe persones rode betwene his ordynaunce and the towne, and rode in great aduenture so nere the walles, y<sup>e</sup> he might vewe the walles and the towers very well they shotte out of there towers peces of ordynaunce & hurt such as came within there leuell. Then they rong the *alarme* bell, which was harde,

wel

wel in the felde. Then the citezens issued out at the gate by the ryuer and manfully profered to skymish, but they w archers were sone driven backe to then gates. The English caners that came with the harbeshers to take ground ranne to the gates of Tornay, and toke certayne wagons with beere and vitayle and yet the Turnoyes dyrt not resiste, although they were in greater nomber then the men of carnage. In this skymish the boise of the loide Ihon Gray brother to the Marques Dorsett which went to defende the Carours was slayne with a gonne, and he not hurt. After that the king in person had thus in reopardie auetured hym self and vewed the toune, he caused immediatly xxi peces of great artillery to be brought in a plain feld before the towne, and when they were chaiged, they were immediatly shotte, & the most parte of the stones fell with in the citee, & so they shotte diuerse shottes one after another.

Then the king with all his battayle planted hys siege on the northe parte of the citee Therle of Shrewsbury with his battayle warded toward the south syde of the ryuer and there lay that nyght. The Lord Harbert with the reuerarde plated his battall on the west side of the citee, and with great ordynance daily belt the walles and towers of the citee. On the morowe beyng the xxiii. daie, the Lorde Talbott Earle of Shrewsbury accompanied with the noble men of his battail whose names you haue harde at his first passyng the see passed over the ryuer of Tornay and planted his siege on the south syde stretchng to the east ende of the citee, & bent his artillery against the walles of the citee. Thus was the citee of Tornay beseged on all partes, & euer in hope of reskue valiantly defended her selfe.

Nowe must I lene the kyng at the siege of Turnay, and diuerse to thinges done in Eng-lande in his absence, and declare how the kyng of Scottes invaded the realme of Eng-lande, and how he was defended and fought with al, and in conclusion slayn the. vii. daye of this moneth of September.

When the king of England was determined in his high court of Parliament to passe the see, in proper peison for the recovery of his realme of Fraunce, he and his counsaill forgat not the olde Prankes of the Scottes which is euer to invade England when the kyng is out, or within age: and also he had knowlege that at Camphere in Zeeland the Scottes dayly shipped long speies called colleyne clowystes, armure & artilerie, which dealing made his grace and his counsaill to dowte notwithstanding that the king of Scottes was sworne on the sacramēt to kepe the peace, yet for voydyng of all dowtes, the kyng appointed the lord Thomas Haward eile of Surrey sonne to the loide Ihō Haward duke of Norffolke and high treasurer and maishall of Englande, to be hys lieutenant in the North parties agaynste thesayde kyng of Scottes, if he fortunēd to invade (as he dyd in dede) accordinge to the olde traytorous accoustome of hys progenitors, and that the sayde erle should reyse the powers of the contrey of Chester, Lancaster, Duresire, Northumberlande, Westmjerlande, and Comberland, besyde other aydes to be apoynted by the quene. And whē the kyng should take ship at Dover, he toke the erle by the hande, and sayde, my lorde I trust not the Scottes, therefore I pray you be not negligent, then sayde the erle I shall so do my duty, that your grace shall fynde me diligent, and to fulfill your will shalbe my gladues: Therle coulde skantly speake whe he toke his leaue, for the departing frō the noble prynce hys souereigne loide and kyng, and from the floure of all the nobilitie of this realme, beyng redy in suche an honorable iorney. And when he was somewhat settelled in hys mode, he sayde to some that were about hym. Sory may I se hym or I dye, that is cause of my abydinge behynde, and if euer he and I mete, I shall do that in me lyeth to make hym as sory if I can meanyng thesame by the kyng of Scottes. From Dover he attendid on the quene to London, comfertyng her the best he myght, and shortly sent for hys gentelmen and tenautes, whiche were v. C. able men, whiche mustered before syr Thomas louel, knyght, the xxi. daye of Iuly, and the. xxii. daye he rode thorough London Northward, and came to Dancaster, and there commaunded syr William bulmer knyght, to make haste to the marches of Scotlande, and to lye in the castels



and fortresses on the frontiers with. ii. C archers on horsebacke for the erle by open tokens dayly perceiued that þ̃ Scottes entended warre. Then the sayde syr William with all spede departed and came to the borders and the erle came to Pomfret, the first daye of August, & there taried. After that syr William bulmer was come to the borders, one daye in August, the lorde Chamberlayne and warden of Scotland with. vii. or viii. M. men with banner displayed entered into England, and brent & haryed a great praye in Northumberland that heryng syr Willm bulmer, called to hym the gentelmen of the borders with his archers, and all they were not a thousand men. And when they were nere assembled, they brought the selves in to a brome felde, called Mylsfeld, where the Scottes should passe. And as þ̃ Scottes proudly returned with their pray, the Englishmen brake oute, and the Scottes on fote like men them defended, but the archers shotte so holy together, that they made þ̃ Scottes geue place, and v. or vi. hundred of them were slayne, and. iiii. hundred and more taken prisoners, and the pray reskued beside a great nuber of geldinges that were taken in the countrey, and the lord Hume, lord Chamberlayne fled & his banner taken. This was the fyrst open token of warre, shewed by the Scottes, whiche call this iourney the yll Roade.

The erle of Surrey, beyng at Pomfret, called to hym the most parte of the Gentelmen of the Counties to hym apoynted as is before rehersed, declaringe to them the kynges hygh commaundement, shewynge them, that he beyng there the kynges Lieutenaut muste nedes haue ayde and counsayll. Wherefore he sware the mooste wysest and experte gentelmen in suche causes of the kynges counsayll and hys for that tyme for the better compassynge hys charge and purpose, and for too bynge euery thyng in dew order. Fyrst they toke a determinacion with syr Philippe Tylney knight, Treasurer of the warres, howe the charges should be payde, and secondarely with syr Nycholas applyarde, master of the ordinaunce, for the conueyaunce of the kynges royall ordinaunce, poudre and artillerie to Newcastle, and so forwarde as the case shoulde requyer, whiche syr Nycholas by William Blacknall, clerke of the kynges spycerie, sent the saide ordinaunce and artillerie to Durham before, so that all thynges, concerning that office were in a redynes. The erle forgat not to sende too all lordes Spirituall and Temporall, knyghtes, Gentelmen, or other whiche had tenautes, or were rulers of townes or liberties (able to make men) to certefie what number of able men hoised and harnessed, they were able to make within an houres warnynge & to geue their attendaunce on hym, and also he layed postes euery waye, which postes stretched to the marches of Wales to the counsayll there, by reason, whereof, he had knowlege what was done in euery coste.

The erle was enformed by the lord Dacres, of the numbryng and preparynge of men in Scotlande, and Proclamacions soundinge to the breche of peace, and yet though he considered that the Roade made by the lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande into England, beyng distrusted by syr William Bulmer, as is afore rehersed, was an open breche of the perpetuall peace yet the sayde lorde Dacres auysed the earle for many and greate weyghty causes, not to reyse or styrre the powers of the countrey, to hym apoynted tyll he mighte perceyue and openly know the subtile purpose and entent of the Scottes aforesaid, lest if the Scottes had perceyued the Englishmen redy to fight, they woulde haue desisted of theyr purpose for that tyme, tyll the Englishmen were returned to their countreys, and then sodaynely too ryse agayne.

Then the Erle knowynge that the towne of Barwycke was ströng ynough, sent to the Capitayne of Norham, certefiinge hym, that if he thought the Castell in anye daunger or debyllite, he woulde put hym selfe in a readynes to reskew it, if it were beseged, the capitayn wrote to the Erle thankynge hym and prayed GOD that the kyng of Scottes woulde come wyth hys puyssaunce, for he woulde kepe hym playe tyll the tyme that the Kyng of Englande came out of Fraunce to reskew it, whiche aunswere reioysed the Erle muche.

After the kyng of Scottes had sent hys defyaunce to the kyng of Englande, lyenge before

before Tyrwyn, as you haue harde, he dayly made hys musters, and assembled hys people ouer all hys realme, whereof the brute was that they were two hundred thousand, but for a suertye they were an hundred thousand good fightynge men at the lest, & wyth all hys hoste and power entered into Englande (and threw doune pyles) the. xxii. daye of August, and planted hys siege before the Castell of Norham, and sore abated the walles. The erle hard tydynges thereof the fyue and twenty day of August, beyng saynct Barthelmeues daye.

Then he wrote to all the gentelmen of the shyres aforesayde, to be with hym at Newcastle, the fyrst daye of Septēber next with all there retynew accordynge to the certificat. On the morow, he with his tyue hundred men came to Yorke, and the. xxvi. daye he went toward Newcastle, and notwithstanding that he had the fowlest day and nyght y<sup>e</sup> could be, and the wayes so depe, in so much that hys guyde was almost drowned before hym, yet he neuer ceased, but kept on his iorney to geue example to them that should folow. He beyng at Durham was aduertised how the kyng of Scottes with hys greate ordinaunce had rased the walles of the Castell of Norham, and had made thre great Assaultes thre dayes together, and the Capitayne valyauntly defended hym, but he spent vaynely so muche of hys ordinaunce, bowes and arrōwes and other municions that at the laste he lacked, and so was at the. vi. daye compelled to yelde hym synply to the kynges mercy. This castell was thought impregnable, if it had bene well furnished, but the Scottes by the vndiscrete spendynge of the Capitayne, toke it in sixe dayes thys chaunce was more sorowfull to the erle then to the Bishoppe owner of the same. All that nyghte the wynde blewe corragiously, wherefore the erle doubted least, the Lorde Hawarde hys sonne greate Admyrall of Englande shoulde perishe that nyght on the sea, who promised to lande at Newcastle with a thousand men, to accompaynie his father, whyche promyse he accomplished.

The erle harde Masse, and appoynted with the Prior for sainte Cutberdes banner, and so that daye beyng the thirty daye of August he came to Newcastle. thither came the lorde <sup>S Cutberdes</sup> Dacres, syr William Bulmer, syr Marmaducke Constable, and many other substanciall gentelmen, whome he reteyned wyth hym as counsayllers, and there determined that on Sundaye nexte ensuyng, he shoulde take the felde at Bolton in Glendale, and because many souldiours were repayrynge to hym, he lefte Newcastle to the entent that they that folowed, shoulde haue there more rone, and came to Alnewyke the thyrde daye of September, and because hys souldiars were not come, by reason of the foule waye he was fayne to tarye there all the fourthe daye beyng Sundaye, whiche daye came to hym the lorde Admyrall hys sonne, with a compaignye of valyaunt Capitaynes and able souldiars and mayners, whiche all came from the sea, the commynge of hym muche reioyced hys father, for he was very wyse, hardy, and of greate credence and experience. Then the Erle and his counsayll, with greate deliberacion appoynted his battayles in order with wynges and with ryders necessarie.

¶ Fyrste of the forwarde was Capitayne the lorde Hawarde, Admyrall of Englande, with suche as came from the sea, and with hym syr Nycholas Applyarde, syr Stephen Bull, syr Henry Shyreburne syr William Sydney, syr Edward Echyngham, the lorde Clyfforde, the lorde Conyers, the lorde Latymer, the lorde Scrope of Vpsale, the lorde Egle, the lorde Lomley, syr William Bulmer with the power of the Bishoprycke of Durham, syr William Gascoyne, syr Christopher Ward, syr Ihon Eueryngham, syr Thomas Metham, sy Water Gryffith, and many other.

¶ Of the wyng on the righte hande of the forwarde, was capitayne syr Edmond Hawarde knyght, Marshall of the hoste, and with hym Bryan Tunstall, Raufe Brearton, Ihon Laurence, Rycharde Bolde Esquyers, and sy Ihon Bothe, sy Thomas Butler knyghtes, Rycharde Donne, Ihon Bygod, Thomas Fitzwilliam, Ihon Claruys, Bryan Stapulton, Robert waiacoppe, Rycharde Cholmeley, with the men of Hull, and the kynges tenauntes of Hatfelde and other.



¶ Of the wyng of the left hande, was Capitayn syr Marneduke Constable with hys sonnes and kynnesmen, syr William Percy, and of Lancashere a thousand men.

¶ Of the rerewarde was Capitayne the Erle of Surrey hyin selfe, and with hym the lorde Scrope of Bolton, syr Philippe Tyllney, syr George Darcy, syr Thomas Barkeley, syr Ihon Rochffe, syr Christopher Pykeryng, Rycharde Tempest, syr Ihon Stanley with the Bisshop of Elyes seruautes, syr Bryan Stapulston, Lyonell Percy, with the Abbot of Whitbyes tenautes, Christopher Clapham, Syr Williā Gascoing the younger, syr Guy Dawney, Master Magnus, Master Dalbyes seruautes, syr Ihon Normauyle, the citizens of Yorke, syr Nynyan Maikanuyle, syr Ihon Wylloughby with other.

¶ Of the wyng on the right hande was capitayne the lorde Dacres with hys power.

¶ On the leftehande wyng was syr Edward Stanley knyght, with the residue of the power of the countye Palatynne and of Lancaster.

And when all men were appoynted and knewe what too do. The erle and hys counsayll concluded and determined emonge other thynges to sende Rouge crosse pursuant of armes with a trompet too the kyng of Scottes, with certayne instructiouns, signed by the sayde erle, containinge a worde by woordes as foloweth

First where there hath bene suyte made to the kyng of Scottes by Elyzabeth Heron, wyfe to William Heron of Forde, nowe prysoner in Scotlande, for castynge doune of the house or Castell of Forde, and as the sayde Elyzabeth reporteth vppon communicacion had, the sayde kyng hath promysed and condiscended to the sayde Elyzabeth, that if she any tyme before none, the fift daye of September, woulde brynge and deliuer vnto hym the lorde Ihanstowne, and Alexander Hume, then prysoners that tyme in England, he then is contented and agreed that the sayde house or Castell shall stande without castynge doune, brennyng or spoylynge the same: Whereunto the sayde erle is content with that, vppon this condicion, that if the sayde kyng will promytte the assuraunce of the sayde Castell, in maner and forme aforesayde vnder hys seale, to deliuer the sayde lorde of Ihanstowne and Alexander Hume, immediately vppon the same assuraunce. And in case the sayde kyng can and will be content to deliuer the sayde Heron oute of Scotlande, then the sayde erle shall cause to be deliuered to the sayde kyng the two gentelmen and two other, syr George Hume and William Carre.

Farther the sayde erle woll that you Rouge Crosse, shewe the sayde kyng, that where he contrary to his othe and league, and vnnaturally agaynste all reason and conscience hath entred and invaded this hys brothers realme of Englande, and done great hurte to the same, in castynge doune Castelles, Towers and houses, brennyng, spoylynge and destroyng of the same, and cruelly murderynge the kyng of Englande hys brothers subiectes. Wherefore the sayde erle will be readye too trye the rightfulness of the matter wyth the kyng in battaill by Frydaye nexte comynge at the farthest if he of hys noble courage will geue hym tarienge, and abode, within thys the kynges Realme so longe tyme. And the same the sayde erle promyseth, as he is true knyght to God and the kyng of England hys master. And before Rouge Crosse shoulde departe with the sayde instructiouns, the sayde lorde Admirall gaue hym in credence too shewe the sayde kyng of hys comynge, and parte of his compaignye on the sea with hym. and that he hadde soughte the Scottyshe Nauye, then beyng on the sea, but he coule not mete with them, because they were fledde into Fraunce, by the coste of Irelande.

And in asmuche as the sayde kyng hadde diuerse and many tymes caused the sayde lorde, too be called at dayes of trowth, too make redresse for Andrew Barton, a Pirate of the sea, longe before that vanquished by the same lorde Admirall, he was nowe come in hys owne proper person too be in the Vaintgarde of the felde to Iustifie the death of the sayde Andrew, agaynste hym and all hys people, and woulde so what coule be layd to hys charge the sayde daye, and that hemor none of hys compaignys shoulde take no Scottshe nobleman prysoner, nor any other, but they shoulde dye if they came in hys daunger, onesles it were the sayde person, for he sayde he trusted to none other curtesye at the handes of the Scottes.

And

And in thys maner he shoulde fynde hym in the Vauntgarde of the felde by the grace of GOD and saynte George as he was a trewe knyghte. Yet before the departyng of Rouge Crosse with the sayde instruccions and ciedence, it was thoughte by the Erle and hys counsayll, that the sayde kynge woulde fayne and Inagen some other message, too sende an Heraulde of hys with the same, onely to View, and ouer se the maner and order of the kynges royall armye, ordinaunce, and artillerie, then beyng with the Erle, wherby myghte haue onsued greute dauntier to the same, and for exchuyng thereof he hadde in commaundemente, that if any such message were sente, not to bryng any person, commynge therewith within three or two myle of the felde at the nyghest, where the sayde Erle woulde come, and heare what he woulde saye. And thus departed Rouge Crosse with his trumpet apparayled in his Cote of armes.

On Mondaye the fift daye of September, the Erle tooke hys felde at Bolton in Glendall as he had appoynted, wher all the noble men and gentelmen met with their retynnewes to the number of six and twenty thousande men, and aboute mydnighte next ensuyng, came the trompette, whiche went with Rouge Crosse, and declared how the kynge of Scottes, after the message done to hym by Rouge Crosse accordyng to hys instruccions, the sayde Kyng detayned hym, and sent on Ilay a Harauld of hys wyth hym vnto the Erle, to declare too hym the sayde Kynges pleasure, too whome the Erle sente Yorke Heraulde at armes, to accompaynie the sayde Ilay, at a Village called Mylo, twoo myles from the felde, vntyll the commynge thither of the sayde Erle the next morow.

The sixt daye of September, early in the mornynge, the Erle accompaynied with the most parte of the lordes, knyghtes and gentelmen of the felde, euery man haryng with hym but one man to holde hys horse, and so the sayde Heraulde met with the erle, and with blout reuerence declared to him that he was come from hys master the Kyng of Scottes, whiche woulde knowe, whither the Erle sente anye suche message by Rouge Crosse, the Erle iustified the same, sayng farther, that Rouge Crosse hadde the same message of hym in wrytynge signed with hys awne hande, whereunto the sayde Ilay sayde, as touchyng the sayng from biennynge or destroyng, and castyng doune of the Castell of Eorde, for the deliuerance of the sayde prisoners, The kyng his master woulde thereto make no aunswere. But as too the abydyng for battayll betwene that and Frydave, then nexte folowynge, the kyng his master hadde hym shewe to the Earle, that he was as welcome as any noble man of England vnto the same kyng, and that if he had bene at home in his Towne of Edēborough, there receyuynge suche a message from the sayde Erle he woulde gladlye haue come and fulylled the sayde Erles desyre: and the Heraulde assured the Erle on the kyng hys masters behalfe, that the same kyng woulde abyde him battayll at the daye prefixed, whereof the sayde erle was righte ioyous and muche praysed, the honourable agreement of the sayde royall kyng and esteemed the same too procede of an high and noble courage, promysynge the Heraulde that he and good suertye with hym shoulde be bounde in ten thousande pound sterlyng too kepe the sayde daye appoynted; so that the kyng woulde fynde an Erle of his, and thereto a good suerty with him to be bounde in lyke summe, for the performas of the same: And farthermore the Erle bad the Heraulde for to say to his master, that if he for his parte kept not hys appoyntemente, then he was content, that the Scottes shoulde staffull hym, which is a great reproche amonge the Scottes, and is used when a man is openly periured, and then they make of hym an Image paynted reuersed, with hys heles vpwaide, with hys name, wonderynge, cryenge and blowing out of hym with hornes, in the most despitesfull maner they can. In token that he is worthy too be exiled the compaignie of all good Creatures.

Then Ilay deliuered too the Earle a littell Cedule wryten with the kynges Secretaries hande vnsignd, the tenor whereof foloweth.

¶ "As to the causes alleged of oure commynge into Englande agayne, oure bande and promyse (as is alleged) thereto we aunswer, ower brother was bounde also farre to vs as we to hym. And when we sware laste before hys Ambassade, in presence of oure counsayll, we expressed specially in oure othe, that we woulde kepe to oure brother, if oure brother kepte.



kepte to vs, and nat elles, we sware oure brother brake fyrste to vs, and sythe hys breke, we haue requyred dyuerse tymes hym too amend, and lately we warned oure brother as he dyd not vs or he brake, and thys we take for oure quarell, and with Goddes grace shall defende thesame at youre affixed tyme whiche with Goddes grace we shall abyde."

And for as muche as the sayde Kynge kepte styll Rouge Crosse with hym, who was not yet returned, the same Earle caused the sayde Ilay too be in the keypyng of Syr Humfrye Lyssc and Yorke Heralde, in the same Vyllage, vntyll the tyme that a seruauant of the sayde Ilay myghte ryde in all haste too the royall Kynge of Scottes, for the deliueringe of the sayde Rouge Crosse. Then the erle Ioyous of the kynges answer, returned to hys campe, and set forward fyue myle, too a place called Woller Haugh, in suche order of battayll, as euen then he should haue fought, and there lodged for that nighte, three lyttell myles from the kynge of Scottes, and betwene the kynge and hym was a goodly and large corne felde, called Mylfelde whiche was a conuenient and fayre grounde for twoo hostes too fight on, there euery hoste myghte perceyue other.

The morowe beyng Wednysdaye, the vii. daye of that Moneth, the kynge of Scottes caused hys greate ordinaunce too be shotte at the Englishe armye, but it hurte neither man nor beast. When the kynge of Scottes sawe that Ilay was deteyned, he sent away Rouge Crosse to the erle, by whome, and other of the borders he was aduertised that the kynge laye vpon the syde of a hyghe mountayne, called Floddon on the edge of Cheuyot, where was but one narrow felde for any man to ascende vp the sayde hyll to hym, and at the foote of the hyll laye all hys ordinaunce. On the one syde of hys armye was a greate Marrishe, and compassed with the hylles of Cheuyot, so that he laye to stronge too be approached of any syde. excepte the Englishemen would haue temerariouly ronne on hys ordinaunce, whiche matter well considered by the Erle and hys sonne, and other of the counsaill there they called to theim Rouge Crosse, and sent hym the nexte daye to the kynge of Scottes, willinge hym too shewe the kynge, that the sayde erle, with dyuerse of the kynges nobles and subiectes hadde auanced them selves to geue battayll too hys grace, trustyng that accordinge to hys promise, he woulde auance hym selfe and hys armye to ioyne the battayll, whiche as yet he hath not done. Wherefore he desyred the kynge that he myghte haue knowlege by noone that daye, whether he of hys noble courage woulde discende the hyll, where he lay and too geue battayll or not: and if he saye that I shall not knowe hys entent, or wyll saye, that he will kepe the grounde. then shewe hym that he perceyueth well that that place is no indifferēt grounde for twoo armyes too fighte, and therefore I will looke for no mo of his delays. The same daye beyng oure Ladye daye the natuute Rouge Crosse departed to the kynge of Scottes, whiche woulde not heare hym speke, but sente one of hys seruitours to heare his message, Whiche seruitour after he hadde disclosed the same to the kynge, made aunswer, that it besemed not an erle, after that maner too handle a kynge, and that he woulde vse no sorcery, nor had no trust of any grounde. You haue harde before, howe Ilay the Scottishe Heralde was returned for Rouge Crosse, and as sone as Rouge Crosse was returned, he was discharged, but he tayed with Yorke an Englishe Heralde makynge good chere, and was not returned that mornyng that Rouge Crosse came on hys message, wherefore Rouge Crosse and hys trompet were detayned by the seruante of Ilay, whiche the daye before went for Rouge Crosse, assuryng them that if Ilay came not home before none, that he was not liuinge, and then they shoulde haue their heddes stryken of, then Rouge Crosse, offered that hys seruauant shoulde go for Ilay, but it would not be excepted, but as hap was Ilay came home before none, and shewed of his gentell enterteynynge, And then Rouge Crosse was deliuered, and came to the Englishe armye, and made reporte as you haue hearde.

Then the Englishemen removed their felde on the water of Tyl, and so forthe ouer many hylles and streytes, marchynge toward the Scottes on another syde, and in their sight the Scottes burned certayne poore Vyllages on the other syde of the Marishe.

The Englishemen, alwayes leauynge the Scottishe armye on the left hande, toke their felde

nder a wood syde, called Barmer wood, two myle from the Scottes, and betwene the two armyes was the Ryuer of Tyll, & there was a littell hyll that sau'd the Englishemen from the gonneshotte, on which hyll the lorde Admyrall perhightly saw and discovered them all.

In the euenynge of thesame daye it was concluded betwene the erle and hys counsayll, and most parte of the armye thereto agreed, that the Vauntgarde with the ordinaunce should passe ouer agayne the water of Tyll, at a bridge called Twysell bridge the. ix. day of September, and the rereuarde to passe ouer at Mylforde, puttinge theym selves as nye as they coulde betwene the Scottes and Scotlande, and so to geue battayll to the Scottes on the hyll, called Floddon hyll. Frydaye the sayde nyth daye, the lorde Admyrall, lyke a valiaunte knyghte, passed ouer Twysell bridge with the Vantgarde, marchyng towarde hys enemyes, lyke diligence was made by the Erle for passynge ouer at Mylforde with the reicuarde, saynge to hys Capytaines, now good fellowes, do lyke Englishemen this daye, take my parte lyke men, whiche parte is the kynges parte, and I wyste you would not, I will in my awne person fighte with the kyng of Scottes, rather to dye honourably by hys crueltye, then to lyue in shame, or that any reproche shoulde be layed to me hereafter. To whome they answered, that they would serue the kyng and him truly that daye. The Englishe armye that daye hadde no vitayle and were fastynge, and two dayes afore they had onely dronke water, and coulde scace get anye other sustenance for money, and yet they kept array on horsebacke from fyue of the clocke in the mornynge tyll foure of the clocke at after none, and were alwayes in the sighte of the Scottes.

The kyng of Scottes perceyunge the Englishemen, marchynge towarde Scotlande, thought that they would haue entered into Scotlande, and burne and forray the plentifull coutry, called the Marche, for so was he made beleue by an Englishemā named Gyles Musgrauie whyche was familiar with the kyng of Scottes, and dyd it for a pollecie to cause hym to come doun from the hyll. Wherefore the sayde kyng caused hys tentes to be removed to an other hyll in greate haste, least the Englishemen shoulde haue taken thesame hyll. And at theyr departynge they set fyre on theyr litter and other fylthy ordure, accordynge to theyr custome, and of the fyre and smolder dyd ryse suche a smooke so thicke and so darke, that the one host could not perceyue theother, for the wynde did drine the smoke betwene the two armyes the Scottes euer keepynge the heygth of the hyll on the edge of the cheynyot, and the Englishemen passed forward still in the lowe grounde, and euer in the couert of the smoke in so muche that bothe the hostes were very nere together within the space of a quarter of a myle, before onc of them could perceyue another for the smoke. Then, when the Englishemen had passed a lyttel brooke, called Sandwyfforde, whyche is but a mans step ouer, and that the smoke was passed, and the Ayre fayre and cleare, eche army myghte playnly see one an other at hande. Then the lord Admyrall perceyued foure great battayles of the Scottes all on foote with long speres lyke mooreshe pykes. whyche Scottes furnished them warlike, and bent them to the forward, whiche was conducted by the lord Admirall, whiche perceyunge that sent to hys Father the erle of Surrey hys *Agnus dei* that honge at hys brest that in all hast he would ioyne battayll, euen wyth the bront or brest of the vantage for the forward alone was not able to encountre the whole battayll of the Scottes, the erle perceyunge well the saynge of hys sonne, and seyng the Scottes ready to discede the hyll auauised hym selfe and hys people forward, and broughte theym egall in grounde wyth the forward on the left hande, euen at the bront or brest of thesame at the foote of the hyll called Bramston, the Englishe army stretched East and West, and their backes North, and the Scottes in the South before them on the forsayde hyll called Bramston. Then oute braste the ordinaunce on bothe sydes wyth tyre flamme and hydeous noyse, and the Master gonner of the Englishe parte slewe the Master gonner of Scotlande, and bet all hys men from theyr ordinaunce, so that the Scottishe ordinaunce dyd no harme too the Englishemen, but the Englishemens Artyllerie shotte into the myddes of the Kynges battayll, and slewe many persones, which seyng the kyng of Scottes and hys noble men, made the more haste too come too ioyning, and so all the foure battayles in maner disceded the hyl



at once. And after that the shotte was done, whiche they defended with Pauishes, they came to handestrokes, and were encounterd senerally as you shall here.

- j. Fyist on the Englyshe syde next the West, was Syr Edmonde Hawarde knyghte, Marshall of the hoste chief Capitayne of a wyng on the ryghte hand of oure vantgarde, and was encounterd with the Chamberlayne of Scotlande wyth hys battayle of sperys on foote, to the number of ten thousande at the least, whiche foughte valiauntly, so that they by force caused the lyde wyng to flye, and thesame syr Edmonde thre tymes telled to the grounde, and left alone sauynge his standarde betra, and two of hys seruantes, too whome came Ihon Heron bastarde sore huite, saynge there was neuer noble mans sonne so lyke too be loste as you be thys daye, for all my hurtes I shall here lyue and dye wyth you, and there thesayde syr Edmonde Hawarde was in a great daunger and ieopardie of hys lyfe, and hardelye escaped, and yet as he was goynge to the body of the Vantgard he met with Dany Home, and slew hym hys awne hande, and so came to the Vantgarde.

- ij. Secondely, Eastwarde from the sayde battayle was the lorde Admyrall with the Vantgarde, with whom encountred the erles of Crafforde and Montroos, accompaigned with many lordes, knyghtes and gentelmen, all with sperys on foote, but the lorde Admyrall and hys compaignie acquyted them selles so well, and that with pure fighting, that they brought to grounde a great number, and both the erles slayne.

- ij. Thurdely, Eastwarde from the lorde Admyrall was the erle of Surrey, Capitayne generall, to whose standarde the kyng of Scottes in hys awne person marched, beyng accompaigned wyth many Bischoppes, Erles, Baions, knyghtes and Gentelmen of the Realme, with a great number of commons, all chosen men with speres on foote, whiche were the most assuredly harnessed that hath bene sene, and that the tallest and goodlyest personages with all, and they abode the most daungerous shot of arrowes, which sore them noyed, and yet except it hit them in some bare place it dyd them no hurt. After the shotte ended, the battayll was cruell, none spared other, and the kyng hym self fought valiauntly. O what a noble and triumpfaunt courage was thys for a kyng to fyghte in a battayll as a meane souldier. But what awayed hys strong harnes, the puyssaunce of hys myghtye champions with whome he descended the hyll, in whome he soo much trusted that with hys stronge people and great number of men, he was able as he thought to haue vanquished that day the greatest pryncce of the world, if he had ben there as the erle of Surrey was, or els he thought to do such an hygh enterpryce hym selfe in his person, that should surmount the enterpryses of all other princes: but how soeuer it happened God gaue the stroke, and he was no more regarded then a poore souldier, for all went one way. So that of his awne battaill done escaped, but syr William Scot knight his chauncelour, and syr Ihon forman knight, his seruaunt Porter, whiche were taken prisoners, & w<sup>th</sup> great difficulty saued. This may be a great myrror to all prynces, how that they aduenter their selues in such a battail.

Forthely, Eastward was syr Edward Stanley knight, capitayn of the left wyng with the sayde erle, which claime vp to the toppe of the hyll called Bramston, or the Scottes wiste, and with him encounterd the erles of Huntley, Lénoux, and Argile, with a great number of Scottes whiche were sore fought with all, whiche perceyuinge the erle of Huntley toke a horse and saued hym selfe, if he had taryed he had bene likely to haue gone with his compaignie such as fled, the sayde syr Edward and his people folowed the ouer thesame grounde, where the erles battell first ioyned, and founde ther the Scottes, whiche were by the erles battaill slayne before, and sodainly left the chase and tell a spoyling, and spoyled the kyng of Scottes, and many that wer slayne in his battaill, but they knew him not, and found a Crosse and certayne thinges of his, by reason wherof some sayde that he was slayne by that wyng, whiche could not be true, for the prisoners of Scotlād testified that the kinges battaill fought onely with the erles battels, but for a tuth this wyng did vey valiauntly: wherfore it was thought that the said syr Edward might that daye not haue bene missed.

All these iii battels, in maner fought at one tyme, and were determined in effect, littell in distance of the begynnyng and endynge of any of them one before the other, sauynge

ying that, syr Edward Stanley, which was the last that fought, for he came vp to the toppé of the hyll, and there fought with the Scottes valiauntly, and chared them doune the hyll ouer that place, where the kynges battail ioyned Beside these. iiii. battayles of the Scottes were twoo other battayls, whiche neuer came to hande strokes

Thus thorough the power of God on Friday, beyng the. ix. daye of Septēber, in the yere of our loide .M. D. xiiij. was Iames the. iiii. kyng of Scottes slayn at Bramstone (chiefly by the power of f̄ erle of Surrey, lieutenant to kyng Henry the viii. kyng of England, which then lay at the sege befoie Tounay) and with the sayde kyng were slayne.

The Archebishop of saynct Andriwes,  
the kynges bastard sonne.

The bishop of the Isles.

The Abbot of Inchaffrey

The Abbot of Kylweny.

Eiles

The erle Mowntroos

The erle of Crafford

The erle of Arguyle.

The erle of Lennoux

The erle of Glencarre.

The erle of Katenes

The erle of Castelles.

The erle of Bothwell

The erle Arrell Constable of Scotland

The erle Addill.

The erle Athel

The erle Morton

Lordes

The lord Louet.

The lord Forbos.

The lord Elueston.

The lord Roos

The lord Indeiby

The lord Sentclere

The lord Maxwell.

and his iiii. brethren.

The lord Daunley

The lord Seympyll.

The lord Botthyck.

The lord Bogony

The lord Arskyll.

The lord Blakkater.

The lord Cowyn

Knyghtes and gentlemen.

Sir Ihon Dowglas.

Cutbert Home lord of Fastcastell.

Sir Alexander Seton.

Sir Daui Home.

Master Ihon Graunt.

Sir Dunkyn Caufelde.

Sir Saunder Lowder.

Sir George Lowder.

Master Marshall.

Master Keye.

Master Elliot.

Master Cawell clerck of the chauncery

The Deane of Ellester.

Mack, Kene.

Mack, Clene, and many other gentlemen,

whiche be vnknown, because no officer of armes of Scotland would come to make serche for them and yf the daie had bene lēger by. iiii. houres, (for it was. iiii. of the clock at after none or the battailes ioyned) or that the Englishmen had had witayles, so that they myght haue bidden still together, they had not alonely made the greatest distresse of Scottes by death and takyng, that the lyke hath not bene sene in one daye: but also within a litle while might haue put the realme of Scotland in suche a miserie, & trouble, that for euer they should haue ben ware how to enter the realme of England, and specially the kyng being absent: for the Englysh men wanted no good wyll, for of the Scottes they slew. xii. M. at the lest of the best gentlemen and flower of Scottlād and of the Englysh syde were slayne and taken not xv. C. men, as it appered by the boke of wages whē the souldiours were paid. Thus therle of Surrey accomplished the promise at his daye prefixed vnto the kyng of Scottes to his great fame and honour

After that the feld was fought & the Scottes fled, many Englyshmen folowed them into Scotland, and were so faire that they wyst not whiche waye to returne and so were taken prisoners of the Scottes that were in the ii. battayles that fled first and neuer faught. Also dyuerse were taken by the lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande whych fought with the wyng of Sir Edmond Haward, and were caried wyth hym to the number of. lx. Of the Scottes that



fled some passed ouer the water of Twede at Candestreme soorde, and other by the dry marches, during the tyme of the fighte, and the nyght after many men lost theire hoises and suche stoffe as they left in their tentes and paultions by the robbars of Tyndale and Tyndale.

The lord Dacre with his company stode styll all daye vnfoughten with all. When the felde was done and the skoute watch brought woord that there was no more apperaunce of the Scottes, but all were returned. Thearle thanked God with humble harte, and called to hym certayne lordes and other gentlemen and them made knyghtes as syr Edmond Haward his sonne and the Lorde Scrope, Syr Wylliam Percy and many other. Then therle and the Lorde Admirall departed to Barmer wodde and appoynced Sir Phylippe Tylney knyghte wyth the compaignye of the lorde Admirall and the compaignye of the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, the lorde Latimer, olde Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir William Percy, Sir Nicholas Applyard, and their compaignyes, and a fewe other to kepe the place where the felde was for sauynge of the Englyshe ordynaunce, and the ordynaunce that was taken from the Scottes, whiche was. v greate Curtalles, twoo greate Culuerynes, foure Sacres, and six Serpentyne as fayre ordynaunce as hath ben sene, bysyde other small peces. Well knowen it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prysoners of Scotlande, that theyr kynge was taken or slayne, but hys body was not founde tyll the nexte daye, because all the meane people aswell Scottes as Englyshe were strypped out of their apparell as they laye on the felde, yet at the laste he was founde by the Lorde Dacres, who knewe hym well by hys pryue tokens in that same place where the battayle of the Earle of Surrey and hys, fyrste ioyned together

Thys kynge had dyuerse deadely woundes and in especiall one with an Arowe, and another wyth a byll as apered when he was naked. After that the bodye of the Kynge of Scottes was townde and broughte too Barwycke, the Earle shewed it too Sir William Scott hys Chaunceller, and Syr Ihon Forman hys serriante porter, whiche knewe hym at the fyrste sighte and made greate lamentacyon. Then was the bodye bowelled, embawmed, and cered, and secretly amongst other stuffe conueyed to Newcastle, but thesame daye the Lorde Admyrall came to the felde and there some Scottes appered on an hyl but William Blackenall whiche was the cheffe doar and ruler of all the ordynaunce shott suche a peale, that the Scottes fledd, or els the Lorde Admyrall had ben in greate ieopardye. and then all the ordynaunce was broughte insauetye to the Castell of Cytell, and there remayned for a tyme. After thys noble victorie therle wrote fyrste to the Quene whiche had rayسد a great power to resiste the sayde kynge of Scottes, of the wyngynge of the battayle, for then the bodye of the kynge of Scottes was not townde, and she yet beyng at the towne of Buckingham had woode the next daye after that the kynge of Scottes was slayne and a parte of hys coate armure to her sente, for whiche victorie she thanked GOD, and so the Earle after that the Northe parte was sett in a quietnes, returned to the Queene with the deade body of the Scottyshe king and brought it to Richemond.

Nowe lett vs retorne too the kynge of Englande lyenge before Tournaye whyche the xxv. daye of September receyued the gauntelett and letters of the Earle of Surrey, and knewe all the dealyng of bothe parties. Then he thanked GOD and highly praysed the Earle and the Lorde Admyrall and his sonne, and all the gentlemen and commons that were at that valiante entrepryce. Howebeit, the kynge had a secrete letter that the Cheshyre men fledde from Syr Edmond Hawarde, whyche letter caused greate harte burning and many woordes, but the kyng thankfully accepted al thynge, and would no man to be dysprayed. So, on the Mondaye at nyght the xxv. daye of September, the Lorde Harbarie and the Earle of Shrewsburye made greate fyers in there armies in token of victorie and triumph: and on Teusdaye the xxvii. daye, the tente of cloth of gold was sett vp, and the kynges Chapell-sange masse, and after that *Te Deum*, and then the Byshoppe of Rochester made a Sermond and shewed the deathe of the kynge of Scottes and muche lamented the yll deathe and periuie of him

The kynge of Englande lyenge thus before Tournay, caused hys greate ordynaunce to be

be planted rounde aboute the Cytee, and dyuerse trenches were cast and rampiers made and the Lorde Lysle, and the Lorde Wyloghby were appoynted to mayntayne the ordynance, wyth thei bendes, and therle of Kent was lodged before the gate called port Valencyen, so that the Cytyzens coude not issue out, nor no ayde coude come in. The ordynance dayly bett the gates, towers, and walles, whiche made a greate batterie: and a fewe Englyshmen assaulted the port Coquerell, but they were to few in number, and yf they had ben more in number, they had taken the towne as the Tournosyns confessed after. The Cytyzens of Tournay consyderynge their estate, came together to counsayll, and there the Prouost sayde, frendes and brethren of this noble Cytee, I cannot to inuche playse youre treuth and fidelite to youre souereigne Lorde the kynge of Fraunce consyderynge how manfully you haue defended this Cytee sythe the begynnyng of this siege, but alas although it be wrytten on the gates grauen in stone *Jammes ton ne a perdu ton pucelage*, that is to saye thou hast neuer lost thy maydenhed yet yt thys Cytee had not been well furnyshed and euer at the date appoynted suer of reskeue, it coude not haue contynued: nowe you se that reskeue fayleth, our gates be rased, our towers betyn downe, our chiefe towai lyke to fall, so that yf thys perillous siege continue, or els yf our enemies assaute vs, we be not able to defende vs wherfore nowe, all these thynges consydered, I woulde knowe whyther you wyll treate with the kyng of Englande or abyde the chaunce. Then they which at the last counsayll cryed waire, waire, nowe cryed peace, peace, yet all were not agreed: then one wyseman sayde, Sirs yf the towne be assawted once agayne with a greate number, suerly it will be taken: you sawe the experience at the last assaute, and then consider yf it be taken by force who is there that can saye he is sure of his life: But by entretic, the kynge of Englande is so mercyfull that wee maye fortune to saue bothe lyfe and goodes. Then fynally all agreed to treate. Then the Prouost sent to the kyng a trompett desyerynge a sauveconduyte for hym, and certayne other to come and to speke wyth hym, whyche request was to hym graunted. Then the Prouost of the cytee accompanied with eleuen wyth hym of the best of the cytee, came to the armye and spake with the lordes of the counsail and after were broughte to the kynges prcsence, the Prouost kneled downe and all his compaignye and sayde: Ryght highe and myghtye Prynce although the Cytee of Tournay is stronge, well walled, well replenished wyth people, vytayles, artylerie, ye and the people in feare and dread of nothyng, yet we knowe that agaynste your greate puyssaunce yt can not contynue long, although yt were ten times as stronge as it is, wherfore we knowynge by reporte, your honoure, your wysedome, your iustyce, and noble harte, are contente to become your subiectes and vassalles, so that we maye haue and enioye oure olde lawes, customes, lyberties, and Franchesses, vnder you as we haue before thys done vnder other Princes. Then the kynge aunswered, we haue wel harde your petycyon, we will common wyth our counsayll and make you aunswere, and when he had comuned wyth his counsayll, he aunswered sayenge. Sirs he that asketh meicye of vs shall not be denyed, seyng you come to treate, we remytte you to oure counsayll. Then they wente into the tente of counsayll, and there the Tournasyns fell at a pnycte, and in conclusion, they yelded the Cytee and ten thowsande pound sterlyng for the redempcyon of theyr lybertyes, and so departed to the cytee, makynge relacion of the kynge and hys noble corage. On Thursdaye the xxix daye of September, the kynge was in hys ryche tente of clothe of golde vnder hys clothe of estate, to whome came the Cytezens of the Cytee and were sworne to hym and became his subiectes. Then the kynge appoynted the lord Lysle, the Lorde of Burgayny & the Lord Wyloghby to take possession, whiche with six thowsand men entered the Cytee and toke the markett place and the walles, and serched the howses for feare of treason and then master Thomas Wolsey the kings almoner called before him all the citizens young and old and swaie them to the kyng of England, the nōber whereot was, iii. skore thousand. Thus the kyng of England by conquest came to the possession of the cytee of Tournay. on Sondaie the. ii. daye of October the kyng entered the cytee of Tournay at porte Fountayne, and. iii. of the chiefe of the cytee ouer him bare a cannapye with all the



armes of England, euery person was in his best apparell, & Ladies and gentlewomen lay in the wyudowes beholdyng the kyng and his nobilite, euery citizen had in his hande a staf torche, the kyng hym selfe was richely apperelled in ryche armure on a barded courser, his hennine being his peres of war, as axe, spere and other, there couisers were barded with thaimes of England, Fraunce, Ireland, & other the kynges dominions all of ryche embraudery thus the kyng with hys nobilite all richely apperelled with his swerde borne before him, his herauldes and seriantes of armes with trumpettes and mynstrelsy entered the cytee and came to our ladye churche, and there *te deum* was song. Then the kyng called to his presencc, Edward Guldeforde, Wylliam Fitzwilliam, Ihon Dauncye, William Tiler, Ihon Sharpe, William Huse, Ihon Savage, Cristopher Garnyshe, and diuerse other valiaunt esquyers and gaue to them the order of knyghthode, and then went to his lodgyng, & at after none he came to a market place, where was prepared for him a place: then he caused a proclamacion to be made in his name kyng of England and of Fraunce that no man shoulde grieue the citizens, during which proclamacion the turnesyns scace looked vp, nor shewed once to him anny amiable countenaunce which was much marked, the City finished, the kyng departed to his campe leuyng the cytee in safe keepyng. This weke the kyng rode to see the castel of Morton, & ther his grace toke greate pleasure. The kyng remembryng the great cheie that the pryncce of castell and the lady Margarete had made him at Lysle which was but. xii. mile English from Tornay, desired thesaid pryncce and lady with diuerse other to come to him to his cytee of Tornay and made preparacion for the same, and appointed a iustes wherof he him selfe would be one, and caused a Tilt to be made in the market place. While these thynges were preparyng, the kyng and his counsaill ordered for the sure keepyng of the cytee of Tornay, and there ordeyned Sir Edward Pownynges knight of the order of the garter to be his Lientenaunt with. iiii. C. archers, with capytaynes horsemen and artillerie conuenient, and to haue ayde of Henawde and other the kyngs findes adioynyng, and of his garde he left there. iiii. C. archers, & ordinaunce was appoynted for the defence of thesame. Monday the xi. daye of October the kyng without the towne receyued the pryncce of castell, the lady Margaret and dyuerse other nobles of their countreys and them brought into Tornay with great triumphe. The Noys went that the lord Lisle made request of mariage to the ladye Margarete duches of Sauoy and doughter to Themperour Maximilian, which before that tyme was departed from the kyng with many riche giftes and money-borrowed but whether he profered mariage or not she fauored him highly: there the pryncce and duches sojourned with great solace by the space of. x. dayes. During whiche tyme, the xviii. daye of October began the iustes, the kyng and the lorde Lisle answered all comers. vpon the kyng attended. xxiv. knyghtes on foote in coates of purple veluet and cloth of gold. A tent of cloth of gold was set in the place for the armonie and releue, the kyng had a base and a trapper of purple velaet bothe set full of S S of fyne bulliō and the lord Lisle in thesame suyte, ther were many speres broken and many a good buffet geuen, the strangers as the lord Walon and lorde Emery and other dyd right well. When the iustes wer done, the kyng and al the other vnhelmed them & rode about the Tilt and did great reuerence to the ladies, and then the herauldes cryed to lodgyng.

This night the kyng made a sumptuous banket of a C. dishes to the pryncce of Castell and the lady Margarete & to all other lordes & ladies, and after the banket, the ladies-daunsed, and then came in the kyng & a xi. in a maske, all richely apperelled w<sup>th</sup> bonettes of gold, & when they had passed the time at their pleasure, the garmentes of the maske were cast of amongst the ladies, take who could take.

The xx. daye of October, the Prince of Castell and the lady Margarete with many great giftes to them geuen returned to Lyle with all their trayne. After that the kyng was enjoyned that all direccions were taken and euery thing put in an order for the sure keepyng of the citee of Tornay, he tooke thesame to sir Edward Pownynges knight which valiantly kept it in good order and iustice.

The king & his counsayll before this had considered that the Frēchmen would geue them no battayle, & that winter aproched, which was no time to lie at siege of other townes, concluded to kepe Tournay sauely, and to breake vp his campe for that winter, and to begin again war in the spring of the yere this was a full conclusion taken by the kynge and his counsayl, and so the kynge and all his people (excepte suche as were appoynted to be with syr Edward Pownynges) departed out of Tournay the. xx. daye of September. and the king and the noble men made suche speede, that shortly they came to Caley, and thither came the Lorde Admyrall whome the kynge hartely thanked of his paynes and there euery man was paid of his wages and conduyte money, and shippes prepared for the passage, and so the. xliii. daye, of Septēber the kynge with a priuy cōpany toke shippe & the same day landed at Douer and shortly after all his people folowed, then he with a small company rode to Rychemonde in post to the quene, where was suche a louing metyng that euery creature reioysed. This season began a great mortalite in London and other places where much people died. All this winter the kynges nauy kept the seas and robbed and spoyled the Frenchmen on their costes.

When the kynge was thus returned he forgat not the good seruyce that many a gentleman dyd at the battayle of Bramston, wherfore he wrote to them his louing letters with such thanks and fauorable wordes that euery man thought him selfe well rewarded. And on the daye of the purification of our lady at Lambeth the kynge created the Earle of Surrey duke of Norffolke with an augmentation of the armes of Scotlande, and Sir Charles Brandon Viconte Lisle, he created duke of Suffolke, and the Lord Haward high Admirall he created Earle of Surrey, and Sir Charles Somersett Lorde Harbert, his chiefe Chamberlayne, he created Earle of Worcester and after that at a nother daye he made Sir Edward Stanley for his good seruice, lorde Montaygle, and in marche folowyng was master Thomas Wolsey the kynges almoner consecrate bisshop of Lyncolne, which ther to was named on Newers daye before. This man was borne at Ypswyche and was a good Philosopher, very eloquente and full of witte, but for pride, couetous, and ambition, he excelled all other as you shall hear after.

In the tyme of kynge Henrye the seuenth father to kynge Henrye the eyght it was concluded betwene the sayde kynge, and kynge Phylippe of Castell sonne to Maxymilian Thempour and kynge of Castell and his wife, that Charles his eldest sonne should marye the Lady Mary daughter to the kynge of Englande with a dowrye to her appoynted, at whyche tyme they were bothe younge: Nowe at the kynges retourne from Tournay he made preparacyon too sende thesayde Ladye his syster to the Prince of Castell. But the counsayll of Flaunders answered that concernyng her selfe they would gladly receyue to be espoused to their Prynce, for she was then one of the fayrest Ladyes of the worlde but as concernyng the articles of her dowar, they coulde not fulfyll without thassente of the kynge of Arragon and the realme of Castell (whyche as was sayde, mynded to haue hym maryed in Spayne.) The kyngelyke a louyng brother woulde not sende his syster wyldely wythoute a dowar assured, tooke the fyrste agremente betwene the kynge her father and kynge Phylippe hys father to bee of none effecte, syth the Spanyardes woulde not confeirme the same, and the cause was, by reason that kynge Phylippe was not natuially borne to be there kynge, but was kynge in the ryghte of his wyfe, and so they were not bounde too hys agrementes made withoute their consente. So thus the kynge of Englande reteyned styll hys syster and all the preparacion that he had done for her conueyaunce, whyche was verye costely.

This season the lady Margarete quene of Scottes late wife to king Iames the. iii. slayne at Bramston, and sister to the kyng, wrote to the kynge to haue compassion of her and his two Nepnewes her sonnes, for she was in feare lest he woulde haue inuaded her realme. The king moued with brotherly cōpassion, sent her word, that yf the Scottes kept peace he would kepe peace, yf they would haue war he would likewise haue war & so with that answer the messenger departed. In the sprig tyme of the yere the kyng wrote hys letters

The description of Thomas Wolsey, which afterward was made Cardinal.



to all noble men and gentlemen that he woulde shortly passe agayn into Fraunce in his awne person, wherfore euery mā prepared him self mete for that iournay the Flēmynghes hering therof, made puruuaunce for wagons, vitale and other thynges which turned them to great losse for that viage brake of as you shal here.

All this season Sir Richard Whethull and syr Ihon Tremayle kept so Thenglishe pale that the Frenchmen durst not medyl, and yet they spoyled to base bollen.

Before this time the townes aboute London as Islyngton, Hoxston, Shordysh and other, had so enclosed the common felde with hedges & diches, that nother the young men of the cytee might snote, nor the auncient persones might walke for ther pleasure in the felde, excepte either ther bowes and arrowes were broken or taken a waye, or the honest and substantiall persons arrested or indited, saieing that no Londoner should go out of the cytee but in the high wayes. This sayeng sore greued the Londoners, and sodainly this yere a great number of the citee assembled them selves in a mornynge, and a turnar in a foote eotte came cyenge through the cytee, shouels and spades, and so many people folowed that it was wonder, and within a short space all the hedges about the townes were cast downe, and the diches filled, and euery thing made plain the woorkemen were so diligent. The kynges counsayll heryng of this assembly came to the Gray Frears, and sent for the mayre and the counsayll of the cytee to knowe the cause, whiche declared to them the noysaunce done to the Citezens, and ther commodities and liberties taken from them, though they would not yet the commonaltie and young persons which were dampnyed by the noysaunce would pluck vp & remedy the same. And when the kynges counsayll had harde the answer, they dissuuled the matter & commaunded the mayer to see that no other thyng were attempted, and to call home the citezens, which when they had done ther entreprice, came home before the kynges counsayll and the Mayer departed without any more harme doing, and so after, the felde were neuer hedged.

### ¶ THE. VI. YERE.

IN the moneth of Maye the kyng and the newe Duke of Suffolke were defenders at the Tilt against al commers, the kyng was in a scopelary mantel, and hat of clothe of syluer and like a whyte arnite, and the duke appareilled like a black arnite all of blacke veluet, both ther berdes were of Damaske syluer, and when they had ridden about the Tilt and shewed them selves to the quene, then they threwe of their apparell & sent it to the ladies for a luges, then was the king in black, and the Duke in white with black stauers, on the stauers was written with white letters *who can hold that wyl away*. this poyse was iudged to be made for the duke of Suffolke and the duches of Sauoy, at these iustes were the duke of Longeuyll and the lord Clemond, and there the kyng and the duke dyd so valiantly that they obteyned the price, at these iustes were broken. C xiiii speres in a short season

The kyng at this season sent agayn into Flaunders for the performauce of the mariage of the young prince of castell and the fayre lady Mary his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all thinges necessary and conuenient for suche an high estate. The counsayll of Flaunders answered that they woulde not receyue her that yere, with many subtyl argumentes, by reason wherof the perfite loue betwene England and y low countreys was much blaked.

The. xix. day of May was receyued into London a Capp of mayntenaunce and a swerde sent from Pope Iuly, with a great compaignye of nobles and gentlemen, which was presented to the kyng on the Sonday then next ensuyng with great solempnytie in the Cathedraall church of saint Paul. About this time, the warres yet contynueynge betwene England and Fraunce, prior Ihon (of whom you haue harde before in the. iii. yere) great capitayne of the Frenche navy, with his Galeys and Foystes charged with great basyliskes and other greate artillery came on the border of Sussex and came a land in the night at a poore village

The Capp  
of mayntenaunce.

in Sussex called bright Helmston and or the watch coulde him escrye he sett fyre on the towne and toke suche poore goodes as he founde. then the watche fyred the bekyns and people began to gather, whiche seynge prior Ihon Sowned his trompett to call his men aborde, and by that tyme it was day then. vi. archers whiche kept the watche folowed prior Ihon to the sea and shott so fast, that they bett the galymē from the shore and prior Ihon hym selfe waded to his foyst, and Thenglisheimen went into the water after, but they were put back with pickes or els they had entered the foyst, but they shott so fast, that they wouēd many in y<sup>e</sup> foyst and prior Ihon was shott in the face with an Arrow, and was likely to haue dyed, and therefore he offered his image of wax before our lady at Bolleyn with the English arrow in the face for a myracle.

When the lorde Admirall of England had haide these newes he was not content and sent Sir Ihon Wallopp to the sea incontinent with diuerse English shippes, which sayled to the coast of Normandy & ther landed and brent xxi villages and townes with great slaughter of people, and biēt shippes and boates in the hauens of Treaport, stapils and in euery place. This sir Ihon Wallopp quit hym self so, that men marueled of his enterprises, consydering he had at the most but viii. C. men and toke land ther so often.

In the moneth of Iune the lord Powntremy that was capitayne of Tyrwyn with banner displayed and great ordinaunce, with a great army came into Picardy nere to Arde. Sir Nycholas Vaux captain of Guysnes cōsydering that y<sup>e</sup> Frenchmen had such ordinaunce thought y<sup>e</sup> they would haue beseged Guysnes, and wrote therof to the king which incontinente provided a greatē armye for the reskewe And when euery thyng was redy and the army forward, the lord Powntremy reysed his campe and depaied without anye more doing, but for all that y<sup>e</sup> kyng sent ouer sir Thomas Louell knyght with. vi. C. men to Caleys for the more strength of that towne and other townes and castelles beyng w<sup>th</sup> in the English pale and the marches there.

The French king this yere appoynted to Richard *de la Pole* traitor of England and banished the realme xii M. lanceknyghtes to kepe Normandie, and also to entre into England and to conquere thesame, where they made suche a Ryott that many of them were slayn & he was fayn to carye them to sente Malos in Britaigne to take shippe for the Frenchmen woulde sayne haue bene rydde of them they cared not how, there condicions were so vyle and shamefull, but by the reason that the French kyng suyd for peace, this iornay toke no effect.

The French king by an heraulde wrote to the king of England, that he marueled greatly why he made him so sore war, and brent and toke his townes, slew and robbed his people with oute any cause geuen on his parte, wherfore he required the king to graunt sauſecondyte to his ambassadours, whiche shoulde entreate the cause. whereupon in Iune y<sup>e</sup> French king sent a commission with the president of Roan and the generall boyer and certayne other nobles of Fraunce to entreate peace and allyaunce betwene both the prynces: & farther by cause that they knewe that the mariage was broken betwene the prince of castell and the lady Mary (as you haue hard) they desyied thesayde lady to be espoused to the French king, affirming a great dower and suertes for the same, w<sup>th</sup> great treasures: so much was offered that the king moued by his cōsail, and specially by the Bishop of Lyncolne Wolsey consented, vpon condicion that yf thesayde French king Loys died, then she shoulde if it pleased her retorne into England again with all her-dowar and riches after suche entretie, the indentures were sealed and the peace proclaimed the. vii. daye of August and the king in presence of the French ambassadours sworn to kepe thesame, & likewise ther was sent an Ambassade out of England to see the French kyng swere thesame.

The Dutchmen heryng these newes were sory, and repēted them that they receyued not the lady, and spake shamefully of this mariage, that a feble old & pocky man should mary so fayre a lady, but the voys of people let not princes purposes.

By the conclusion of this peace was the Duke of Longuyle & other prisoners delyuered, payng ther Raunson, and thesaid duke affied the lady Mary in the name of kyng Lewes his  
 4 D mayster



mayster. This Duke was highly enterteyned in England of many noble men and had great chere, but when they came into Fraunce with the quene he would scace know them. Then when all thinges were redy for the conueyaunce of this noble Ladye, the kyng her biother in the moneth of September with the quene his wife and his sayde sister and all the court came to Douer and there layed, for the wynde was triobous and the wether fowle, in so muche that a shipp of the kynges called the Libeck of. ix C. tonne was dryuen a shore before Sangate and there brast & of vi C. men scantely escaped. iii. C. and yet the most part of them were hurt with the wrecke. When the wether was laye then all her wardrobe, stable, and riches was shipped, and suche as were appoynted to geue their attendaunce on her, as the duke of Norfolk, the Marques Dorset the Bysshop of Durham, the Earle of Surréy, the lorde Delawar, the lorde Barnes, the lord Montaigle, the Marques iii. brother, sir Monice Barkely, sir Ihon Peche, sir William Sandes, sir Thomas Bulleyn, sir Ihō Cair and many other knightes, Squyers, gētlemen & ladies, al these went to ship and thesayde lady toke her leaue of the quene in the castell of Douer and the king brought her to the sea syde, and kissed her and betoke her to GOD and the fortune of the see, and to the gouernaunce of the French king her husband. Thus the. ii. daye of October at the hower of foure of the clocke in the morenyng this fayre ladye tooke her ship with all her noble compaignie and when they had sayled a quater of the see, the wynde rose and seuered some of the shippes to Caley, and some in Flaunders and her shippe with greates difficultie was brought to Bulleyn, and with great ieopardy at the entryng of the haven, for the master ran the ship hard on shore, but the botes were redy and receyued this noble lady. and at the landyng Sir Christopher Gainsbe stode in the water and toke her in his armes, and so caryed her to land, where the Duke of Vandosme and a Cardynall with many estates receyued her, and her ladies, and welcomed all the noble men into that countrey and so the Quene and all her trayne came to Bulleyn, and ther rested, and from thence she remoued by dyuerse lodgynges tyll she came all most within. ii. mile of Abuyte besyde the forrest of Aiders, and ther kyng Loyes vppon a great courser met with her, and she would haue alyghted but he woulde not suffer her, and welcomed her to his countrey, and when he had sene her beauty (whiche he so long desired) and talked w<sup>th</sup> her a litle space, then he returned to Abuyte by a secret waye, & she was w<sup>th</sup> great triūphe, procession & pagiantes receyued into the towne of Abuyte the. viii. daye of October by the Dolphin, which receyued her w<sup>th</sup> great honor, she was appareilled in cloth of siluer, her horse was trapped in goldsmythes work very rychly. After her folowed. xxxvi. ladies, alther palfreys trapped with crynsyn veluet, embraudered after them folowed one charyott of clothe of tyssue, the seconde clothe of golde and the third Crymsyn veluet embraudered with the kyngs armes & bers, full of roses. After them folowed a great nombre of archers, and then wagons laden w<sup>th</sup> their stuff. Great was the riches in plate, iuels, money, apparel, and hangynges that this lady brought into Fraunce. The Mōday beyng the daye of Sainte Denyse, thesame kyng Lewes married the lady Mary in the great church of Abuyte, bothe appareled in goldesmythes woork. After the masse was done, ther was a great banket and fest and the ladies of England highly enterteyned.

The Tewesdaye beyng the. x. daye of October all Thenglishmen except a fewe that were officers with thesayde quene, were discharged whiche was a greatesorrowe for them, for some had serued her longe in hope of prefermente, and some that had honest roines lefte them to serue her, & now they were with out seruiue, which caused thē to take thought in so much some dyed by the way returning, and some fell mad, but ther was no remedy: After the English lordes had done there commission the Frēch king wylled thē to take no lenger payne, & so gaue to them good rewardes and they toke ther leaue of the quene and returned. Then the Dolphin of Fraunce called lord Fraunceys duke of Valoys, and by hys wife duke of Brytaine for the more honoure of this marriage, before Thenglishmen departed from Abuyte, caused a solempne iustes to be proclaymed which shoulde be kept at Paris in the moneth of Nouēber next ensuyng, and that he with his. ix. aydes shoulde aunswere,

all commers beyng gentlemen of name and of armes. Fyrste to ronne v. courses at the Tylt with peces of auantage, and also. v. courses at Randon with sharpe speres, and twelue strokes with sharpe swordes, and that done, he and his aydes to fight at the barniers with al gentlemen of name and of armes. Fyrste syx foynes with hand speres, and after that cyght stokes to the most auantage yf the spere so long held, and after that twelue stokes with the swerde, and yf any man be vnhorsed or be felled wyth fyghtynge on foote, then hys horse and armour to be rendicod to the officers of armes, and euery man of this chalenge must set vp his armes and name vpon an arche triumphaute, whiche shalbe made at the place where the iustes shalbe, and farther shall wryte too what poynt he wyll aunswere to one or to all. When this proclamation was reported in Englande by the noble men that returned from the manages, the Duke of Suffolke the Marques Dorsett and his foure brethrene, the Lorde Clynton, Sir Edward Neuel, Sir Gyles Capell, Thomas Cheney and other sued to the kyng to be at the chalenge, which request, he graciously graunted. Then the Lordes and knyghtes prepared all thyng necessarye for there entrepryce, and shyped there horses and harnesse, and dyd so muche by iourney, that they came to Parys, at the ende of the moneth of October, whiche were hailely welcomed of the kyng and the Dolphyn but most of all of the Frēch quene which then lay at saint Denyse, and was not yet crowned nor entred in to Paris.

The Dolphyn desired the duke of Suffolke and the lord Marques Dorset, whose actiuite he knew well by reporte, to be two of his immediat aides, which thei to assented. Therefore was elected an Arch of widnes at the tournelles beside the strete on saint Anthony, directly before y Bastel, on the which were set. iiii. targettes or scutchions, the one siluer and he that sett his name vnder that shylde, runne at the Tylt accordyng to y articles he that put his name vnder the golden target should ronne with the sharpe speres and fight with sharpe swordes they that put their names to the black shilde should fight a foote with speres and swordes for the one hand. And he that touched the tawny sheld shoulde caste a spere on foot with a targett on his arme, & after to fight with a. ii. hand swerde on this arche above stode y armes of the kyng & the quene, and benethe them stode the armes of the Dolphyn & his aydes, & vnder nethe stode the. iiii. scotchions that you haue haide of, and vnder them all the armes and names of suche as set their names to any of thesayde. iiii. scotchions. While all these thynges were preparynge, the lady Mary of England the v. daye of Nouember then being Sondaye, was w great solempnitie crowned Quene of Fraunce in the monasterye of Sayncte Denyce, and the Dolphyn all the season held the crowne ouer her hed, because it was of greate waight to her greuaunce, at whiche coronacyon were the lordes of England, and accordynge to ther degrees well enterteyned.

Mondaye the vi. daye of Nouember thei the sayde Quene was receyued into the cytee of Parys after the order that foloweth. First the garde of the Cytee met with her with oute Sayncte Denyce all in coates of goldesmythes woorke with shippes gilt, and after them mett her all the prestes and religious whiche were esteemed to be in M. The quene was in a chyre couered about (but not ouer her person) in white cloth of golde, the horses that drew it couered in cloth of golde, on her hed a coronall all of greate peiles, her necke and brest full of Iuels, before her wente a garde of Almaynes after their fascion, and after them al noblemen, as the Dolphyn, the duke of Alanson, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Vandosme, the Duke of Longeuyll, and the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorsett v. Caidynalles and a greate number of estates, aboute her person rode the kynges garde whiche were Scottes. Thus was this quene receyued into Paris and so coueied to the cathodral church and ther offered, and from thence to the pallace where she offered at the holy Chapel, and from thence she went to her lodgyng for that nyght, for whome was prouided a great supper and the herauldes cryed a *larges* and had to them geuen a ship of siluer and gilt, and other plate to the valewe of u. C. marke, and after supper began daūsyng and pastyme. On the morowe begā the iustes, and the Dolphyn w his aydes entered the feld, the apparell & bardes were cloth of golde cloth of syluer and crymsyn veluet kanteled together all in one sute, they shewed them selfs before the kyng & quene who were in a goodly stage,



and the quenestode so that all men might see her and wondered at her beautie, and the kyng was feble and lay on a couche for weakenes. Then entered ſy counter parte by a rayle for combyng the place. These iustes contynued in dayes, in the whiche were aunswered. iii. hundred and v. men of armes and euery man ran v. courses, and with sharpe speres, dyuerse were slayne and not spoken of. the English lordes and knyghtes dyd as well as the best of any the other. At the Randon and Tournay the Duke of Suffolke hit a gentleman that he was like to die, the Marques strok Mounsire Grew an Albanoy with his spere and poiced his hed pece & put hym in ieopardy. the duke of Suffolke in the tornay ouerthiewe a man of armes horse and man, and so dyd the lorde Marques another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no wyse prayse them. At this tornay the Dolphyn was hurt in the hande, so that he coude not performe hys challenge at the barriers and put one of his ayde in his roime, the nexte daye after began the fight at the barriers and because the Dolphyn was not present, the duke of Suffolke and the lorde Marques Dorsett that daye began the feld, and toke the barriers with speres in hand abyding all commers. The Dolphyn brought a mā secretly, which in all the court of Fraunce was the tallest and the strongest man, & he was an Almayne and put him in the place of an other person to haue had ſy duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Almayne came to the barres fyersly with face hyd, because he would not be knownen, and bare his spere to the duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the duke him receiued, and for all his strength put hym by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but ende of the spere strake the Almaine that he staggered, but for al that the Almayne strake strögly and hardly at the duke, and the iudges suffered many mo strokes to be soughten then were appointed, but whē they saw the Almayne rele & staggar, then they let fall the rayle betwene them. The lorde Marques Dorsett at the same time, euen at the same barre fought with a gentleman of Fraunce that he lost his spere, and in maner with drew. When the rayle was let fall, these two noble men put vp their vyders & toke ayer, & then they tooke swerdes with poynt & edges abated, and came to the barriers, and ſy Almayne foughte sore with the duke, which imaged that he was a person set on for the nonce but ſy duke by pure strength tooke hym about the necke, and pomeled so aboute the hed that the bloud yssued out of his nose, & then they were departed, and the Almayne was conveyed by the Dolphyn lest he should be knownen. These twoo noble men of Englande that daye fought valiantly diuerse feates, and the Frenchmen likewise nobly them defended but it happened the lord Marques one time to put for his aide his yougest brother called the Lorde Edward Grey of the age of xix. yere, and to hym was put a gentleman of Fraunce of greate stature and strength to thentente to plucke hym ouer the barres, but yet the younge Lorde was of suche strength, powre and pollecy, that he so stroke his aduersarie that he disarmed hym, al the face bare. Thus was these entrepryses fynished to the laude of al parties, and Thenglyshmen receyued muche honoure and no spott of rebuke, yet they were priuely sett at and in many ieopardies. for the declaration of this triumphe, he that sawe it can tell howe goodly the coursers trotted boüded and quickly turned. How valiantely the men of armes behaued them selves and howe the Duke of Burbones bende was apparelled and bassed in tawney veluet, and clothe of syluer clowdy, the bende of therle of Sayncte Polle apparelled and barded in purple veluet all to cutt, on purple satten, the enfante of Arragon sonne to Frederycke last kyng of Naples, and hys bende all in clothe of golde and syluer paled. This lord was but young but was very towards. The Duke of Vandosme and his bende in clothe of golde, and plucket veluet bende. The Dolphyn and hys aydes were euery daye newe apparelled at his coste, one daye in syluer and golde, a nother in Crynesyn veluet and yelowel veluet, and another daye in white veluet and grene, some daye myxted with satyn, some daie embrawdered, some daye pounced with golde, and so euery daye in chaunge as the woorkers fantasie coude deuysse, but the Englishemen had euer on their apparell red crosses to be knownen for loue of their cōtre: at this triumphe the countie Galeas came into the place on a lenet trapped in blew satten and he hym selfe lykewyse apparelled and ran a corse with a spere, which was at the hed v. ynches on euery syde square, that is. xx. ynches about, & at the but. ix. ynches square, that

that is. xxxvi ynches, this spere was massy tymber & yet for al that he rā cleane with it a long course and slightly auoyded it to his great honour.

Also there was another gentleman called Anthony Bownarme which came into the feld all armed, and on his body brought in sight. x. speres that is to wyt. iii. speres set in euery styroppe forward, and vnder euery thygh. ii. speres vpwarde, and vnder his lefte arme was on spere backward, and the. x. in his hand, and when he came before the Quene he let hys horse ronne and neuer stopped tyll he had taken euery spere after other and broken it on the grounde, and he neuer stopped his horse tyll all were broken, this gentleman was highly praysed and so he was worthy. when all this great triumphe was done, the lordes of England toke ther leue and were highly thanked of the kyng, quene, Dolphin and all the lords, and so departed and came into England before Christinas. In Nouember the quene was deluyered of a prynce which lyued not long after.

This yere in December ther was one Richard Hun a marchāt tayllor of London in Lollers tower by the commaundement of the Bishop of London, called Rychard Fitzjames & doctoure Horsey his chaunceler, whiche was a man more of witt to preferre the Byshoppes iurisdiction and the clergie, and then the truth of the Gospell but so it was that the sayde Hun was found dead hāging by y neck in a girdle of silke, win y said towre. The beginning of this matter must be shewed for y folowig of y cōsequēt. for this Hū had a child y died in his house being an infant, the Curate claimed y beryng shete, for a mortuary. Hun answered y the infant had no propertie in the shete wherupon the priest ascited him in the spiritual courte, he taking to him good counsayll, sued the Curate in a premainre, and when the prestes hard of this, they did so much of malice that they accused him of heresy, and brought him to the lollers tower and ther was founde deed as you hard.

This man was counted of honest reputation, no man to the sight of people more vertuous, wherfore vpon this matter a greata matter folowed, for the Byshoppe and hys Chaunceller doctour Horsey sayde that he hanged hym selte, and all the temperatue sayde that he was murthered, and there vpon. xii. men were charged before the Coronour whyche xii were elected by greate dyscrecion, and many tymes they were wyth the kynges counsayll and hard their opinons, but in the meane season the Byshop of London brient the dead Carcase of the sayde Rycharde Hun in smythfeld, to the abhominacion of the people. but after that the matter had ben hard by the iudges, and after by the kynges counsayll his grace beyng present and hering the cause openly debated and much borne by the spiritualtie, yet at the last he remitted it to the tryall of the lawe, and so vpon good euidence doctour Horsey the Chaunceller and Belrynger with Charles Ioseph the somner, were endyted of the murther but afterward by the meanes of the spiritualty & money, Doctour Horsey caused the kynges attorney to confesse on his arayneement hym not to be gilty, and so he escaped and wēt to exetie, and for very shame durst neuer come after to London But yet for a further truthe to be declared in this abhominable and detestable murther here shall folow the whole inquiry, and verdict of the inquest woorde for woorde

Richard Hun comitted to y<sup>e</sup> lollers tower & murthered.

The. v. and the. vi. date of December in the. vi. yere of the reigne of our souereigne lorde kyng Henry the. viii. Wylliam Barnewell crowner of London, the daye and yere aboue sayde within the warde of Castylbaynerd of London assembled a quest, whose names afterward doo appere, and bath sworne them truely to enquire of the death of one Rychard Hun, whiche lately was founde dead in the Lollers tower with in Pauls church of London, wherupon al we of the inquest togethe went vp into the sayd tower, where we found the body of the sayde Hun hāging vpon a staple of iron in a gyidle of sylke, with fayre countenance bys heed fayre kemed, and his bonet right sittying vpon his heed, w<sup>th</sup> his eyen & mouth fayre closed, withoute any staring, gapyng, or fiownyng. Also without any dreuelyng or spurgyng in any place of his body, wherupō by one assent all we agreed to take downe the body of the sayde Hun, and as sone as we began to heue the body it was loose, wherby by good aduysement we perceiued that the gyidle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast and the lynkes of an iron chayne which did hang on the same staple were layd vpon the same

The inquiry of Richard Hun.



same gyrdle wherby he did hang Also the knot of the gyrdel that went about his neck stode vnder his left ear, which caused his head to leane toward his right shoulder. Not wstanding there came out of his nostrels ii. small stremes of bloud to the quantite of iii. dropes, saue only these. iii. dropes of blode, the face hippes chinre, doublet, coler, & shurt of the sayde Hun was cleane from any bloud. Also we fynd y the skyn both of his neck & throte beneth the gyrdell of sylk, was fret & fased away, with that thing which y murtherers had broken his neck with all. Also the hādes of the sayd Hun were wrōg in the wistes, whey by we perceyued that his handes had been bounde.

Moreover we fynd that within the sayde prison was no meane wherby any man might hang him selfe, but only a stole which stole stode vpon a bolster of a bed, so tyckle that any man or beast myght not touche it so lile but it was redy to fall, wherby we perceyued that yt was not possible that Hun might hange hymselfe the stole so standynge. Also all the gyrdell from the staple to his necke, as well as the part which went about his neck was to lile for his heed to come out therat. Also it was not possible that the soft sylken gyrdell shoulde breake his neck or skyn beneth the gyrdle. Also we finde in a corner somewhat beyonde the place wher he dyd hang a great peisell of bloud, also we fynde that vpon the lyfte syde of Huns Iacket from the brest downward ii. great stremes of bloud. Also within the flappe of the lyt syde of his Iacket, we fynde a greate cluster of bloude and the Iacket folden downe therupon, whiche thing the sayde Hun coulde neuer folde nor do after he was hanged. Whereby it appereth plainly to vs all, that the necke of Hun was broken, and the greate plenty of blude was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all wee fynde by God and all our consciences that Rychard Hun was murthered also we acqute the sayde Richard Hun of his aune deathe.

Also an ende of a waxe candell whyche as Ihon Belrynger sayeth, he lefte in the pryson burning with Hun that same Sondag at nyght that Hun was murthered, whyche waxe candell we founde styckyng vpon the stockes fayre put oute, aboute seven or eyght foot from the place where Hun was hanged, whyche candell afteroure opynion was neuer put oute by hym, for many likelyhodes whiche we haue perceyued. Also at the goynge vp of Master Chaunceller into the Lollars tower, wee haue good prooffe, that there laye on the stockes a gowne eyther of murrey or cymosyn in grayn furred with shankes, whose goune yt was wee could neuer proue, neyther who bare it awaye. All wee fynde that Master Wyllyam Horsey Chaunceller to my lorde of London hath had at bys cominaundement bothe the-rule and gudyng of the sayde prysoner. Moreover all we fynd that the sayde Master Horsey Chaunceller hath put Charles Ioseph out of his office, as the sayde Charles hath confessed, because he would not dele and vse the sayde prisoner so cruelly and do to him as the Chaunceller would haue had him to do. Notwithstanding the keyes deliuerance to the Chaunceller by Charles on the Saturdaye at nyght before Huns deathe and Charles rydyng out of the towne on the Sondag in the mornyng ensuyng was but a conuencion made betwixte Charles and the Chaunceller, for to colour the murther, for the same Soday that Charles rode furth, he came agayne to towne the Sondag at nyght, and kyled Rychard Hun, as in the depositions of Iuhan Littell, Thomas Chutcheley, Thomas Symondes, and Peter Turner doeth appere.

After colouryng of the murther betwixte Charles and the Chaunceller conspired, the Chaunceller called to hym one Ihon Spaldyng Belrynger of Poules and deliuered to the same belrynger the keyes of the Lollars towre, geuyng to the sayde belrynger a great charge, sayeng I charge the to kepe Hun more straitly then he hath been kepte, and let hym haue but one meale a daye. Moreover I charge the, let nobody come to hym wythoute my lycence, neyther to bryng hym shurt, cap, kercheffe, or any other thyng, but that I see it before yt come to hym. Also before Hun was caried to Fulham, the Chaunceller commaunded too be put vpon Huns necke a greate collar of Iron with a greate chayne whiche is to heuy for any man or beast to were and longe to endure.

Moreover it is well proued that before Huns death the sayd Chaunceller came vp into the

sayde Lollers tower, and kneled downe before Hun holdyng vpon hys handes to hym, prayenge hym of forgeuenesse of all that he had done to hym and muste do to hym. And on the Sondaye folowyng the Chaunceller commaunded the Penytensary of Poules, too goo vpon to hym, and saye a Gospell, and make for hym holy water and holye breade, and geue yt to hym, whyche so dyd and also the Chaunceller comaunded that Hun should haue his diner. And the same dyner tyme Charles' bove was shute in pryson with Hun, whyche was neuer so before, and after dyner when the Belrynger fett oute the bove, the Belrynger sayde to the same bove, come no more hyther with mete for hym, vntyll to morowe at noone, for my mayster Chaunceller hathe commaunded that he shall haue but one meale a daye. And the same night folowyng Rychard Hun was murthered, whyche murder coude not haue been done withoute consente and lycence of the Chaunceller, and also by the wittynge and knowellege of Ihon Spaldyng Belrynger, for there coude no man come in to the prysons but by the keyes beyng in Ihon Belryngers keypyng. Also as by my Lorde of Londons booke doeth appere, Ihon Belrynger is a poore innocent man, wherfore all wee doo perceyue that this murder coude not be done, but by the commaundement of the Chaunceller, and by the wittynge & knowing of Ihon Belrynger.

Charles Ioseph within the tower of London of hys awne free wyll and vnconstreyned sayde, that Master Chaunceller deuysed and wrote with his awne hand, all suche heresy'es as were layd to Huns charge, recorde Ihon God, Ihon Truy, Ihon Pasmar, Richard Gybson & many other.

Also Charles Ioseph sayeth, that when Rychard Hun was slayne Ihon Belrynger bare vpon the steyre into Lollars tower a waxe candell, hauyng the keyes of the doores hangyng on hys arme, and I Charles went nexte to hym, and master Chaunceller came vpon last, and when all wee came vpon, we founde Hun lyenge on hys bedde, and than Mayster chaunceller sayde, lay handes on the thefe and so al we murthered Hun, and than I Charles put the gyrdell aboute Huns necke, and than Ihon Belrynger and I Charles dyd heue vpon Hun and Master Chaunceller pulled the gyrdell ouer the staple and so Hun was hanged.

The deposycion of Iulian littell Late seruauant to Charles Ioseph by her fre will vnconstrayned the vi yere of oure souereigne lord kyng Henry the viii within the Chapell of our lady of Bethlehem shewed to thyngquest

Fyrst Iulian sayeth, that the Wednesdaye at nyght after the death of Rychard Hun, that Charles Ioseph her master came home to hys supper. Than Iulian sayde to hym, master it was tolde me that ye were in pryson, Charles aunswered, it is merue to turne the peny, and after supper Charles trussed persell of his goodes, and with helpe of Iulian bare them into master Porters howse to kepe, and that done Charles sayde to Iulian. Iulian yf thou wilt be sworne to kepe my counsayll I wyll shewe the my mynde. Iulian aunswered ye, yf it be nyether felonie or treason. Than Charles toke a booke oute of his purse, and Iulian swore to hym therupon, than sayde Charles to Iulian, I haue destroyed Rychard Hun. Alas master sayde Iulian, howe he was called an honest man? Charles aunswered, I put a wyre in his nose, Alas sayde Iulian nowe be ye cast away and vndone, than sayde Charles Iulian. I truste in the that thou wilt kepe my counsayll, and Iulian aunswered ye, but for Godes sake master shifte for your selfe, and than Charles sayde I had leuer than hundred pound yt were not done, but that is done can not be vndone. Moreouer Charles sayde than to Iulian, vpon Sondaye when I rode to my cousyn Baryngtons house, I taryed there and made good chere all daye tyll yt was nyght, and yet before yt was mydnyght I was in London, and had kyllid Hun, and vpon the next day I rode yther agayn and was there at dyner, and sent for neyghbours and made good chere. Than Iulian asked Charles, where set you your horse that nyght you came to towne, and wherfore came ye not home, Charles aunswered, I came not home for feare of bewrayng, and than Iulian asked Charles who was wyth you at the kyllinge of Hun. Charles aunswered, I wyll not tell the: and Iulian saytha



saythe that vpon the thursdaye folowyng Charles taryed all daye in his house with great fere, and vpon Fridaye folowyng erly in the mornynge before daye, Charles went fourth (as he sayde) he wente to Poules, and at hys commyng in agayne he was in great fere sayenge Hastely get me my horse and with great teare and hast made hym redye to ryde, and bad Maister Porters lad lede his horse into the felde by the backe syde, and than Charles put into hys sleue hys mase or masor wyth othei plate, and borrowed of Maisters Porter bothe golde and syluer but howe muche I am not sure, and Charles wente into the felde after hys horse and Iulyan brought hys booget after hym. Also vpon Frydaye in Christmas weke folowyng, Charles came home late in the night and brought with him, iii bakers and a smyth of Stratforde, and the same nyght they caried out of Charles howse all his goodes by the feld syde to the Bell at Shoredyche and erly in the morenyng conueyed yt with cartes to Stratford.

Moreover Iulyan sayth that the Saturdaye at nyght before the death of Hun, Charles came home and broughte with him a Gurnaid, sayenge, yt was for Hun, and Charles boye telled to Iulian, that there was also ordeyned a pece of freshe Salmon, whiche Ihon Bel-rynger had.

Also Charles sayde to the sayde Iulyan, were not this vngacious trouble, I coulde bryngo my Lorde of London to the dores of heretyques in London bothe of men and women that ben worthe a thowsand pound: but I am aferd that the vngacious mydwysse shall bewraye vs all.

Also Charles sayde vnto maistres Porter in lykewyse & more larger sayeng of the best in London, where to maistres porter answered, the best in London is my lord Mayer, than Charles saide, I will not skuse him quyte for he taketh this matter whote.

Where as Charles Ioseph sayeth he laye at necke hild with a harlott a mans wyfe in Baryngtons house the same nyght, and there abode vntyll the morowe at xi. of the clocke that Rycharde Hun was murdered whereupon he brought before the kynges counsayll for his purgacion the forsayde bauda Baryngtons wyfe, and also the forsayde harlott, whiche purgacion we haue proued al vntreue as right largely may appere as well by the deposition of Iulian Littell, as of Thomas Chytcheley Taylor and of Ihon Symons Stationer, with other, as of Robert Ihonson and Peter Turner.

#### The deposicion of Thomas Chitcheley Tayler.

The sayd Thomas sayeth, the same Monday that Richard Hun was found dead, within a quarter of an hower after. vii. a clocke in the morning, he met w<sup>th</sup> Charles Ioseph comyng out of Pouls at f<sup>y</sup> nether north dore, goyng toward Pater noster row, sayeg good morow maister Charles, & the sayd Charles answered, good morow, & turned hys back whan he was withoute the church dore, and loked vpon the sayde Chitcheley.

#### The deposicion of Thomas Symondes Stationer.

He sayeth, the same morning that Hun was founde deed, f<sup>y</sup> with in a quarter of an hower after. vii. a clock in the mornynge, Charles Ioseph came before him at his stall & sayd good morow gossyp Symons, & the same Symons sayd good morow to him agayne, & the wyfe of the same Symons was by him, & because of the dedly cōtenaunce & hasty goyng of Charles, the sayd Thomas bad his wife loke whither Charles gothe, and as she could perceyue, Charles went into an ale howse standing in Pater noster rowe by the Aleiy ledyng into the rode of Northorne, or into the Aleiy whither she could not well tell.

The deposicion of Roberte Ihonson and his wife dwellyng at the bell in Shorditche, where Charles Ioseph sett his horse that nyghte that he came to toune to murder Richard Hun

Thesayde Robert sayeth that Charles Ioseph sent hys horse to hys house vpon a holydaye at nyght about. iii. wekes before Christmas by a boy, which horse was al beswet, and albe myred.

myred and thesayd boye sayd, let my fathers horse stand sadelled, for I can not tell whether my father wyll ryde agayne to nyghte or not, and thesayde horse stode sadelled all nyght and in the morenyng folowyng Charles came boted and spurred aboute. viii of the clocke, and asked yf hys horse was sadelled, and the seruaunt aunswere: ye, and thesayde Charles lepte vpon his horse and prayed the hoste to let hym out of his backe gate that he myght ryde out by the feld syde, whyche host so dyd. And because he was vncertaine of the daye, we asked hym if he hard speke of the death of Hun at that tyme or not, and he aunswere nay but shortly after he did. Neuerthelesse Peter Turner Charles sonne in law which brought the horse be nyght into the Bell Robert Ihonsons house, confessed it was the same night before that Hun was founde ded in the morning. Moreouer the Frydaye before Huns deith Peter Turner sayde to an honest woman a waxe chaundlers wife dwelling before saint Maries spitel gate, that before this daye seven night Hun should haue a mischeuouse death. And the same daye at after none this Hun was founde dead, the sayde Peter came to thesame wyfe and tolde her that Hun was hanged, sayenge what told I you.

Also Iames the Chauncelers cooke, the Frydaye before Huns death, sayde to v. honest men, y Hun shoulde dye or Christmas, or els he would dye for hym, and on the Mondaye that Hun was founde dead thesayde Iames came to thesame men and sayde, what tolde I you, is he not now hanged.

And we of thynquest asked both of Peter Turner & of Iames cooke wher they had knowlege that Hun should so shortelye dye, and thei sayd in master Chauncellers place by euery man.

The deposicion of Ihon Spaldyng, Belryngei

Fyrste thesayde deponent sayeth, that on Saturdaye the seconde daye of December Anno. M. D. Xiiii he toke the charge of the pryson at foure of the clocke at after none, by the commaundemente of inaster Chaunceller, and so toke the keyes, wherupon he gaue commaundement to the deponent, that he should let no maner of person speke w the prysoner excepte he had knowlege of them, and so at v of the clocke thesame daye thesayde deponent went to the prysoner hym selfe alone, and sawe hym and cheryshed hym, where he gaue thesayde deponente a pece of fresh Salmon for his wyfe. And after that thesayde deponent sayeth that he went to master commissaries to supper with his felowe, where he remembred that he had left his knyfe with thesayde prysoner, wherupō by the counsayll of master Commissary he went to the prysoner and fetched his knyfe, where he founde the prisoner sayeng of his beades, and so thesayde deponent requyred his knyfe of thesayde prisoner, and thesaide prisoner deluered the knyfe to thesayd deponent gladly, and so departed for that nyght

And after that on the Sondaý next folowyng thesayd deponent came to the prisoner at ix. of the clock, and asked him what mete he would haue to his dner, and he aunswere but a morsell, and so thesaide deponent departed and went to the Chaunceller into the quere, and he comaunded, that he should take the penytensary vp to the prysoner w hym to make hym holy water and holy bread, and made thesaide deponent to departe the prison house for a whyle, and after that he brought hym his dyner, & locked Charles boye with hym all dyner while, vnto the howre of i of y clocke, and so let the lad out agayne and asked him what he would haue to his supper, and he answered that he had ineate ynough, & so departed vntyll vi of the clocke, and then thesayde deponente broughte hym a quarte of ale, and at the tyme one Wyllyam Sampson went with thesayde deponent to see the prysoner where he was, and saue hym & spake together, and so from the howre of. vi. a foresayde vnto twelfe a clocke on the morow thesaide deponent came not there and whan he came there he met the Chaunceller with other doctoures goynge to se the prisoner where he hanged

The deposicion of Peter Turner, sonne in law of Charles Ioseph

Fyrste he sayeth that his father in lawe rode out of the toun vpon Sondaýe the. iiii. day  
4 E of



of December. An. xv. C. & xiiii at. vi of the clocke in the mornynge, weryng a cote of orange tawny, on a hoise cooler grysell, trottynge

He sayeth the Sondaye next before that one Buttops wylf gaue knowlege to thesayde deponente that his father shoulde bee arested by dyuise sergeantes assone as he coulde be taken, and thereupon thesayde deponente gaue knowlege to thesayde father in lawe at the blacke Fyais at the water syde. Wherupon he auoyded, and thesame nyghte inayster chaunceller gaue the keyes to Ihon Belrynger, and gaue him charge of the prisoner and on thesayde Sondaye thesayde deponente wyth Ihon Belrynger seued thesayde prisoner of his dner at xii of ȝ clocke and than Ihon Belrynger sayde to the deponēt, that he would not come to him vnto the morowe for my lord had comaunded him that the prisoner should haue but one meales mete of the daye. Notwithstādyng that thesayde Ihon Belrynger after that he had shut Poules church dores, went to the foiesayde prisoner, with another with him at. vii of the clock at nyght thesayde Sondaye.

And thesayde deponent sayeth, that he came on the Monday at the hower of eyghte of the clocke in the morenyng to seke Ihon Belrynger, and coulde not fynde hym, and taryed vntyll the hye Masse of Poules was done, and yet he coulde not fynde Ihon Belrynger, and than Ihon Belryngers felowe, one Wyllyam, delyuered the keyes to thesayde deponent, and so thesayd deponent with two officers of my lordes beyng somners went to serue thesayd prisoner, and whan they came the prisoner (thei saide) was hanged, his face to the wall warde, and vpō that thesayde deponent immediately gaue knowlege to the chaunceller, wherupon the chaunceller went vp w̄ the master of the rolles, & master Subdeane with other doctoures vnknewen, to the number of a dosen & their seruantes.

#### The deposition of Ihon Enderby Barber.

The sayde Ihon Enderby sayth, the Frydaye before the death of Richard Hun, betwixte. viii. & ix. of the clock in the mornynge, he met w̄ Ihō Belrynger in estchepe, and asked of him how master Hun fared, thesayd Belrynger aunswered, sayenge: There is ordeyned for him so greuousse penaunce that whan men here of it, they shall haue great maruel therof: wytnesses that hard Ihon Belrynger saye these woordes Ihon Rutter Skreuener, and William Segar armourer.

Also thesayd Ihon Enderby sayth, thesame Mondaye that Richard Hun was founde dedd, he met with thesayd Ihon Belrynger at ȝ cōdyth in gracious strete about. ix. of the clock in the mornynge, askyng thesayd Belrynger, how master Hun fared, thesayde Belrynger aunswered, sayeng, he fared well this day in the mornynge betwixte v & vi of the clock. Howbeit, I am sory for hym, for there can no body, come to him vntill I come, for I haue the keyes of the dores here by my Gydel, and shewed keyes to the sayd Enderby.

#### The deposition of Alen Creswell wax Chaundeler.

Thesayde Alen sayth, that Ihon Grandger seruauante w̄ my lorde of Londō, in my lord of Londōs kechyn, at such time as thesayd Alen was seryng of Huns coffen that Grandger tolde to him that he was present with Ihon Belrynger thesame Sonday at night ȝ Richard was foude ded of the morowe whan his keper set hym in the stockes, in so muche thesayde Hun desyred to borow the kepers knyfe, & the keper asked him what he would do with his knyfe, & aunswered, I had leuei kyll my self than to be thus entreted. This deposicion thesayde Alen wyll proue as farforth as any christen man may, saieng that Grandger shewed to hym these woordes of his awne frēwyll and mynde, without any question or enquiry to him made by thesayd Alen. Moreouer thesayd Alen sayth, ȝ all that euenyng Grandger was in great feare.

The deposition of Richard Horsnaye Barlyfe of the sanctuary towne called Good Esture in Essex

Thesaide Richard saith, the Fryday before Christmas daie last past, ȝ one Charles  
Joseph

Ioseph, somner to my lord of Lōdō, became a sanctuary man, and theaforsayde Frydaye he registred his name, thesayde Charles sayenge yt was for the sauegarde of his body, for there be certayne men in London so extreme agaynst hym for the deathe of Richard Hun, that he dare not abyde in London. Howbeit the sayde Charles saith, he knowlegeth hym selfe gyltye of Huns death, for he deliuered the keyes to the Chaunceller by Huns life, also the sayde Balfe sayth, that Charles payd y<sup>e</sup> duty of thesayde registryng, both to him and sir Ihon Studely Vicar.

The cōpye of my lorde of Londons Letter sent to my lorde Cardinall.

I beseche your good lordshipp to stande so good lord vnto my poore chaunceller nowe inwarde, and endited by an vniuē<sup>e</sup> quest for y<sup>e</sup> death of Richard Hun, vpon the only accusation of Charles Ioseph made by payne and duraunce, that by your intercession it may please the kynges grace to haue the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferent persones of his discrete counsayll in the presence of the parties, or there be any more done in that cause, and that vpon the innocency of my saide Chaunceller declared, it may further please the kynges grace, to a warde a plackard vnto his Attornay, to confesse the saide enditement to be vniuē<sup>e</sup> when the tyme shall require it, for assured am I it my Chaunceller be tryed by any xii. men in London, they be so maliciously set. *In fauorem heretice prauitatis*, that they wyll cast and condempne any clerke, though he were as innocent as Abell. *Quare si potes beate pater adiuua infirmitates nostras & tibi in perpetuum deuincti erimus.* Ouer this in most humble wyse I beseche you that I maye haue the kynges gracious fauour, whome I neuer offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might speke with his grace and you, and I with all myne, shall pray for your prospērouse estate long to continue.

Your most humble Oratour. R. L.

The woordes that my lord of London spake before the lordes in the parliament chamber.

Memoirandum, that the Byshop of London sayde in the parliament chamber, that there was a byll brought to the parliamente to make the iury that was charged vppon the deathe of Hun true men, and sayde and tooke vpon his conscience that they were false perjured catytes, and sayde further more too all the Lordes ther than beyng, for the loue of GOD, loke vpon this matter, for yt ye do not I dare not kepe myne awne house for heretiques: and sayde that thesaide Rychard Hun hanged hym selfe, and that yt was hys awne dede and no mans els. And further more sayde, that there came a man to hys howse (whose wyfe was appeched of heresy) to speke with hym, and he sayde that he had no mynde to speke with thesame man, which man spake and reported to the seruantes of the same Byshoppe, that yf hys wyfe woulde not holde styll her opinion, he woulde cutte her throte with his awne handes, with other woordes.

The sentence of the quest, subscribed by the crouner

The inquisition intendid & taken at the cyte of London, in the Parische of saint Gregorie, in the ward of Baynard castell in Lōdō the vi. daye of December, in the yere and reigne of kynge Henry the. viii. the. vi. yere, afore Thomas Barnewell crouner of our soueraigne lorde the kyng, within the cite of London aforesayde. Also afore James Yaford, and Ihon Mondey Sheriffes of thesayde cite, vpon the sight of the bodye of Rychard Hun late of London Taylour, which was founde hanged in y<sup>e</sup> Lollais Towre, and by the othe and pfofe of lawfull men of thesame warde, and of other. iiii. wardes next adioyning as it ought to be after the custome in the cite aforesayde, to enquire, how, and in what maner wyse, thesayde Rychard Hun came vnto hys death, and vpon the othe of Ihon Bernard, Thomas Steite, William Warren, Henry Abraham, Ihon Aborow, Ihon Turner, Robert Alen, William Marler, Ihon Burton, Iames Page, Thomas Pickehyll, William Burton, Robert Engewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Rychard Gibson, Christopher Crof-



ton, Ihon God, Rychard Holte, Ihon Pasmere, Edmonde Hudson, Ihon Aunsell, Rycharde Couper, Ihon Tyne, the which sayde vpon their othes, that where thesayd Rychard Hun, by the commaundement of Rycharde, bishop of Londō, was emprisoned and brought to holde in a pyson of the sayd bishops, called Lollais Towre lyeng in the cathedral church of sainte Paule in London, in the paryshe of saint Gregorie, in the waide of Baynerd castell aforesayde, William Horsely of London clercke, otherwise called William Heicsie, Chancelour to Rycharde bishop of London, & one Charles Ioseph late of Lōdō somner, and Ihon Spaldyng of Lōdon, otherwise called Ihon belrynger, feloniously as felōs to our lord the kynge, with force and armes agaynste the peace of oure soueraigne lorde the kynge, and dignitie of his croune, the iii. daye of December, the yere of the reygne of our soueraigne lorde the vi. aforesayd, of their great malice, at the parishe of sainte Gregorie aforesayde, vpon the sayde Rycharde Hun made a fraye, and thesame Rycharde Hun feloniously strangled and smothered, and also the necke they did breake of thesayde Rychard Hun, and thefeloniously slew him and murdered byn and also the body of the sayd Rychard Hun afterwarde the same iii. daye, yere, place, parishe and waide aforesayde, with the proper gyrdell of thesame Rychard Hun of sylke, blacke of colour, of the value of. xii. d. after his death vpon a hoke dryen into a pece of tymbre in the walle of the pyson aforesayd made faste, and so hanged hym agaynst the peace of oure souereigne lorde the kynge, and the dignitie of hys croune, and so thesayd Iury hathe sworne vpon the holy Euangelist, ŷ thesayde William Horsey clercke, Charles Ioseph, and Ihon Spaldyng of their set malice then, & their, feloniously kyllled & murdered thesayde Rychard Hun, in maner & forme abouesayde, agaynste the peace of our soueraigne lord the kynge, his croune and dignitie.

Subscribed in this maner

Thomas Barnewell, crouner of the cite of London

This Christemas on Newyeres night, ŷ king, ŷ duke of Suffolke and ii. other in mantels of cloth, of siluer, & lyned with blew veluet, the syluer was pounsed in letters, so that ŷ veluet might be sene through, the mantels had great capes like to the Portugal slopys, and all their hosen, dublettes & cotes were of thesame fasshion cut and of thesame stuffe, with thē were iii. ladyes in gounes, after the fashion of Sauoy, of blew veluet, lyned with clothe of golde, the veluet all to cutte, and mantels like typettes knytte together al of siluer and on there heddes bonettes of burned golde, the. iii. torche bearers were in satten white and blewe. This straunge apparell pleased muche euery person, and in especial the Quene, & thus these. iii. lordes and. iii. ladyes came into the Quenes chamber with great light of torches, and daunced a greate season, and then put of their visers, & then they were well knowne, and the Quene hartely thanked the kynges grace for her goodly pastyme, and kyssed hym

Likewise on the twelfe night, the kyng and the Quene came into the hall of Grenewyche, and sodainlye entered a tent of clothe of golde and before the tent stode. iii. men of armes, aimed at all pointes and swerdes in their handes, and sodainly with noyes of trompettes entered iii. other persons all aimed, and ran to the other soure, and there was a great and a fearce fight, and sodainly came oute of a place lyke a wood viii. wyldemen, all apparayled in grene mosse, made with slyued sylke, with Vggly weapons and terrible visages, and there foughte with the knyghtes viii. to viii. & after long fighting, the armed knyghtes draue the wyld men out of their places, and folowed the chace out of the hall and whē they were departed, the tent opened, and there came out vi. lordes and. vi. ladyes rychely apparayled, & daunced a great tyme when they had daunced their pleasure, they entered the tent again and so was conueyed out of ŷ hall, & then the kynge and the quene were serued with a right sumptuous banquet.

The. iii. daye of Februarie, the kynge made a solempne Iustes, & he and the Marques Dorset would aunswer all commers, their apparell & bardes were of blewe veluet, and clothe of siluer, all too cutte in suttell knottes, rychely embrauderred, all the seruitours in

white & blew sylke. The counterparte, whiche were xiiii in number, ryche ly apparayled in veluet, clothe of golde, & broudenie, every man after his awne deuice. The kynge was that day highly to be prayſed, for he brake xxiii ſperes beſyde attayntes, and bare downe to ground a man of armes & his horſe the lorde Maiques and all other dyd valiauntly, and hadde muche prayſe, for every man did paſſinge well, which is ſeldome ſene in ſuche a caſe, but the kynge for a ſuetie excēded all other.

The iiii. daye of October, the kynge remoued to Lambeth, and on the morow beganne the high courte of Parliamēt, ſyr Thomas Neuell was then ſpeaker, in this Parliament was diuerſe actes made, but in eſpecial two, which were muche ſpokē of, the one was the acte of apparayll, and the other the acte of laborers, of theſe ii. actes was muche cōmonynge and muche buſynes aroſe, for the laborers woulde in no wiſe labour by the daye, but all by taſke and in grette, and therfore muche trouble fell in the courte, and in eſpecial in Hauēſt tyme, for then huſband men coulde ſceae get workemen to helpe in their Hauēſt. This Parliament contynned tyl Eaſter, in the which dyuerſe ſubſidies were graunted to the kynge toward his greate coſtes and charges, that he had bene at in his vyage Royall in Fraunce, and after Eaſter the xix. daye of the moneth of Aprill, the kynge deliſtynge to ſet forth yōng Gentelinen, called Nycholas Carew, and Fraunces Bryan, and cauſed dyuerſe other yōng Gentelinen to be on the counter parte, and lent to them horſe and harnes to encourage all youthe to ſeke dedes of armes. This yere died at Rome by poyſon as was reported the Archebiſhop of Yorke & Cardinall, called doctor Benbrycke, whiche was the kynges Ambaſſadour there. This was a wiſe mā & of a ioly courage. The kyng then gaue theſayd Archebiſhoprike to Thomas Wolſey, then biſhop of Lyncoln, which at that tyme bare all the rule aboute ſy kyng, & what he ſayd was obeyed in all places. And whē he was once Archebiſhop, he ſtudied day & night how to be a Cardinall, & cauſed ſy kyng & the Frenche kyng to write to Rome for him, & at then requeſtes he obteyned his purpoſe as you ſhall here afterwarde.

Cardinal  
Bebrick  
poyſened at  
Rome.

At this tyme was much cōmoning, & verely as it appered it was entended, that the kyng in perſon woulde paſſe the ſea to Caleys, & there on the marches of theſame, the Frenche king and quene to come & ſee the kyng their brother, and for theſame iorney many coſtly workes were wrought, & much ryche apparel prouided for, & much preparaciō made againſt the next ſpring but death, which is the laſt ende of all thinges let this iornay, for before the next ſpring the Frenche kyng dyed at the cite of Paris, the firſt daye of Ianuary, whē he had ben maryed lxxxi. dayes. And when the kyng was aduertised of the death of the Frenche kyng, he cauſed a ſolēpne obſequie to be ſong for him in the cathedra l church of s. Poule w a coſtly herſe, & many noble men being preſent.

And after he ſent a letter to comfort the Quene his ſiſter, requyringe too knowe her pleaſure whither ſhe woulde continue ſtill in Fraunce or returne into Englaunde agayne. And when he was aduertised of her purpoſe, which was to returne into England. He ſent the duke of Suffolke, ſyr Richard Wyngfeld, and doctor Weſt with a goodly bāde of yomen, all in blacke to Parys, whiche were well receyued of the newe Frēch king Fraunces ſy fiſt of ſy name, & declared to him, that according to the couenauntes made at the tyme of the marriage betwene kynge Loyes & the ladye Marie, ſiſter to the king of Englaunde, they demaunded to haue theſayde quene deliuered to thē with her dower, & ſhewed their cōmiſſion for the receite of her. Then the cōſaill of Fraunce, accordinge to the appointmentes aſſigned her a dower, & the duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then ſhe was by endenture deliuered to the duke, which behaued him ſelfe ſo to her, that he obteyned her good will to be her huſbande, & therupon he wrote to the kyng her brother, mekely beſeechynge hym of pardon of his requeſt & hūblye requyring him of his wil & cōſent, at which thyng the kyng a while ſtaied, and at the laſt by ſy meane of the Freche quene her ſelfe, & other great frendes on the dukes parte, After lōg ſuyte it was agreed that ſy duke of Suffolke ſhould bring her into England vnmaryed, & at his returne to mary her in England: but for doubt of change he maryed her ſecretely in Parys as was ſayde.

¶ THE



## ¶ THE VII YERE.

After that the duke of Suffolke had receaued the Frenche quene with her dower apoynted, & all her apparell, iuels and housholde stüffe deliuered, he with þy quene toke their leaue of the Frêche kyng, leauing doctor, West, nominate bishop of Ely, for the conclusion of the newe league to be made betwene the kyng of England, & the newe Frenche kyng called Fraunces the first, and so passed thorough Fraunce to Caleys, wher she was honorably entertained. And after with great honour married to lord Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolke openly howbeit, some sayd he was married priuely before at Parys, in the house of Cluigny. Against this marriage many men grudged & sayd that it was a great losse to the realme that she was not maryed to the prince of Castell. but the wisest sorte was cōtēt, cōsidering that if she had ben married agayn out of the realme, she should haue caried much riches with her, & now she brought euery yere into the realme ix or x M markes. but whatsoeuer the rude people said, þy duke behaued hym selfe so, that he had both the fauour of the kyng and of the people, his wytte and demeanour was such

A marriage.

¶ The kyng & the quene accompanied with many lordes & ladies rode to the high ground of shoters hil to take the open ayre, and as they passed by the way, they espied a cōpany of tall yomen, clothed all in grene with grene whodes & bowes & arrowes, to the nūber of 11 C. Then one of them, which called him selfe Robyn hood, came to the kyng, desyryng him to se his men shoote, & the kyng was cōtēt. Then he whistled, & al the 11 C archers shot & losed at once, & then he whistled agayne, & they likewise shot agayne, their arrowes whistled by craft of the head, so that the noyes was straunge and great, & muche pleased the kyng the quene and all the company. All these archers were of the kynges garde and had thus appareled them selues to make solace to the kyng. Then Robyn hood desyred the kyng and quene to come into the grene wood, & to se how the outlawes lyue. The kyng demaunded of þy quene & her ladyes, if they durst aduenture to go into the wood with so many outlawes. Then the quene sayde, that if it pleased him, she was content, then the hornes blew tyl they came to the wood vnder shoters hil, and there was an Arber made of boones with a hal, and a great thāber and an inner chamber very well made & couered with floures & swete herbes, whiche the kyng muche praysed. Then said Robyn hood, Sir Outlawes brckfastes is venyson, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we vse. Then the kyng and quene sate doune, & were serued with venyson and wyne by Robyn hood and his men, to their great contentacion. Then the kyng departed and hys company, & Robyn hood and hys men them conducted, and as they were iet in nyng, there met with them 11 ladyes in a ryche chariot drawn with v horses and euery horse had hys name on his head, and on euery horse sate a ladye wth her name writē. On the first courser called Cawde, sate *humidite*, or *humide*. On the 11 courser called *Memeon*, rode lady vert. On the 111 called *pheton* sate lady vegetaue. On the 1111 called *Rimphon* sate lady pleasance. On the v called *lampace*, sate swete odour, and in the Chayre sate the lady May, accompanied with lady *Flora*, 1ychely appareled, and they saluted the kinge with diuerse goodly songes, & so brought hym to Greneniche. At this Mayngg was a great nūbre of people to beholde to their great solace and conioit

¶ Thesame after none, the kyng, þy duke of Suffolke, þy Marques dorset, & the erle of Essex, then bardes & bases of grene velvet and cloth of golde, came into the felde on great coursers, on whome wayted diuerse gētle mē in sylke of thesame colour. On the other side entred xvi lordes & gētle mē, all appareled richely after then deuses, & so valiantly they rāne their courses appointed. & after þy they rāne volāt one as fast as he might ouertake another, which was a goodly sight to se & when al was done they departed, and went to a goodly banquet

This Sōmer the kyng tooke his progresse Westward, & visited his tounes & castels there, & harde

& haide the cōplayntes of his poore cōninaltie, & euer as he roade, he hūted & liberally departed with venyson: & in the myddes of Septēber he came to his maner of Okyng, & thether came to hym the Archebishop of Yorke, whome he hartely welcōmed & shewed him great pleasures. And while he soourned ther, a letter was brought to ꝑ Archebishop frō Rome, certefiying him how he was elected to be a Cardinal, which incōtinēt shewed thesame to the kyng, disabling him self in wordes, though his entēt was otherwise, & so the kyng did encourage him, & willed him to take ꝑ order on him, & so called him ny lorde Cardinal, but his hat, bul nor other ceremonies were not yet come

In the moneth of Nouember, the kyng assembled hys hygh court of Parliament at Westminster, and diuerse actes made in the Parliamēt the. vi. yere, amended and altered, & especially the acte of apparell, and the acte of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainly apereth And at the ende of this Parliament, the Archebishop of Cañtoubury perceauyng that the Archebishop of Yorke medled more in his office of Chauncelourship then it became him to suffer, except he would auēture the kynges displeasure, & seynge also that thesayd bishop of Yorke coueted to beare all the rule, and to haue all the whole authoritie, consideryng also his awne great age, gaue vp into the kynges hādes his rownie of Chauncelour, and deliuered to the kyng the greate seale, whiche deliuered the same to the Archebishop of Yorke, and made him Chauncelour And assone as he was Chauncelour, he directed cōmissiōs into al Shires, for to put the statute of apparell and the statute of labourers in execution And he him selfe one day called a gentelmā named Symon fyz Richard, and tooke from him an olde Iacket of Crymosyn velvet and diuerse brooches, whiche extreme doying caused him greatly to be hated, and by his exsample many cruell officers for malice, euell intreated dyuerse of the kynges subiectes, in so muche that one Shynnyng Maye of Rochester, set a young man on the Pillory for wering of a ryuen shert

In the ende of this moneth was sent into England the Cardinales hat, & receaued by gentelmen of Kent, & brought to London with suche triumph as though the greatest prince of Christendō had bene come into the realme And on a Sonday at s Peters church at Westminster he receaued the habite, hat, and piller, and other vaynglorious tryffes, apperteynyng to the ordie of a Cardinall. And when he was once a perfite Cardinal, he loked then aboue all estates, so that all mē almost hated hym, and disdayned hym

The Cardinals hat receaued.

Then after the Parliamēt syr Edward pouninges laboured to be discharged of ꝑ keeping of the cite of Torney, for there he was euer sickly, and so he was discharged, & syr Willm blunt lorde Moūtiye was sent thether And for Marshall there was apoynted sir Sāpson Nortō And when the lorde Mountiye was come thether, & sir Sampson Norton, there happened such a ryot that the cite was in great ieopardy, ꝑ very cause was vnknown, but all the souldiours, except such as were of the kynges garde rebelled, & put the lord Moūtiye in ieopardy of his life. And in cōclusion to appease the people, sir Sāpson Nortō was banished the toun for euer And after the cite was appeased, & euery thing thought to be forgottē, diuerse were executed, & diuerse banished ꝑ toun and some fled & were banyshed both England and the toun.

After the Parliamēt was ended, the kyng kept a solēpne Christmas at his maner of Elthā & on the. xii. night in the hall was made a goodly castel, wōderously set out, & in it certeyn ladyes & knyghtes, & when the kyng & quene were set, in came other knyghtes, & assailed the castel wher many a good strype was geuen, & at the last, the assaylantes were beatē awaye. And then issued out knyghtes and ladies out of the castel, which ladyes were rythe & straungely disguysed, for all theyr apparel was in braydes of gold, fret with mouing spangels, syluer and gilt, set on Crymosyn satten lose and not fastened the mens apparell of thesame suyte made lyke Iulys of Hungary, and the ladyes heddes & bodyes were after the fasson of Amsterdam And when the daunsing was done, the banquet was serued in of. ii. C. dyshes, with great plēty to euery body

This yere was the new league betwene the kyng & the French kyng openly Proclaymed thorough the cite of London with a trōpet. This yere also, Margaret quene of the Scottes, wife



## THE. VIIJ YERE OF

wife to James the iii slain at Bramston the v. yere of the kyng, & elder syster to the kyng, after the deaith of her late husband married Archibald Douglas erle of Angus, without the kyng her brotheis assent, or the counsail of Scotlād, for the whiche he was not wel cōtent. But after that, there fell such a strife betwene the lordes of Scotlād, that she & her husband like banished persones came into England, & wrote to the kyng for meicy & cōfort. The kyng euer enclined to meicy, sent them apparell, vessell & all thynges necessary, willyng them to lye still in Northumberland, till they knewe farther of his pleasure. And so they laye still at Harbottell, & the quene was there deliuered of a fayre lady called Maigaret, and all the countrey were commaunded by the kyng to do them pleasure.

This yere the xviii of February, at Grenewyche was borne a fayre prynces and christened with great solempntie, and named Mary.

This yere dyed the kyng of Arragon father to the quene, for whome was kept a solempne obsequy in the Cathedral church of Paules.

## ¶ THE VIII YERE.

YE haue harde the last yere how the quene of Scottes w<sup>th</sup> her husband was come for succour into Englād, & laye at Harbottell in Northumberland, tyll the kynges pleasure was to send for thē. So he, Jyke a natural brother sent for her & her husband to come to his courte for their solace. For the which kyndnes the erle Hüby thanked the kyng, & promised to geue his attendaūce on the quene his wife to the Court. wherupō the kyng sent William blacknall esquier, clerck of hys Spycery with siluer vessell, plate and other thynges necessary for the conueyaūce of her, and sent to her all maner of officers for her estate cōuenient. And whē she was ready to departe, she asked for her husband, but he was departed into Scotland, & left her alone, nothing remembringe his promes, which sodeyn departyng muche made her to muse. Howbeit, the lordes of England greatly encoraged her to kepe her promyse with the kyng her brother & so after she was somewhat appeased, she set forward, & in euery toun she was well receaued, & so on the iii. day of May she made her entry into Lōdō, riding on a white palfrey (which ſ<sup>y</sup> quene of England had sent to her) behind sir Thomas par richely besene, & w<sup>th</sup> gient cōpany of lordes & ladies, she roade throughe the cite to Baynardes Castel, & frō thence she was cōueyghed to Grenewiche, & there receaued ioyously of the kyng, the quene, the Fiēche quene her syster, and highly was she feasted. And when the kyng hearde that the erle of Angus her husband was departed, he sayd, it was done like a Scot. This quene sometyme was at the couite, and sometyme at Baynardes castel, and so she continued in Englande all this yere.

The kyng for the honour of his syster, the. xix. & xx. dayes of Maye prepared. ii. solēpne dayes of Iustes, & the kyng him selfe, & the duke of Suffolke, the erle of Essex, & Nicholas Carew esquier, toke on them to answer all cōmeis. The apparell of thē & their horses was blacke veluet, couered all ouer with braūches of hony suckels of fine flat gold of dāmaske, of lose worke, euery lefe of the braūche mouing, the embroudery was very cōning & sumptuous. On the kyng was attēding in one suyte on horseback, the lord Marques dorset, the erle of Surrey, ſ<sup>y</sup> lord Burgaui, the lord Hastings, syr Ihon pechy, ſ<sup>y</sup> lord Ferreys, syr William Fitzwillia, & xii. other knyghtes, all thesē were in flockes of blew veluet, gaided with ryche cloth of golde, & their horse trappers of blew veluet, frynged with golde. And on foote were xl. persons all in blew sattyn, gaided with clothe of golde. And so they entered the felde wyth trompettes, dienslades and other minstrelsey.

Then in camē the cōūtrepartē, richely appareled, to the nūber of xii. & on that daye euery mā did wel, but the kyng did best, & so was adjudged, and so at night they ceased, and came to supper.

The kyng, the next day & his cōpany were appareyled horse & all in purple veluet, set ful of leaues of cloth of gold, engrailed with fyne flat gold of dāmaske, embroudered like to

Rose

Rose leues, & euery lefe fastened to other with pointes of dāmaske gold, & on all their borders were letters of gold, bullion. And on the kyng wayted. v. lordes. xiiii. knyghtes in flockes of yelow veluet, garded & boude with riche clothe of golde, & xxx gentelmē were in like apparel on fote, & xl. officers in yelow satyn edged with cloth of gold. Thus with great triūphie they entred y felds. Then the cōūtrepartie entred, all clothed & barded in white sattyn, traūersed w cloth of gold richely. This day was many a great stripe geuē. The kyng & syr Williā kyngstō rāne together, whiche syr Williā was a strōg & a tall knight, & yet y kyng by strēgth ouerthrew him to y groūd. And after that y kyng & his aides had performed their courses, they rāne volāt atal cōiners, which was a pleasaūt sight to se. And whē night approched, they all disarmed thē, and wēt to the quenes chāber, wher was a great banket for the welcome of the quene of Scottes.

This moneth of May were sent out of England, xii. C masons and Carpenters, &. iii. C. laborers to the cite of Toiney. for the kyng & his cōsail, cōsidering y the garrison that was kept there, was chargeable, & therefore it was determined that there should be buylded a Castel to chastice the cite if they rebelled, and to minyshe the garrison. And therefore these workemen were sent thether, whiche this yere began a strong Castell, and wrought still on it.

This yere, by the Cardinall, were all men called to accompt that had the occupieng of the kynges money in the warres or els where, not to euery mans contentacion, for some were found in auerages, & some sauēd them selves by pollecy & brybory, and waxed ryche, and some Innocentes were punished. And for a truthe he so punished periurye with open punyshment & open papers werynge, that in his tyme it was lesse used. He punyshed also lordes, knyghtes, and men of all sortes for ryottes, beryng and mayntenaunce in their countreyes, that the poore mē lyued quyety, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonment: but he him selfe and his seruātes, which were well punished therfore. The poore people perceaued that he punished the ryche, then they complayned without number, and brought many an honest man to trouble and vexacion. And when the Cardinall at the last had perceaued their vntue sumises & fayned cōplaintes for the most parte, he then wexed wery of herynge their causes, & ordeyned by the kynges cōmissiō, diuerse vnder courtes to here cōplaintes by bill of poore people. The one was kept in the white hall, the other before the kynges Almoner doctor Stokesley, a mā y had more learning, then discreciō to be a iudge. The thurd was kept in the lord treasurers chāber beside the staire chāber, & y in at the rolles at after noone. These courtes were greatly haunted for a tyme, but at y last y people perceaued y much delay was vsed in these courtes, & few matters ended, & when they were ended, they bouēd no mā by the law, then euery mā was wery of thē & resorted to the cōmō law.

In the moneth of October came into England Mathew bishop of Sedonō & Cardinal, called cōmonly the Cardinal of Swyshes, frō the Emperour Maximiliā. This Cardinal was a wise mā & of great holdenes & was wel entreteyned in the court & of y kyng. And at his cōtēplacion & for old loue, y kyng lēt to y Emperour Maximiliā a great sūme of money. wherof y cōpany of Friscobalde, & Antony Caueler Geneuoy vndetoke the chāge, but they payed not y Emperour at his day, notwithstanding thei had receaued y money of y kyng. This Friscobald & Anthony Caueler by meanes of rewardes, geuē to great lordes of the cōūsail borrowed of y kyng. xxx. M. l. & had lōg dayes for the paymēt but Friscobald was shortely cōsumed, & Anthony Caueler could not be sene, & so y kyng was not payd at his dayes, & many English merchaūtes were by these mē vndone, for they spent liberally of euery mans goodes.

This yere the kyng kept his Christmas at his maner of Grenewiche, & on the xii night, according to the old custome, he & the quene came into the hall, & when they were set, & the quene of Scottes also, there entred into the hall a Gardeyn artificial, called the Gardeyn of *Esperāce*. This Gardeyn was towred at euery corner, & railed w rayles gilt, al y bākes were set w floures artificial of silke & gold, y leues cut of grene sattyn, so y they



semed very floures. In þe myddest of this Gardeyn was a pillar of antique worke, al golde set w<sup>th</sup> perle & stone, & on the toppe of the pillar, which was. vi. squate, was a loue or an arche embowed, crouned with golde within which stode a bushe of Roses red & white, all of sylke and golde, & a bushe of Pomegranates of lyke stuff. In this gardeyn walked, vi. knyghtes and. vi. ladies richely appareyled, and then they disceded and daunsed many goodly daunces, & so ascended þe gardeyn agayn, and were conueighed out of the hall, and then the lyng was serued of a great banquet. After this Christmas, the kyng exercised him selfe muche in hawkynge

In this season, the Genowayes, Frenchemen and other straungiers sayde and boasted them selves to be in suche fauour with the kyng and hys counsaill, that they set naughte by the rulers of the citie. and the multitude of straungers was so great about London, that the poore Englishe artificers coulde skace get any lyuynge. And most of all the straungers were so pious, that they disdained, mocked and oppressed the Englishemen, whiche was the beginning of the grudge. For amonge all other thynges, there was a Carpenter in London called Wyllyamson, whiche bought two stockdoves in Chepe, and as he was about to paye for them, a Frencheman tooke them oute of hys hande, and said they were not meate for a carpenter: well sayde the Englishman I haue bought them and now payd for them, and therefore I will haue them, naye sayde the Frencheman I will haue them for my lorde the Ambassador, and so for better or worse, the Frencheman called the Englishman knaue, and went awaye with the stockdoves. The straungiers came to the Freche Ambassadour, & surmysed a cōplaynt agaynste the poore carpenter, and the Ambassadour came to my lorde Mayre, and said so muche, that the carpenter was sent to prison and yet not contented with this, so complayned to the kynges counsaill, that the kynges commaundement was layde on hym. And when syr Ihon Baker knyght and other worshiptull persones sued to, the Ambassadour for hym, he answered, by the body of God that the English knaue shoulde lose his lyfe, for he sayde no Englishman shoulde deny that the Frenchemen required, and other aunswer had they none.

The pride of  
Frenchemen

Also a Frencheman that had slayne a man, should abiure the realme & had a crosse in his hande, & then sodeinly came a great sorte of Frēchmen about him, & one of them said to the Constable that led him, syr is this crosse the price to kyll an Englishman. The Cōstable was somewhat astonyed and aunswered not. Then said another Frencheman, on that pryce we would be banyshed all by the masse, this sayng was noted to be spoken spitefully. Howebeit, the Frenchemen were not alonely oppressors of the Englishemen, for a Lombarde called Fraunces de bard, entised a mannes wyfe in Lombarde strete to come to his chābre with her husbandes plate, whiche thyng she dyd. After when her husbande knewe it, he demaunded hys wyfe, but aunswer was made he shoulde not haue her, then he demaunded his plate, and in lyke maner aunswer was made that he shoulde neither haue plate nor wyfe. And whē he had sewed an accion against the straunger in the Gylde hall, the straunger so faced the Englishman, that he faynted in his sute. And then the Lombarde arrested the poore man for his wyfes boorde, while he kept her frō her husbād in his chāber. This mocke was much noted, and for these and many other oppressions done by them, there encreased suche a malice in the English menues hartes, that at the laste it brast oute. For amongst other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called Ihon Lyncoln, whiche wrote a bill before Easter, desyryng doctor Standych in hys sermon at sainte Marye Spytell the Mondaye in Easter weke, too moue the Mayre and Aldermen, to take parte with the comminaltie agaynst the straungiers: The doctor aunswered that it became not hym too moue anye suche thyng in a sermon. From hym he departed, and came to a Chanon in saynte Mary spytell, a doctor in Deuinitie, called doctor Bele, and lamentably declared to hym, how miserably the common artificers lyued, and skase coulde get any worke to fynde them, their wyfes and chyl dren, for there were such a nūber of artificers straungers, that tooke awaye all the lyuynge in maner. And also howe the Englishe merchautes coulde haue no viteraunce, for the merchaunt straungers brynged

in all Sylkes, clothe of Golde, Wyne, Oyle, Iron and suche other merchaundise, that no man almoost byeth of an Englisheman And also outwarde, they carye so muche Englishe Wolle, Tynne, and Leade, that Englishmen that auenture outwarde can haue no lyuyng: Whiche thynges sayd Lyncoln hathe bene shewed to the counsayll, & cannot be heard. And farther sayde he, the straungiers compasse the cytye rounde aboute, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holborne, Sayncte Martynes, Sayncte Ithous strete, Algate, Towre hyll, and sayncte Katherynes, and forstall the market, so that no good thyng for them commeth to the market: whiche is the cause that Englishemen want and sterue, and they lyue haboundantly in great pleasure. Wherefore sayde Lyncolne master doctor, syth you were borne in Lōdon, & se the oppression of the straüngers, & the great misery of your awne natyue countray, exhorte all the cytiézens to ioyne in one against these straungers, raueners and destroyers of your countiey. Master doctor hearynge this, sayde he muche lamented the case if it were as Lyncoln hadde declared, yes sayde Lyncolne, that it is and muche more, for the Dutchemē bryng ouer Iron, Tymber, lether and Weynskot ready wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskettes, Cupbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, gyrdeles, with poyntes, sadelles & painted clothes so that if it were wrought here, Englishmen might haue some worke & lyuyng by it. And besyde this, they growe into such a multitude that it is to be looked vpon, for I sawe on a Soudaye this Lent vi. C. straüngers shotyng at y Popyngaye with Crosbowes, and they kepe such assemblies and fraternities together, & make such a gathering to their cōmon boxe, that euery botcher will holde plee with the cytye of Lōdō: wel sayd the doctor, I will do for a réformacion of this matter asmuche as a priest may do, & so receaued Lincolnes byl & studied for his purpose Then Lyncoln very ioyous of hys enterpryce went from man to man, saying that shortly they shoulde heare newes, and daily excited younge people and artificers to beare malice to the straungiers. When Ester came and doctor Bele shoulde preache the Twesdaye in Easter weke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared that to him was brought a pitifull bill, and red it in this wyse To all you the worshipful lordes and masters of this cite, that will take cōpassion ouer the poore people your neighbours, and also of the great importable hurtes, losses, and hynderaunces, whereof procedeth the extreme pouertie too all the kynges subiectes that inhabe within this cite and sububes of thesame, for so it is that the alyens and straüngiers eate the bread from the poore fatherles chyl dren, and take the luyng from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all merchauntes, wherby pouertie is so muche encreased that euery man bewaileth the misery of othe r, for craftes mē be brought to beggery and merchauntes to nedynes: wherefore the premisses considred, the rediesse must be of the commons, kny t and vnyte to one parte, and as the hurt and dammage greueth all men, so muste all men set to their wyllyng power for remedy, and not to suffie thesayd alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of his region too come to confusion. Of this letter was inore, but the doctor red no farther, and then he began *Cælum cæli domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum*, and vpon thys text he intreated, that this lande was geuen too Englishemen, and as byrdes woulde defende their nest, so oughte Englishemen to cheryshe and defende them selves, and to hurt and greue aliens for the common weale. And vpon this text *pugna pro patria*, he brought in, howe by Goddes lawe it was lawfull to fight for their cōtre y, and euer he subtellye moued the people to rebell against the straüngiers, and breake the kynges peace, nothyng regardingyng the league betwene princes and the kynges honoure. Of this Sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake against straungiers. And as the deuell woulde, the Sundaye after at Grenewiche in y kynges gallery was Fraunces de hard, whiche as you haue kept an Englishe mans wyfe and his goodes, and yet he could haue no remedy, & with him were Domyngo, Anthony Caueler, and many mo straüngiers, and ther they talkyng with sy Thomas Palmer knyght, Iested and laughed howe that Fraunces kep te the Englishemans wyfe, sayng y if they had the Mayres wīfe of London, they would kepe her. syr Thomas sayd, Sirs you haue to muche fauour in England. There were diuerse Englishe merchauntes by, and harde them laugh, and



were not content, in somuche as one William bolt a Mercer sayd, wel you whoreson Lombardes, you reioyse and laugh, by the masse we will one daye haue a daye at you, come when it will, and that saynge the other merchauntes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute London, and the younge and euell disposed people sayde, they woulde be reuenged on the merchaunt straungers, aswell as on the artificers straungers. On Monday the morow after, the kyng remoued to hys maner of Rychemonde.

## ¶ THE. IX. YERE.

Vpon this rumour the. xxviii. daye of Aprill, diuerse youges men of the cite assauted the Alyens as they passed by the stretes, and some were strikē, & some buffeted, & some throwen in the canal. Wherefore the Mayre sent diuerse persōs to ward, as Stephyn Studlēy skynner, and Bettes and Stephenson & diuerse other, some to one cōuter, & some to another, and some to Newgate. Then sodenly was a cōmen secret rumour, & no mā could tell how it began, that on May daye next, the cite would rebell & slaye all Aliens, in somuche as diuerse straungers fled oute of the cite. This brute ranne so farre that it came to the kynges cōsail, insomuch as the Cardinall beyng lord Chaūcelour, sent for Ihon Rest Mayre of the cite, and other of the counsaill of the cite, & demaūded of the Mayre in what case the cite stode, to-whome he answered that it was wel & in good quyet. Nay sayd the Cardinall, it is informed vs that your yōg and ryotous people will ryse & distresse the straungers, heare ye of no such thing? No surely sayd the Mayre, & I trust so to gouerne thē that the kynges peace shalbe obserued, & that I dare vndertake if I & my brethren the Aldermen may be suffered. Wel sayd y Cardinall, go home & wisely forsee this matter, for & if any suche thing be, you may shortly preuent it. The Mayre came from the Cardinals at. iiii. of the clocke at after none on May euen, & demaūded of the officers what they harde, diuerse of thē answered that the voyce of the people was so, & had ben so. ii. or. iiii. dayes before. This heryng the Mayre sent for al his brethrē to the Guylde hall in great hast, & almost. vii. of the clocke or the assemble was set. Then was declared to thē by Master brooke y recorder how that the kynges cōsail had reported to thē y the cōminaltie that night would ryse, & distresse all the Aliē & straungers y inhabited in the cite of Lōdon. the Aldermē answered they harde say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayde that it was well done to forsee it. Then sayd the recorder it were best that a substācial watche were set of honest persons, housholders, which might withstand the euell doers. An Alderman sayde, that it was euell to rayse men in harneys, for if suche a thinge were entended, they coulde not tell who woulde take their parte. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the younge men asonder, and euery man to shut in hys dores, and kepe hys seruauntes within. Then with these opinions was the Recorder sent to y Cardinall before. viii. of the clocke, and then he with suche as were of the kynges counsaill at hys place, commaūded that in no wyse watche should be kept, but that euery man shoulde repayre to his awne house, and there to kepe hym and hys seruauntes tyl vii. of the clocke of the mornyng: with whiche commaundement, the sayde Rycharde brooke sergeaunt at the law and recorder, and syr Thomas Moore, late vndershrife of Lōdon, & then of the kynges cōsail, came to the Guylde hall halfe houre and before ix. of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundemēt of the kynges counsaill. Then in all hast, euery Alderman sent to his warde that no man should styre after. ix. of the clocke out of his house, but to kepe his doores shut, and hys seruauntes within. tyl. vii. of the clocke in the mornyng. After this commaundement syr Ihon Monday Alderman came from hys warde, and founde two young men in chepe playnge at Buckelers, and a great company of young men lokyng on thē for the commaundement was then skace knowen, for then it was but. ix. of the clocke. Master Mondy seyng that, bade them leaue, and the one younge man asked hym why? and then he sayd thou shalt know, & toke hym by the arme to haue had

Euell may  
day.

him

him to the counter. Then all the youg mē resisted the Alderman & toke him from master Mondy, and cryed prentyses and clubbes. Then out at euery doore came clubbes and weapōs and the Alderman fled, and was in great daungier. Then more people arose out of euery quarter, and oute came seruynge men, and water men and Countiers, and by a. xi. of the clocke there were in Chepe. vi. or. vii. hundreth. And oute of Paules churcheyarde came. iii. hundreth, which wist not of the other, and so out of all places they gathered, and brake vp the counters, and tooke out the prisoners, that the Mayre had thether committed for hurtyng of the straungers, and came to Newgate and tooke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause. The Mayre and Shrifes were there present, and made Proclamaciō in the kynges name, but nothyng was obeyed. Thus they ranne a plump thorow sanct Nycholas Shābles, & at saynet Martyns gate, there met with them syr Thomas Moore and other, desyryng theym to go to their lodgynges: And as they were intreatyng, and had almost brought them to a staye. The people of saynet Martyns threwe oute stones and battes, and hurte dyuerse honest persones, that were persuadyng the ryotous people to ceasse, and they bade them holde their handes, but still they threwe oute bryckes and hoate water. Then a sergeaunt of Armes called Nycholas dounes, whiche was there with master Moore, entreatyng them, beyng sore hurte, in a fure cryed dounē with them. Then all the misruled persones ranne to the dores and wyndowes of saynet Martyn, and spoyled all that they founde, and caste it into the strete, and lefte fewe houses vnspoyled. And after that they ranne hedlyng into Cornhill by Leaden hal to the house of one Mutuas a Frenchman or Pyearde borne, whiche was a greate bearer of Frenchemen, where they pyckpurses, or howe euell disposicion soeuer they were of, and within hys gate, called Grenegate, dwelled dyuerse Frenchmen that kalendred Worsted, contrary to the kynges lawes: & all they were so borne out by thesame Mutuas, & no mā durst medle w̄ them, wherfore he was sore hated, & if the people had found him in their fury, they would haue striken of his head. but whē they fōūd hym not, the water men & certayne young priestes that were there fell to rifyng: some ranne to Blāchechapelon, & brake the straungers houses, & threwe shooes and bootes into the strete. This from. x. or. xi. of the clocke, continued these ryotous people durynge whiche tyme a knight called syr Thomas pair, in great hast went to the Cardinall & told him of thys ryot, which incōntinent strengthened his house with men & ordinaunce. And after, this knight roade to the king to Riehemōd, & made & report much more then it was. Wherfore the king hastily sent to Lōdō, & was truly aduertised of the matter, & how that the ryot was ceased, & many of the doers apprehēded. But while this ruffling cōtinued, syr Richard Cholmeley knight, Lieutenaūt of the Towre, no great frende to the cite, in a fiantyke fuyē losed certayn peces of ordinaunce, & shot into & cite, whiche did litle harme, howbeit his good wil apered. About. iii. of the clōcke, these ryotous persons seuered and went to their places of resorte, & by the waye they were taken by the Mayre and the heddes of the cite, and some sent to the Towre, and some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of. iii. C. some fled, and specially the watermen and priestes, & seruynge men, but the poore prentises were taken. About fyue of the clocke, the erles of Shrewesbury and Surrey, whiche had harde of thys ryot, came to London with suche strength as they had, so dyd the Innes of court, and diuerse noble men. but or they came all the ryot was ceased, and many taken as you haue heard.

Then were the prisoners examined, & the sermon of docter Bele called to remembrance, and he taken and sent to the Towre, & so was Ihon Lyncoln but with this ryot, the Cardinall was sore displeased. Then &. iii. day of May was an Oyer & determiner at Lōdō before & Mayre, the duke of Norffolke, the erle of Surrey and other. The cite thought that the duke bare them grudge for a lewde priest of his, which the yere before was slayn in Chepe, in so much the duke then in his fury sayd, I pray God I may once haue the citizes in my daungier. & the duke also thought that they bare him no good wil, wherfore he came into the cite with. xui. C. men in barneys to kepe the Oyer & determiner.



miner. And vpō examinaciō it could neuer be proued of any metyng, gathering, talking or conuenticle at any daye or tyme before ſ̄ day, but that the chaūce ſo happened wout any matter prepensed of any creature ſauing Lyncoln & neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamacions were made that no womē shoulde come together to bable & talke, but all men should kepe their wyues in their houses. All the stretes ſ̄ were notable stode full of harnesssed men, which spake many opprobrious wordes to the citezens, which greued them soie & if they woulde haue bene renenged, the other had had the worssse, for the citizēs were. ii. C. to one. but lyke true subiectes they suffred patiently.

When the lordes wer set, the prisoners were brought in thorough ſ̄ stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some chyldren of xiii. yere. There was a great mourning of fathers & fiendes for their chyldren & kynsfolke. Among the prisoners many were not of the citie, some were priestes, and some husbandmen & laborers, the whole some of the prisoners were. ii. C. lxxviii. persons. The cause of the treason was, because the kyng had amitie with all Christen princes, that they had brokē the truce & league cōtraiy to the statute of kyng Hēiy the v. Of this treasō diuerse were endited, & so for ſ̄ tyme, the lordes departed. And the next day the duke came agayn, & the erle of Surrey with. ii. M. armed men, which kept the stretes. Whē the Mayre, the duke, & ſ̄ erle of Shrewesbury & Surrey were set, the prisoneis were arraigned, and. xiii. tounde giltye of high treason, & adiudged to be hangcd, drawen & quartered, & for execucion wherof, were set vp xi. payre of galowcs in diuerse places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blāche-chapeltō, Gracious strete, Leadē hal, & before euery couēter one, & at Newgate, at s. Martens, at Aldrisgate, at Bishopsgate. This sight sore greued the people to se galowcs set in the kynges chāber. Then were ſ̄ prysoners ſ̄ were iudged, brought to the places of execuciō, & executed in most rygorous maner, for the lord Edmōd Haward somie to the duke of Northfolke, & knight Mershal shewed no mercy, but extreme cruelty to the poore yōgelinges in their execuciō, & likewise the dukes seruātes spake many opprobrious wordes, some bad hāge, some bad drawe, some bad set the citie on fyre, but all was suffied.

On Thursday the. vii. day of May was Lyncoln, Shyrwyn, & two brethrē called Bets, and diuerse other adiudged to dye. Then Lyncoln said, my lordes, I meant wel, for & you knew the mischiet that is ensued in this realme by straūgers, you would remedy it, & many tymes I haue cōplayned, & then I was called a busy felow; now our lord haue mercy on me. Then all thesayd persons were layd on the hardels, & drawen to the standarde in Chepe, & first was Ihon Lyncoln executed, & as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a commaūdemēt frō the kyng to respite execucion. Then the people cryed, God saue ſ̄ king. Then was the Oyer and determiner deferred tyll another daye, and the prisoners sent agayne to warde, and the harnesssed men departed oute of London, and all thynges quyēt.

The. xi. daye of Maye the kyng came to his maner of Grenewiche, where the recorder of London & diuerse Aldermen came to speke with his grace, and al ware gounes of black coloure. And when they perceaued the king comming out of his priue chambre into his chābre of pisenec, they kneeled doune, & ſ̄ recorder sayd: Our most natural, beninge and souereigne lorde, we knowe well that your grace is displeased with vs of your citie of Lōdon for the great ryot late done: we assertein your grace that none of vs, nor no honest person were condisendynge to that enormite, and yet we, oure wyfes and chyldrē euery houre lament that your fauour shoulde be taken from vs, and forasmuche as light & ydle persones were the doers of thesame, we moost hūbly besche your grace to haue mercy of vs for our negligēce, & compassion of the offendours for their offence and trespasse.

Truly sayd the kyng, you haue highly displeased and offended vs, & ye oughte to wayle and be sory for thesame, and where ye saye that you the substanciall persons were not concentyng to thesame, it appereth to the contrary, for you neuer moued to let them nor sturred

once

once to fight with them, whiche you saye were so small a nombre of light persones, wherefore we must thynke, and you cannot deny, but you dyd wycke at the matter, but at this tyme we will graunt to you neither our fauour nor good will, nor to thoffenders mercy, but resort to the Cardinall our lord Chauncelour, & he shall make you an answer, & declare our pleasure, and with this answer ȝ lōdoners departed & made relaciō to ȝ Maior.

The. xviii. day of this moneth the qhene of Scottes, which had bene at the Courte and at Baynardes Castell, a whole yere at the kynges chaige, and was richely apoynted of all thinges mēte to hei estate, both of Iewells, plate, tapissry, Arras, Coyne, Horsses, and all other thinges of the kynges gift & liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great ryches, albeit she came into Englande with muche pouertie, and she entred into Scotland the xiii. daye of Iuyn, whome her husband receaued at Berwick: but the Englishmen smally him regarded. All hei charges within the realme, comminge to the courte, & retuynge, were of the kynges puiſſe.

Thursdaye the. xxii. day of May the kyng came into Westmynster hall, for whome at the vpper ende was set a clothe of estate, & the place hanged with Arias, with him was the Cardinal, the dukes of Northfolke & Suffolke, ȝ erles of Shrewsbury, of Essex & Wylshyre, of Surrey, with many lordes & other of the kynges cōsail. The Mayre & Aldermē, & al the chief of the cite were there in their best liuery (according as the Cardinal had thē apoynted) by. ix. of the clock. Then the kyng cōmaunded ȝ all the prisoners should be brought forth. Then came in the poore yōuglinges & olde false knaues boude in ropes all along, one after another in their shertes, & euery one a halter about his neck, to the nūber of iiii. C. mē &. xi. womē. And whē all were come before ȝ kynges presence, the Cardinal sore laied to the Mayre & cōminaltie their negligēce, & to the prisoners he declared ȝ they had deserved death for their offence. Then al the prisoners together cryed mercy gracious lord, mercy. Then the lordes altogetner besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the kyng pardoned thē al. And then the Cardinal gaue vnto thē a good exhortacion to the great gladnes of the heres. And whē the generall pardō was pronouced, all ȝ prisoners shouted atonce, & altogether cast vp their halters into ȝ hall ioffe, so ȝ the kyng might perceauē they were none of the discretest sorte. Here is to be noted ȝ diuerse offenders which were not takē, hering ȝ the kyng was inclined to mercy, came wel appa- reled to Westmynster, & sodeynly stryped thē into their shertes & halters, & came in emōg the prisoners willingly, to be partakers of the kynges pardon, by the whiche doying, it was well known that one Ihō Gelson yoman of the Croune, was the first that began to spoyle, and exhorted other to dooe thesame, and because he fled and was not taken, he came in the rope with the other prisoners, and so had his pardon. This compaignie was after called the blacke Wagon. Then were all the galowes within the citee taken doune and many a good praier saied for the kyng, and the citezens-toke more hede to their seruantes.

In Iune the kyng had with hym diuerse Ambassadors, for solace of whom he prepared a costly Iustes, he hymself and xii. against the duke of Suffolk and other xii. his base and bard was the one halfe clothe of siluer, and the other halfe blacke Tynsell. On the siluer was a curious lose worke of white veluet embraudered with Golde cut on the Siluer and euery cut engrailed with golde, so that that side was golde, Siluer and veluet. On the blacke tynsell side was blacke veluet embraudered with golde and cut, and euery cut was engrailed with flat gold of Damaske. The base and barde were broudered with greate letters of massy golde Bullion, full of pearles and stones, merueilous riche. al his compaignie wer in like suite, sauynge that they had no muelles. The kyng had on his hed a ladies sleue full of Diamondes. On the kyng attended gētlemen, Armouriers, and other officers to the number of Cxxv. persones all in white Veluet and white Sattyn, horse and harneis for horsemen, Cappes and Hosen for footemen, all white at the kynges cost. This royally the kyng & his compaignie with his waiters came to the tiltes ende.

Then entered the Duke of Suffolke with the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Essex and Surrey, and. viii. other of his bande in bardes and bases of white Veluet & crimson satina losenged



losenged, set full of letters of C. M. of gold, for Charles & Mary, and thei toke the other ende of the tilt. Then the Trompettes blew, and the Kyng and the Duke ranne fiercely together, and brake many speres, and so did all the other, that it was harde to saie who did best: but when the courses were ron, thei ranne volant one at another, so that bothe by the reporte of sir Edward Gylforde Master of the Armury, and also of the Iudges and Heraldes at these Iustes wer broken five hundred and sixe speres. and then the kyng the same night made to the Ambassadors a sumptuous banket with many ridelles and muche pastyme.

After this greate triumphe, the king appointed his gastes for his pastyme this Sommer, but sodeinly there came a plague of sickenes, called the Swetyng sickenes, that turned all his purpose. This malady was so cruell that it killed some within three houres, some within twoo houres, some mery at diner and dedde at supper. Many died in the kynges Courte, the Lorde Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many knightes, Gentlemen and officers. For this plague Mighelmas terme was adiourned and because that this malady continued from Iuly to the middes of December, the kyng kept hymself euer with a small compaignie, and kept no solempne Christmaa, willyng to haue no resort for feare of infection but muche lamented the number of his people, for in some one tounne halfe the people died, and in some other tounne the thirde parte, the Sweate was so feruent and infeccious.

## ¶ THE. X. YERE.

Tit. ix.  
yere

IN the beginning of this yere, Trinite terme was begon at Oxenford, where it continued but one day, and was again adiourned to Westminster. This yere came to Calice frō Pope Leo, a legate de latere, called Laurence Campeius, commonly called the Cardinall Campeius, for to exhorte the kyng to make warre on the Turke. And likewise the saied Leo sent .iii. other legates furth at that tyme for the said purpose, one into Fraūce another into Spain, and the third into Germany.

When the Cardinall of Yorke knewe, that there was comyng a legate into Englande, whiche should haue a greater prehemynence then a Cardinall, he whose ambition was neuer satisfied, caused a Bisshoppe and certain Docters to passe the Sea to Calice to welcome hym, and to shewe hym that if he would haue the Popes purpose, to take any effecte in Englande, he should in any wise sende in poste to Rome, to haue the saied Cardinall of Yorke to be legate also, and to beioyned in commission with hym, whiche thing was doen, (not without good rewardes) so that in thirte and five daies, the bull was brought to Calice. Duryng whiche tyme the Cardinall of Yorke sent to the Legate to Calice, redde cloth to clothe his seruantes, which at their comyng to Calice, were but meanelly appareled. And when all thynges were ready he passed the sea and landed at Douer, and so kept fuithe his iorney toward Londō. At euery tounne as thei passed, he was receiued with Procession, and accompanied with all the Lordes and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Black heth, there met hym the Duke of Norffolke, with a great number of prelates, knightes and gentlemen, all richely appareled. And in the waie he was brought into a riche tente of clothe of golde, where he shifed himself into a robe of a Cardinall, edged with Ermyns, and so toke his moyle ridyng toward London.

The night before he came to London the cardinall of Yorke, to furnishe the carrages of the Cardinall Campeius, sent to him twelue mulettes with empty Cofers couered with redde, whiche twelue Mulettes were led through London, emongest the Mulettes of Campeius, which were but eight and so these .xx. Mulettes passed through the stretes, as though thei had been full of Treasures, apparell and other necessities. And when they came into Chepe, one of the Mulettes brake from her keper, and ouerthrewe the Chestes, and ouerturned twoo or three other Mulettes carages, whiche fell with suche a violence, that diuerse of them vnlocked, and out of some fell olde Hosen, broken Shoen, and roasted

Fleshe

Wolsey

Fleshe, peces of Breade, Egges and muche vile baggage: at whiche sighte the boyes cryed, see, see my Lorde Legates treasure, and so the Muleters wer ashamed, and tooke vp all then stuffe & passed furth. And about thre of the clock at after none on the. xxix. day of Iuly the said legate entred the cite, & in Sothwarke met hym all the clergie of London with crosses sensers & copes & sensed him with great reuerence. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the occupacions of the citee in their best lueries stode in the stretes, & hym highly honored: to who sir Thomas More made a brief oracio in the name of the citee. And whē he cam to Paules, ther he was receued by bishops mitred, and vnder a canapy entred the churchē whiche canapy his seruantes toke for their fees. And when he had offred, he gaue his benediction to al the people, and toke again his mule, & so was with al his train aforesaid, conueighed to Bathe place, & there rested where he was welcomed of the Cardinall of Yorke. And on sondaie next ensuyng these two Cardinalles as legates, toke their barges & came to Grenewiche, eche of them had beside their crosses two pillars of siluer, two litle axes gylte, and two cloke bagges embroudered, and the Cardinalles lattes borne before thē. And when they came to the kynges hall, the Cardinall of Yorke went on the right hande. and there the king Royally appareled and accompaigned, met them euen as though bothe had come from Rome, and so brought them bothe vp into his chamber of presecence, and there was a solemne oracion made by an Italian, declaryng the cause of the legacy to be in two articles, one for aide against Gods enemies, and the second for reformation of the Clergie. And when Masse was doen, they were had to a chamber, and serued with lordes and knightes, with muche solempnitie and after dinnr they toke their leaue of the kyng and came to London and rode through the citee together, in greate pompe and glory, to their lodgynges.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a legate, he set vp a court, & called it the court of the legate, and proued testamētes, and hard causes to the great hinderance of all the bishops of the realme. He visited bisshopes and all the Clergie, exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of reformation he gat muche treasure, & nothyng was reformed but came to more mischief for by exāple of his pride, priestes & all spirituall persones waxed so proude, that they ware veluet & silke, bothe in gounes, iackettes, doblettes, & shoes, kept open lechery, and so highly bare thēselues by reason of his authorities & faculties, that no mā durst once reprove any thing in thē, for feare to be called heretike, & then they would make hym smoke or bare a taggot. And the Cardinall hymself was so elated that he thought hymself egall with the kyng & when he had said Masse he made dukes & eyles to serue him of wyne with a say taken, & to holde the basō at the lauatories. Thus the pride & ambition of the Cardinall & clergie was so high, y in maner al good persons abhorred and disdained it.

This yere the French kyng wrote to the kyng of England, y if it wer his pleasure, he would send an ambassade into England to cōmon with the kyng & his counsaill for the redemyng of the citee of Turney & other thynges whiche answered the messenger, y the ambassade of the Fienche kyng shoulde be right hartely welcome to him. And so the French king sent into England the lorde Boneuct, hygh Admyral of Fraunce, & the bishop of Parys as chiefe Ambassadors, accompanied with many noble men, & young freshe galātes of the courte of Fraunce, to the nūbre of lxxx & more, & with them came a great nūbre of rascal & pedleis, & Iuellers, and brought ouer lattes and cappes, and diuerse merchaūdisse vncustomed, all vnder the colour of the tussery of the Ambassadors.

After that these noble men were landed at Douer, they were receaued by the nobles and gentlemen of the countrey and so conueighed from lodgyng to lodgyng tyll they came to Blacketh, & before them went their cariages and people in great numbres to the sunime of. xii. C. one & other, whiche was thought to be to many for an ambassade. These gētlemen of Fraunce were very freshe.

Monday the xxvii day of September, the erle of Surrey hygh Admyrall of Englande in a coate of riche tyssue cut on cloth of siluer on a great couseil richly trapped, & a great  
4 G whistell



whistell of gold, set with stones and perle hangyng at a great and massy chayne baudyck wise accompanied with an. C. lx. gentlemen, richely appareled, on goodly horsse: came to blacketh, & there amably receaved þe Ambassadors of Fraunce. The youg galantes of Fraunce had coates garded with one colour, cut in x. or xii. partes very richely to beholde: & so al the Englishmē accoupled the selues with the Frenchmen, louingly together, & so roade to Lodon. After the. ii. Admyrals folowed. xxiii. of the Frēche kynges garde whome accompanied xxiii. of the kynges garde. And after thē a great numbre of archers, to the nūbre of. iii. C. and in this order they passed thorough the cite to Taylers hal, & there the chiefe Ambassadors were lodged, & the rēnaunt in matchautes houses about. When these lordes were in their lodgynges, then the Frēch harder mē opened their wares, & made the Taylers hal lyke to the paunde of a maite. At this doynge many an Englishmā grudged; but it auailed not. The last day of Septēber, the Frēch Ambassadors toke their barge, & came to Grenewiche. The Admyrall was in a gounce of cloth of siluer, raysed, furred with ryche Sables, & al his cōpany almost were in a new fassiō garimēt called a Shemew, which was in effect a gounce, cut in the middle. The gētemē of Fraunce were brought to the kynges presence, wher the bishop of Parys made a solēpne oraciō which beyng ended, & answer made therto, þe kyng highly entreteyned the Admirall & his company, & so dyd all the English lordes and gentlemen. The Ambassadors beyng dayly in counsail at Grenewiche, the other gentlemen daunced & passed the tyme in the quenes chābre with ladies & gentlewomen. After long cōsailing & mutche desyring of the French kyng and his counsayll; it was agreed that the cite of Tournay should be deliuered to the French kyng, he payenge. vi. hundred thousande crounes for the cite, and. iii. hundred thousand crounes for the Castell, the which þe kyng had buylded, but it was not fully performed: & also he should pay. xxiii. M. l. Tournays, þe whiche summe the citezens of the cite of Tournay ought to the kyng of England for their liberties and fraunchises.

Vpon these agrementes to be performed, it was cōcluded that þe cite of Tournay should be deliuered to the French kyng. The Frenchmen þe soner to come to their purposē, made a pretēce of mariage to be had betwene the Dolphyn, sōnne & heyre to the Frēche kyng & the lady Mary the kynges daughter, which was agreed vpon this cōdicion, that if they both cōsented at lawfull age, then to be feime & stable, or els not for thē they were both very young. And so all matters were concluded, and the erle of Worcester, & the bishop of Ely apoynted to go into Fraunce for the deliury of the cite of Tournay, and performyng of the other agrementes. And for the sure payement of the summes of money to be payde to the kyng of England vpon the sayd agrementes, there were four gentlemen of the realme of Fraunce, left in England for hostages whose names were Mounsire Memorancy, Mōsire Monpesart, Mounsire Moy, Mounsire Morret. Of the which. iii. the. ii. fyrst named were of noble blood, but the. ii. last were but of meane houses. And because they were youg, there was auncient gentlemē, apoynted gouernours to thē.

When all thynges were cōcluded & sealed, the kyng and all the Ambassadors richely appareled & the. ii. legates, roade solēply to þe church of saynct Paul fīō the bishop of Durhams place. & there was made fīō the West doore to the quere doore of the chuiche egall with the highest step a hautepace of tynber of. xii. fote broade, that the kyng & the Ambassadors might be sene. And there the Cardinall of Yorke sauge high masse, & had hys cloth of estate of Tyssue hys Cupboord set with basōs all gilt couered: his place was. v. steppes high. At the first lauatory. iii. Erles serued him, & at the secōd. ii. dukes & a Marques, & with the saye taken, they gaue hym wyne, & after water. And when masse was done, þe Cardinall Campeius & he gaue to the people (as they sayd) cleane remission. And after that done doctor Pace the kynges secretary, a man very eloquent, made a goodly Oracion in prayse of peace: and that done, the kyng & all his nobles and Ambassadors went to the Bishops palace to dynner, where they were highly feasted. And after dynner the kyng roade agaync to the bishop of Durhams place.

That night the Cardinall of Yorke made to the Ambassadors a solempne bāket, & them accompanied

accompanyed many lordes & ladyes of Englande. And when the banquet was done, in came. vi. mynstrels, richely disguised, & after them followed. iij. gentlemen in wyde & long gounes of Crymosyn satyn, euery one hauyng a cup of golde in their handes, the first cup was full of Angels & royals, the second had diuerse bales of dyce, & the. iij. had certayn payres of Cardes. These gentlemen offred to playe at mochaunce, & whē they had played y length of the first boorde, then the mynstrels blew vp, & then entred into the chābre. xii. ladyes disguised, the fyrst was the kyng him selfe & the French quene, the secōd the duke of Suffolke, the lady Dawbeney, y lord Admiral & the lady Guylford syr Edward Neuel, and the lady Sentliger, syr Henry Guylford, and mastres Walden, Capitayn Emery, and mastres Anne Carew, syr Giles Capell, & lady Elizabeth Carew, Nycholas Carew, & Anne broune, Fraunces Brian and Elizabeth blont, Henry Norrys & Anne wotton, Fraunces poyntz and Mary fynes, Arthure poole & Margaret Bruges. On this cōpany attended. xii. knightes disguised, bearing torches all these. xxxvi. persons disguised were in one suite of fyne Grene satyn all ouercouered with clothe of golde, vnder tyed together with laces of Gold, & maskyng whoodes on their heddes. the ladyes had tyers made of Braydes of daniask gold & long heres of white gold. All these maskers daūced at one tyme, & after they had daūced, they put of their viziers, & then they were all knownē. The Admyral & lordes of Fraunce hartely thanked the kyng, that it pleased him to visit thē with such dispoit and then the kyng & his cōpany were banketed, & had high chere, & then they departed euery man to his lodgyng.

The viij. day of October at Grenewiche was song a solēpne masse by the bishop of Durhā, & after masse doctor Tūstal master of the Rolles, which after was bishop of Londō, made an eloquēt preposiciō in praise of y matrimony to be had betwene the Dolphyn & the lady Mary: & all that day were y straungers feasted, & at night they were brought into the hall, where was a rock ful of al maner of stones, very artificially made, & on y top stode. v. trees, A pegasus y first an Olive tree, on which hāged a shild of y armes of the church of Rome the. ii. a Pyneapple tree, w the armes of the Emperour: the. iij. a Rosyer w the armes of Englad: the. iij. a braūche of Lylres, bearing y armes of Fraūce: & the. v. a Pomegranet tree, bearyng y armes of Spayn: in tokē y all these. v. potētates were ioyned together in one league against y enemies of Christes fayth. In & vpon y middes of y Rock sate a fayre lady, richely appareyled w a Dolphin in her lap. In this Rock were ladies & gentlemen, appareled in Crimosyn satyn, couered ouer w floures of purple satyn embroidered on w wrethes of gold, knyt together with gold laces, & on euery floure a hart of gold mouing. The ladies tyer was after y fassio of Inde, w kerchiefes of pleasaūce, hatched w fyne gold, & set w letters of Greke in golde of bulliō & the edges of their kerchiefes were garnished w hāging perle. These gentlemen & ladyes sate on y neyther parte of the Rocke, & out of a caue in the said Rock came x. knightes, armed at all poyntes, & faughte together a fayre tournay. And whē they were seuered & departed y disguysers dissended frō y rock, & daūced a great space: & sodeynly y rocke moued & receaued y disguysers, & ymmediately closed agayn. Thē entred a person called Reaport, appareled in Crymosyn satyn full of tōges, sitting on a flyēg horse w wynges & fete of gold called Pegasus. Thys person in Frēche declared y meaning of y rocke & y trees at y Tournay.

After this pastyme ended, the kyng and the Ambassadors were serued at a banquet with. A banquet. ii. C. & lx. dysches: & after that a voydee of spyces w lx. spice plates of siluer & gilt, as great as mē with ease might beare. This nyght the Cupboord in the hall was of. xii. stages all of plate of golde and no gilt plate. When that euery man had ben plenteously serued, the tables were taken vp, and the kyng and the quene and all the straungiers departed to their lodgings. After diuerse Iustes and feastes made the sayd Ambassadors by the kyng & lordes: Syr Thomas Exmew maye of Londō, made to them a costly dynner at the Goldsmithes hall, which dynner they highly praysed, it was so wet ordred.

And whē tyme came, they toke their leaue of the kyng, the quene and the kynges counsaill, & deliuered into the kynges possessiō their. iij. hostages as you haue harde before. at whiche departing



departing the kyng gaue to the Admyral of Fraunce a garnishe of gilt vessel, a payre of couered basons gilt. xii. great gilt bowles iii. payre of great gilt pottes, a stāding cup of gold, garnished w̄ great peile: & to some other also, he gaue plate to some Cheyues of gold, to some riche apparel, & to some greate horses with ryche bardes, so ȳ euery gentlemā was well rewarded which liberalitie the straūgiens much praised & after ȳ al their trusses were ready they departed toward the sea, & toke ship & lāded at Boleyn.

Sone after their departing the erle of Worcester, beyng the kynges chāberlayn. The bishop of Ely, the lord of s̄ Ihōs, syr Nicholas vaux, syi Ihon pechy, syr Thomas bulleyn as Ambassadors frō the king of Englande, accompanied with lxx. knightes & Gētiemen & yomē, to the nūber of. iii. C. & aboue, passed the sea with some stormes, & came to Calys, & passed thorough Picardy with great & kynde entreteynmēt in all places, till they came to Parys, where they were nobly receaued, euery mā matched w̄ a lyke pere. & after they were brought to ȳ Frenche kynges p̄sence, where the bishop of Ely made a solempne oraciō, as cōcerning the mariage and the peace: he did it with suche a bolde spir̄ te that the Frenchemen muche praysed his audacite.

The cōclusiō of this peace was this, ȳ Hēry kyng of Englād, Fraūces kyng of Frenchemen, & Charles kyng of Castel had sworne a perpetual peace, duringe their lyues. And if it should happen any of the iii. to violate the league in any point and to moue warre: then the other ii. should ioine together, & make warre agaynst the violater or breaker of the peace.

After all thinges cōcluded, the Frēch king made a banquet house in ȳ bastill of Parys betwene iii. olde walles this house was couered with coardes strayned by craft & euery coarde was wōūd aboute with boxe, & so layd crosse wise one ouer another in fret, & at the ipeynges a great knop gilt with gold foyle. Over their coardes was streyned wollen clothes of light blew. this rooffe was lxxx. fote high, & on euery side iii. stages high. all the pillars of the stages were couered with antique workes, & the brestes of the stages curiously wrought with armes, fynettes & braūches. the rooffe was set full of starres gilt furnished with glasses betwene the fretes: & in this house was. ii. C. xii. braūches gilt hāged, & on euery braunche a great number of lightes of white waxe. and diuers sortes of masks were shewed that night: & also there was shewed at euery side of the palace a great Cupboord of massiue plate of muche greatnesse, and euē the French kyng welcōmed the lordes and Ambassadors with good countenance. After diuers feastes, iustes and bankettes made to the Englishe Ambassadors, the bishop of Ely with sir Thomas Bulleyn and sir Richard Weston were sent by the Frenche kyng to Konyack to see the dolphyn, where they were well receiued, and to thēno was shewed a fayre young childe & when they had seen him, they departed. The same went that the Frenché kyng at that tyme had no sonne, but that this was but a colour of the Frenche kyng, howbeit it was proued other wise after.

In this season the Earle of Worcettre, and with him sir Nicholas Vaux, sir Ihō Pechy, sir Edward Belknap with many other knightes tooke their leaue of the Frenche kyng, & roade to Tournay, where they were well receiued. Then began the capitaines and the souldiours to mourne, knowyng that the toun should be yelded to the French kyng, and many a young gentleman, and many a tall yoman wished that they had not spent their tyme there. And the next day after, the sayd erle discharged sir Richard Iernyngham of his office of capitaine & cōmaunded euery man to be obedient to the kinges pleasure & to prepare to returne into England. The. viii. day of February ȳ lord Chatillon came nere to the cite of Tournay with. xxi. hundredth menne in harneys. The erle of Worcettre sent sir Edward Belknap to knowe his commission, and there he shewed him his commission, whiche was to receiue the cite of Tournay. Then sir Edward Belknap desired him to sende his commission to the earle of Worcettre, whiche he refused to do, sayyng it was sufficient to shewe it. well sayd sir Edward Belknap you must vnderstand that we haue a commission from the kyng our Master to deliuer you the cite at a day appointed: wherfore we must shewe the kyng of England both your cōmission that you had auctoritie to receiue it frō the Frenche king, and

also that you by your indenture sealed with your seale of armes shall confesse that you receiue the cite as a gift, and not iendred as a right to the kyng your Master, or els be you sure that the cite shall not be deliuered. Then the lorde Chastileon was wonderous wroth that he was no better beleued. And so daily were great messages sent to the cite from him to the eile of Woicette, and answers wer sent of the Englishe part. But when the daye approached he had ful auswere that he must deliuer his commission and also seale the indenture, or els the Englishmen would not put hym in possession of the towne, for then commission was otherwyse. The French capytaines perceauyng that yt they disagreed at the daye, that doubtis might folowe, wherfore they sent ther commission and scaled their indenture and sent it lykewyse in the mornyng, and came forward with their banners displayed, whereof being the earle, he sent woord that the citee was neither yelded nor gotten, but deliuered for cofederacion of marriage, and therfore thei should not entre with banners displayed. Then wer the Frenchmen angry, but there was no remedy but to rolle vp their standerdes and banners. And when thei came to the gates, there their commission and Indenture were solemply red openly. and then the Frenchmen entred with drumslades and minstrely without any banner. and then to *Monsire Castileon* was deliuered the Castle, and there he ordeined watche and warde in euery part. Thus was the citee of Turnay deliuered the eight daie of February in the. x. yere of the reigne of the kyng, and many a tall yoman that lacked luyng fel to robberyng, which would not labor after then retourne.

The maner  
of the deli-  
uery of  
Tournay.

Duryng this tyme remained in the Frenche courte Nicholas Carew Fraunces Brian, and diuerse other of the young gentlemen of England and they with the Frenche kyng rode daily disguysed through Paris, throwyng Egges, stones and other foolishhe trifles at the people, whiche light demeanoure of a kyng was muche discommended and gested at. And when these young gentlemē came again into England, they were all Frenche, in eatyng, drynkyng and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges, so that all the estates of Englande were by them laughed at. the ladies and gentlewomen wer dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them to displeasure as you shall here

After the kynges Ambassadors were returned, and Tournay deliuered to the Frenchmen vpon the condicions aforesaid, the hostages that were here lefte for the paiement of the great somes and perfoimance of the condicions comprised in the league (of the which one was that if the marriage toke none effect, then the citee of Turnay should be redeliuered vpon repaiment of thesame some) thesaid hostages knewe not in what case they stode, but when they knewe it, they were very heuy and sorowful howbeit, they dissimuled the matter in the best wise thei could. The kyng vsed familiarly these foure hostages, and on the. vii. daie of Marche prepared a disguysyng, and caused his greate chambre at Grenewiche to be staged, and great lightes to be set on pillars that wer gilt, with basons gilt, and the rose was couered with blewe sattin set full of piesses of fine gold and flowers and vnder was written, *ianmes*, the meanyng wherof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppressed. Into this chamber came the kyng and the quene with the hostages, and there was a goodly comedy of Plautus plaied, and that done, there entred into the chamber eight ladies in blacke veluet bordred about with gold, with hoopes frō the wast downward, and sleues ruffed and plited at the elbowe and plain in the middes, full of cuttes, plucked out at euery cutte with fine Camericke, and tired like to the Egipcians very richely. And whē these ladies had passed aboute the place, in came eight noble personages in long gounes of tassleta set with flowers of gold buillon, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke veluet embroudered with golde all to cut, and plucked out with cuttes of white sarcenet. and every man had buskins of blacke veluet full of agglettes of gold. Then the eight men daunced with the eight ladies all beyng viserd, and sodeinly the men cast of their large gounes, and then their vnder apparell was seen. And whē al was done, euery lord and lady put of their visers, and then it was known that the kyng and the duke of Suffolk and the Frenche quene wer ther whiche wer present at the plaie tyne.

The



A Iustes.

The. viii. daie of Marche was a solempne Iustes, the kyng himself & eight young gentlemen based and barded in blacke velvet embraudered with gold against the duke of Suffolk and eight of his bande all in white satten with droppes of golde. And that daie they all ranne excedyng well, whiche the straungiers highly commended.

In the ende of Marche the kyng sent for all the yomen of garde that wer come from Tournay, and after many good wordes geuen to thē, he graūted to thē. iii. d. the day without attendaunce, except thei wer specially cōmaunded: & yet for all this the cōmūaltie said that the kyng was euil counsailed to geue away the citise of Tournay, because the mainteining of a garrison there should haue norished & brought vp mē and yōger brethren in feates of war to the great strength & defence of y realme.

This yere the. xii. daie of February died the Emperour Maximilian for whom the kyng caused a solempne Obsequy to be done at Paules church, all the nobles of the realme and knightes of the Gartier beyng present, of whiche ordre thesaid Emperour was one.

## ¶ THE XI. YERE.

The. xi.  
yere

IN the beginnyng of this yere, the kyng with all the knightes of his ordre beyng in Englande, roade on double horsse, with the hēxmen folowyng the kyng, from Colbroke to Winsore in gorgious apparell and there he kept with greāt solempnitie the feast of. s. George, and dined in the hall. And the bishop of Wynchester prelate of the ordre sat at the boordes ende alone. The kyng was solempnly serued and the surmā cast like the feast of a coronacion. All thynges were plenteous to straungiers that resorted thither. At the Masse of Requiem was offered the banner and other hachementes of honor belongyng to Maximilian the Emperour late deceased. After this feast ended, the kyng came to Richmond, and so to Grenewiche, and there laie all Maie.

In whiche moneth the kynges counsaill secretly communed together of the kynges gentlenes & liberalitee to all persones: by the whiche they perceived that certain young men in his priue chamber not regardyng his estate nor degree, were so famillier and homely with hym, and plaied suche light touches with hym that they forgat themselves: Whiche thynges although the kyng of his gētle nature suffred and not rebuked nor reprovod it: yet the kynges counsaill thought it not mete to be suffred for the kynges honor, & therfore thei altogether came to the kyng, beseching him al these enormities and lightnes to redresse. To whom the kyng answered, that he had chosen thē of his counsaill, both for the maintenaūce of his honor, & for the defence of all thyng that might blemishe thesame: wherefore if they sawe any about hym misuse theimselfes, he committed it to their reformatiō. Then the kynges counsaill caused the lorde chamberlein to cal before them Carew (and another who yet liueth, & therfore shall not at this tyme be named) with diuerse other also of the priuy chāber, whiche had been in the Frenche courte, and banished them the court for diuerse consideracions, laiying nothing particularly to their charges. And they that had offices wer commaunded to go to their offices. which discharge out of the courte greued sore the hartes of these young menne whiche were called the kynges minions. Then was there foure sad and auncient knightes, put into the kynges priue chāber, whose names wer sir Richard Wingfeld, sir Richard Iernynghā, sir Richard Westō and sir William Kyngston: and diuerse officers wer changed in all places.

Then sir Ihon Pechy was made depute of Calis, and sir Richarde Wingfeld therof discharged, & Nicholas Carew made capitain of Ricebanke and commaunded to go thether, whiche was sore to hym displeasent. These young minions which was thus seuered from the kyng, had been in Fraunce, and so highly praised the Frenche kyng and his court, that in a maner they thought litle of the kyng and his court, in comparison of the other, they wer so high in loue with the Frenche courte, wherefore their fall was litle moned among wise men.

This yere in the moneth of Iune was elected to be Emperour Charles kyng of Castell, & nephew

nephew to the quene, by the whole assēt of the electors of thempire: Although the Frenche kyng sent his great Master to cause hym to be elected to the high maiestie of the Empire: yet his Ambassador & great Master of his houshold called Gonfrier lord of Boisy, & brother to Willyam Gonfrier lorde Boneuet Admirall of Fraunce, whiche was ambassador in Englande the laste yere as you haue hard, did not so his message that it toke any effect. The kyng whiche had sēt doctor Pace his secretory for the auancement of his nepheue the kyng of Castell to the dignite imperiall, because he had the duchie of Ostriak & many other seignories in Alman, was very ioyous of this eleccion, & caused a solēpne Masse to be song at Paules the. vii. daie of Iuly at whiche Masse was present the Cardinall Campeius, the Cardinall of Yorke, the Duke of Buckynghā, of Norffolk & Suffolk, with the Ambassadors of Spain, Fraunce, Venice & Scotlande. And after Masse was done, the quier sang *Te deum*, and then all the lordes departed to Baynardes Castle to dinner, & that night were solempne fiers made through London, & great plēty of wine geuē by Italiēs, duchmen & Spaniardes for these newes.

This sommer the quene desired the kyng to bryng to her mannour of Haueryng in the Bower in Essex, the gentlemen of Fraūce being hostages. And for their welcōmyng she purueyed all thynges in the mooste librallest maner: and especially she made to the kyng suche a sumptuous banket that the kyng thanked her hartely, and the straungers gaue it great praise. The kyng liyng there did shote, hunte, and ronне daily with the hostages to their greate ioye.

This yere in September the kyng laie at his Manour of Newbal in Essex, otherwise called *Beaulieu*, where the kyng had newly buylded a costly mancion, and there to welcome the quene and the Lordes, and the Frenche gentlemen, he made to them a sumptuous banket, and all a lōg the chamber sat a Ladie and a Lorde, or a knight, which were plēteously serued. And after the banket ended, with noise of minstrelles entered into the chamber eight Maskers with white berdes, and long and large garmentes of Blewe sattin pauned with Sipres, powdered with spangles of Bullion Golde, and they daunsed with Ladies sadly, and cōmuned not with the ladies after the fassion of Maskers, but behaued themselves sadly. Wherefore the quene plucked of their visours, and then appered the duke of Suffolk, the erle of Essex, the Marques Dorset, the lorde Burgany, sir Richard Wyngfeld, sir Robert Wyngfelde, sir Richard Weston, sir Willyam Kyngston. all these wer sō what aged, the youngest man was fiftie at the least. The Ladies had good spoite to se these auncient persones Maskers. When they wer departed, the kyng and the foure hostages of Fraunce, and the erle of Deuonshire with. vi. other young gentlemen entered the chamber, of the whiche sixe wer al in yelowe sattin, hosen, shoēn, and cappes, and sixe other wer in like maner in Grene: the yelowe sattin was freted with siluer of Damaske, and so was the grene very richely to behold. and then euery Masker toke a ladie and daunsed. and when they had daunsed & commoned a great while their visers were taken of, and then the ladies knewe thē, & there the king gaue many brooches & proper giftes to the ladies. And after this done, the quene made a banket to the kyng & his lordes and thother strāgers.

In the moneth of Nouember, the kyng came from Lambith to Westminster hall, and so to the starre chamber, and there were before him the Lorde Ogle, the Lorde Haward, sir Mathew Browne, sir Willyam Bulmer, and Ihon Skot of Camerwell, for diuerse riottes, misdemeanors and offences, and especially the kyng rebuked sir William Bulmer knight, because he beyng the kynges seruauant sworne, refused the kynges seruice, & became seruauant, to the duke of Buckingham, sayng. that he would none of his seruauantes should hang on another mannes sleue, and that he was aswel able to maintain him as the duke of Buckynghā, and that what might be thought by his departyng, and what might bee supposed by ſ dukes retaining, he would not then declare. The knight kneeled still on his knees cryng the kyng mercie, and neuer a noble man there durst entreate for him, ſ kyng was so highly displeased with him. Yet at the last when other matters were hard, the kyng moued with pitie forgauē thesaid sir Willyam his offence, sayng



that we will that none of our seruantes shalbe long to any other person but to vs, nor we will not that our subiectes repine or grudge at suche as wee fauoure, for our pleasure we will haue in that cace as vs liketh, for one we wil fauor now and another at suche tyme as vs shall like: and therefore sh Willyam if you serue vs hartely, you shall not be forgotten, & for this tyme we pardon you. Likewise he pardoned the lorde Edmōd Haward, and sir Mathew Browne their offēces, whiche were indicted of riottes, and maintenaunce of bearynges of diuerse misdoers within the countie of Surrey but the lorde Ogle humbly beseeched the kyng of his mercie to whom he answered. Sir your matter concerneth murder of our subiecte, whiche greate offence is not onely to vs but to God, and therefore we remit you to the common lawe. And then he rose and went to his barge, and by the wae he made Iames Yarfford Maior of the Citee of London knight, and so he with all his counsaill came to Lambeth.

The iii gentlemen hostages of Fraunce, daily resorted to the courte and had greate chere, and were well entertained, and euery tyme they moued, stirred and required the kyng to passe the sea, and to mete with the Frenche kyng their Master, whom they praised highly, affirming that if the king & he might once familiarly common together, that there should suche a constant loue rise and encrease betwene them, whiche after ward should neuer faile. This request was often tymes hard and hile regarded, but yet by the meanes of the Cardinall at the last, in the ende of February it was agreed that the kyng in person, should passe the sea to his castle and lordship of Guisnes, & there in Maie next commyng betwene Guisnes and Arde, the kyng and the Frenche kyng should mete. When this was fully concluded, the kyng wrote letters to all suche lordes, ladies, gentlemen and Gentlewomen as should geue their attendaunce on hym and the quene whiche in continent put themselves in a redines after the moste costliest fashion, for the furniture of thesame metyng.

Then were sent to Guysnes vnder the rule of sir Edward Belknap three M artificers, which buylded out of the yearth on the plain before the castle of Guysnes, y most goodlyest palace of timber that euer was wrought in thesame place, and so curiously garnished without & within. Beside this, prouisions wer made within the realme of England and in Flaunders for vitail, wine and all other thynges necessary for thesame. And yet beside all this Orleauce kyng of aimes of Fraunce came into the court of England and made proclamacion, that the kyng of Englande and the French kyng, in a campe betwene Aide and Guysnes with xviij. aides in Iune next ensuyng, should abide al commiers beyng gentlemen, at the tilt, and toirney, and at barriers, and like pröclamacion was made by Clauseaux kyng of Armes of Englande, in the Courte of Fraunce, and in the courte of Burgoyne, and in diuerse other courtes and places in Almain, and Italy. For furnishing of lustes, there was deuised a tilte and all thynges necessary for that enterpryce, in a goodly plain betwene Guysnes and Aide.

Duryng the tyme of these preparacions, newes were brought to the king that Charles his nephew elected Emperor of Almain would shortly depart out of Spain by sea, and come by Englande to go into Germany to receiue his firste Crowne at Acon. Wherefore the kyng caused great prouisions to be made at euery haue, for the receiuyng of his welbeloued nephew and frend, and daily prouisions were made on all sides, for these noble metynges of so high princes and especially the quene of Englande, and the Lady dowager of Fraunce, made greate cost on the apparell of their ladies and gentlewomen.

The first daie of February being Candelmas euen, as the kyng and quene were come from Euensong at their manour of Grenwiche, before the quenes chamber there blew a trompet sodainly, and then entred into the Quenes Chamber foure gentlemen appareled in long and large garmentes of blew damaske bordied with gold, and brought with thē a tricked waggon, in the which sat a ladie richely appareled with a canopy ouer her hed, & on the. iiii. corners of the waggon, wer iiii hed peces called Armites, euery pece beyng of a sundery device: thesaid lady put vp a bill to the kyng, the effecte wherof was that the. iiii. gentlemen present would for the loue of their ladies answer al cominers at the tilt at a day by the kyng to be appoynted "

apjoynted whiche daie was apjoynted at shrofetide next ensuing. At whiche daie y for-  
said gentlemen valiantly accōplished their entreprice, with greate laudes of the kyng, the  
quene and ladies.

In this yere the kyng beyng infourmed, that his realme of Irelande was out of ordie, dis-  
charged the erle of Kildare of his office of deputie, and therunto (by the meanes of the  
Cardinall as men thought) was apjoynted therle of Surrey lorde Adinnall, to whō the Car-  
dinal did not owe the best fauor. Wherefore the saied erle of Surrey in the beginning of  
Aprill, tooke leaue of the kyng, and the duke of Noiffolke his father, and passed into Ire-  
lande, and had with him diuerse gentlemen, that had been in the garrison of Tourney, and  
one hundred yomen of the kynges garde, and other to the number of a thousande menne.  
Where he by his manhod and wisdom, brought the erle of Desmonde and diuerse other  
rebelles, to good conformite and ordie: and there he continued in great hardnes two yere  
and more, in whiche space he had many battayles and skymishes with the wild Irlshe.

When it was concluded that the kynges of Englande and Fraunce should mete, as you  
haue hard, then bothe the kynges committed the ordie and maner of their metyng, and how  
many daies they should mete, and what preheminnence eche should geue to other, to the Car-  
dinall of Yorke, whiche to set all thynges in a certeinne, made an instrument, the very true  
tenor whereof ensueth.

Thomas Archebishop of Yorke and Cardinal &c. Albeit that by the treatie and metyng  
of the right high and right puyssaunt princes, Henry by the grace of God, kyng of Eng-  
lande, and of Fraunce, lorde of Irelande my souereigne Lorde: And Fraunces by thesame  
grace kyng of Fraunce right Christened, made and concluded at London the eight daie of  
October the yere of our Lorde a thousand five hundred & xviii. be emongest other thynges  
concluded and accorded, that thesame metyng shalbe in place indifferent, and not subiect to  
any of thesaid princes. Neuertheles, wee considering the honour, profite, and vltitie,  
that shall redound by the enteruew of thesaid two princes, & not onely to the saied two  
princes, their realmes and subiectes, but also to all christendom: after declaracion thereupon  
had with thesaid princes. Also considering that thesaid illustre kyng of Englande my  
souereigne lorde, in passyng the sea with his retinue, shall sustein great costes and expences,  
and dispose hymself to great labors and daungers, leuyng his realme and puyssaunce for  
certayn tyme, wee haue thought and estemed that he should not be wholly satisfied to thonor  
and dignite of thesame, right illustre kyng of England my souereigne lorde, and should  
not hane in regard condigne of his labors & dangiers, if thesaid enteruew or metyng after  
the first treatie, should be in place indifferent, wherfore it is that we desiryng to weye egally  
thonor and dignitie of thesaid tyoo kynges by vertue and power of the commissions to vs  
geuē, of whom the tenors shalbe hereafter declared we haue made, declared, and ordeined  
certain articles accepted & approued, by ysame princes respectuely, which they will ob-  
serue, & by this presentes we make, declare & ordein as foloweth.

And first we declare and ordein, that before the ende of the monethe of Maie next com-  
ming, thesaid illustre kyng of Englande shal come personally to the castle of Guynes, with  
his bedfelowe the quene, and his sister the dowares of Fraunce. and semblaby the right  
Christened kyng of Fraunce, shall come in persone to his Castle of Arde, with the Quene  
and his mother. and some daie, houre, and tyme, within. iii. daies at the moste, after  
thende of Maie, that shalbe assigned by the commissioners of the one and the other partie.  
Thesaid kyng of Englande shall issue out of his castle of Guynes hafe a mile long, without  
that he shall issue out of the limites of his demaie of Guynes, & shall come towardes  
thesaid castle of Arde: and there within the territore of thesaid castle of Guynes, he shall  
rest in some place not fortified nor walled, and nere the limites of Fraunce, that thesaid  
commissioners shall assigne (as aboue said) and thesaid right christened kyng, parting from  
his castle of Arde shall come towardes thesaid kyng of England thesame daie, place, tyme  
and houre, that shall tary hym within the demaie of Guynes as is said. In the whiche shall  
not be set nor dressed any paulions or tentes, and there thesaid two kynges beyng on



horsebacke, with their retinue shall see the one the other, and salute each other, and speake together familiarly, and common in that sort and maner, and so long as shall seme to them good. And after thesaid salutation and communication finished for that time, thesaid illustre kyng of Englande shall retourne to his castle of Guynes, and thesaid right christened kyng to his castle of Arde.

Item, forasmuche that wee thinke to bee satisfied touchyng the labours dangiers and honoure of thesaid kyng of England my souereigne Lorde of so muche, that thesaid right Christened kyng at the firste speakyng, he shall come forward vnto and within his territorie of Guynes, we will kepe the honor of thesaid kynges, and therefore declare and ordeine, that on the morowe after the firste enteruew, thesame kynges shall mete together in some place indifferent betwene Arde and Guynes, that shalbe assigned by thesaid Commissioners and after the salutation made on the one and the other partie, thesaid right illustre kyng of Englande shall go to the Castle of Arde, to see, salute, and visite the quene of Fraunce, and also the sister of thesaid christened kyng, with whom he shall dine priuely. And likewise thesaid right christened kyng shall go to the Castle of Guynes, to visite and salute the quene of Englande, and the dowares of Fraunce, with whom he shall dine. In the whiche places thesaid princes shalbe receiued familiarly and amiably, vnto mutuall loue, and also to the honor of thesaid princes.

Item, as thesaid serene princes of Englande and Fraunce, be like in force corporall, beautie, and gite of nature, right experte and hauyng knowlege in the arte militant, right cheualrons in armes, and in the flower and vigor of youth, whereby semed to vs a right assembly, that for to decore and illustre thesame assembly, and to shewe their forces in armes, they shall take counsaill & dispose themselves to do some faire feate of armes, aswell on fote as on horsebacke, against all commers. We declare and ordein, that the place where shalbee thesaid fight and feate of armes, shalbee chosen betwene Guynes and Arde, and assigned by the commissioners, of the one and the other partie. And for a suertie of the persones of thesaid kynges and their compaignie, thesaid place shalbe apparreled, diked, fortified and kepte of the one and the other partie, by equall nōber of men of armes, respectiue committed and deputed that to do. And duryng the tyme of thesaid Iustes and feates of warre, thesame kynges and quenes with their retinue, shall see each other familiarly, and conuerse and speake together. And euery daie towards the euenyng, after the Iustes, triumphes, bankettes, and familiar comunicacions dooen, thesaid kynges with their retinue shall retourne into their Castles, that is to saie, the kyng of England into his castle of Guynes, thesaid right christened kyng into his Castle of Arde, and thus they shal do daily, duryng thesaid fight and feate of armes.

Item, wee declare and ordein, that when thesame kyng of Englande and the Quene his bedfelowe, and the Dowares of Fraunce his sister, with their retinue, shall go to the territorie and entrie of thesaid right christened kyng, the superioritie and prehemynence shalbe geuen to thesaid kyng of Englande, to the quene his bedfelowe, and to their retinue respectiue, duryng the tyme that they shall tary and be there. And semblably when thesaid right Christened kyng, and the quene his bedfelow and his right illustre Ladie, and mother, with their retinue shal come to the territorie and entrie of thesaid illustre kyng of Englande, the superioritie and prehemynence shalbee geuen to thesaid right Christened kyng, to the quene his bedfelowe, and to his mother, and to their retinue duryng the tyme that they shall continue and abide there.

Item, for so muche as the Castles and places where thesaid enteruewe shalbe, be so litle & narrowe that if eutree & licence to come thether be geuen to all them that would go thether, diuerse annoyances, troubles and impechementes should folowe, wherefore it is so that we Cardinall abovesaid, by these presentes declare & ordein, that none of the retinue of thesaid Kynges, Quenes, or other lordes and nobles, of what estate qualitie or condicion that he or they be, shal not come to thesaid assemble with more greater number of persones

or horse, then shalbee written by letters, subscribed by thesaied kynges, the whiche shall contaigne the estates and condicions of the persones, aswell men as women, and nombre of seruauntes and horse, except by the common consent and license of thesaied kynges.

Item, forasynuche as perauenture it shall come that thesaid Princes lordes, gentlemen, and household seruauntes, shall se and conuerse together familiarly, to the ende that it may engender betwene them an amitie more firme and stable, for that cause and that more suely and agreably they may bee together, aswell by daie as by night, without any danger or feare, whiche we desire to prouide we declare and ordein that two gentlemen with sufficient compaignie of equall and like nombre, be committed and depute, respectiue by thesaied kynges for the keypyng and suretie of the waies and watches, that shalbee made continually duryng the assembly of thesaied kynges.

The whiche gentlemen with their compaignies shall ordein & depute explorators and spies in the valeis, forestes, woodes, tounes, borowes villages, castles, passages and waies, and other places dangerous and suspect: from tyme to tyme, and houre, to houre, aswell to-wardes Flaunders, as Picardie, Artoys and Englande, to exployte and wache there And if any be founde suspect, them to repulse and take away, to thende that not only thesaied princes, then gentlemen and household seruauntes, maie suely and without feare visite the one the other as said is, but also those that shall bryng vitales necessarie to thesaied assembly, maie without daunger, trouble, impechement or noysaunce go and come: the whiche explorators shalbe bounden euery daie in the mornynge and euenynge, to make reporte to thesaied princes or to their saied counsailors respectiue, of that which they haue found, and in what estate the waies be. We declare further and ordein, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other partie, shall not approche nerer then two iorneyes, to the place where thesaid enterewe shalbe, except the retinewe & men of warre that bee committed and deputed to kepe Bullein and Caleis, and that thesame men of warre nor none other duryng the assembly of thesaid princes, shall not presume to come neier, onlesse by the cōsent, accorde, and license of thesaied princes.

Item, we Cardinall aboue saied, by expresse auctoritie and power to vs geuen, by these presentes, bynde thesaied princes to do, fulfill, and accomplishe, all and euery the thynges aboue saied here in contained.

Item, we declare and ordein that eche of thesaied kynges on his partie, shall ratifie, confirme, and approue all and euery the Chapters and Articles aboue saied, by their Letters Patentes Sealed with their handes And by thesame lettres of ratificacion they shalbee bounde to accomplish with good faith and in worde of a kyng, all and euery the thynges aboue saied: the whiche letters made, subscribed and sealed, as is said, they shall geue the one the other, and shall chaunge in the citee of London, within one moneth next after the daie of these presentes. Made the twelwe of Marche, the yere of our lorde a M.CCCC.xix.

¶ THE. XII. YERE.

THE moste noble and puissant kyng, kyng Hēry the. viii. king of England and of <sup>The. xii.</sup> Fraunce, the yere of our Lorde a. M. five hundred and. xx. and of his bodily age. xxix. yere, and the. xxii. daie of April began the. xii. yere of his reigne ouer the realme of Eng-  
lande, & halowed the daie of saint George at the maner royall of Grenewich with tue noble knyghtes of the Garter in robes of the order.

The kyng intending and perseueryng in purpose to mete with Frances the Fienche kyng, greate and riche prouisions were made, wherfore the noble Kyng and the Quene with all the noble courte, remoued the twentieth and one daie of May beyng on Mundaie, from their maner of Grenewyche, towards the Sea-side, and so on the Fridaie beeyng the twentieth and



sue daie of May, arriued at the citee of Cantorbury, intendencyng there to kepe his Penrecoste.

Sone after whiche commyng to Cantorbury, tidynges wer brought that Charles Emperour electe, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England, wherfore officers of the kyng were sent with great diligence to the Castle and toune of Douer to be there in a redynes against the arriual of the Emperour.

— The reuerent father in God my lorde Cardinall, came to the tonne of Douer in hast with a noble repaire, abidyng the commyng of the Emperour, whiche Emperour, the Saterdaie beyng the. xxvi. daie of Mai arriued with all his traine of shippes roiall on the coast of Kent, directe to the toune or porte of Hieth thesaied daie by noone, where he was hailed by the noble knight sir Willyam Fitzwillyam, vice admirall of Englande, with sixe of the kynges shippes well furnished, whiche laye for the safegarde of passage betwene Douer and Caleis, at the costes and charges of the kyng of Englande. Calmenes of the wether and lacke of wynde, caused that the Emperoure might not so sone take lande at the porte of Douer, as he would have dooen. Notwithstandyng towards the euen he departed from his shippes, and entered into his boate commyng towards the lande, where in his commyng to the land: on the sea the reuerent father lorde Wolsay Cardinall and Legate, mette and receiued hym with suche reuerence, as to so noble a Prince apperteigned. Thus landed the Emperoure Chailes, vnder the clothe of his estate of the blacke Egge all splaied on riche clothe of golde. In his retinue with hym, were many noble menne, and many faire Ladies of his blood as princes and princesses, & one ladie as chief to be noted, was the princes Auinion with many other nobles whiche landed with hym in high and sumptuous maner and great riches in their apparell. greute roye made the people of Englande to see the Emperour, and more to see the benygn maner and mekenes of so high a prince.

— Then when the Emperour thus had taken lande, the reuerente father lord Cardynall was as conducte to thesame noble Emperour from the store of Douer vnto the castell there: then were all persons chered, the best that there in the towne might be.

After the departyng of Themperour to the lande from his navy, the apparell of every ship then shewed, as flagges, banniers, streamers, & targetes, then the mighty ordinaunce of every of them brake oute by force of fyre as though the see had brente, marvelous was the noyse of the gones.

The Emperour beyng thus in the castell of Douer, with hast tidynges came to the kyng where as he was at Cantorbury, who hasted hym towards the noble Emperour. And so came riding early in the morning to the castell of Douer, within which castell the kyng alighted: the Emperour heryng the kyng to be come, came out of his chamber to mete w the kyng and so met with him on the stayres or he could come vp, wher eche embraced other right louingly. then y kyng brought the Emperour to his chamber, where as there commynyng was of gladnes.

Sone after these two noble princes on the Whitsonday early in the morenyng tooke their horse and rode to the Cytee of Cantorbury, the more to solempne the feast of Pentecost, but specially to see the quene of England his aunte was the intent of the Emperour.

The noble personages of the realme of England and the quene with her beautiful trayne of ladies receiued and welcommed the same Charles elect Emperour, whose person was by the kyng coueighed to a faire and pleasant chamber where thesayde Emperour apparelled hym right richely. Then the noble retynue of thesayde Emperour aswell of lordes as ladies were lodged, aswell as there myght be, with ioye and muche gladnes, and there in Cantorbury sojourned the Emperour and all hys trayne with the kyng, vntill the Thursdaie in the same weke.

The last daie of May beyng Thursday, the Emperour toke leaue of the kyng & of all the ladies, and gaue great thankis, and so rode to Sadedewiche, and there toke his shippes, the wynd to hym was lkyng, wherby he sayled into Flaunders.

Then thesame daie, the kyng of Englande made saile from the porte of Douer and with noble

noble apparaile loded at Calys at the hower of. xi. of the clock, and with hym the quene and ladyes and many nobles of  $\hat{y}$  realme. And so was the kyng receiued into the Checker and there rested: great repayre of noble men came to the towne of Caleys from  $\hat{y}$  French court, to se the kyng and to salute him, which were of his grace, princely entretayned.

Mondaye the iiii. daye of Iune the kynges grace with all the nobles aswell the quene with her trayne of ladyes as other, with all the whole nōber of nobles remoued from Calis to his lordship royall of Guisnes into the most noble and royall lodgyng before sene, for it was a palays, the palays was quadrant, and euery quadrant of thesame palays was iii C. xxviii. foote longe of a syse, which was in compasse, xiii C. and xii. foote aboute. This palayce was sette on stages by great connyng and sumptuous woorke. At the enteriing into the palays before the gate, on the playne grene was buylded a fountayne of enbowed woorke, gylte with fyne golde, and bice, ingrayled with anticke woorkes, the olde God of wyne called Bacchus bulyng the wyne, whiche by the conduyctes in therth ranne to all people plenteously with red, white, and claret wyne, ouer whose hedde was written in letters of Romayn in gold, *faicte bonne chere guy rouldia.*

On the other hande or syde of the gate, was set a pyller which was of auncient Romayne woorke borne with iii Lyons of golde, the pyllers wrapped in a wrethe of golde curiously wroughte and intayled, and on the sommet of thesayde pyller stode an image of the blynde God Cupide with his bowe and arrowes of loue redy by his semyng, to Stryke the younge peop'le to lone.

The forgate of thesame palays or place with great and mighty masonry by sight was arched, with a tower on euery syde of thesame porte rered by great cralte, and inbattayled was the gate and tower, and in  $\hat{y}$  fenestries and wyndowes were images resemblynge men of waire redy to caste greete stones: Also thesame gate or tower was set with compassed images of auncent Prynces, as Hercules, Alexander and other by eutrayled woorke, richely lymned with golde and Albyn colours, and well and warly was made ouer the gate loupes, and enforced with battaylementes and in thesame gate a lodge for the porter. whyche there apered and other, sumpteously apparayled lyke vnto kynges officers.

By thesame gate, all people passed into a large courte fayie & beautiful, for in this court appered much of the outward beutie of this place for from the firste water table to the raysyng or resun pieces, was bay wyndowes on euery syde myxed with clerc Stoies, curiously glased;  $\hat{y}$  postes or monyelles of euery wyndowe was gylte. Thus the outward parte of the place lumyned the eyes of the beholders, by reason of  $\hat{y}$  sumptuous woorke. Also the tower of the-gate as semed, was buylded by greate masonry, and by great engyne of mans wit, for the sundry countenaūces of euery image that then appered, some shot-ying, sum castyng sume ready to strike, and firyng of gonnes whiche shewed very honorably. Also all thesayd quadrantes, bayes and edefices, were roially intrayled, as farre as vnto thesame couite appartayned. And dyrecte against the gate was deuised a halpas, and at theentry of the staire was images of sore and terrible cōtenaūces, all armed in cundus woorke of argentyne. The bay of thesame halpas pendant by crafte of trimmer and vnder  $\hat{y}$  trimmer, anticke images of gold enuyroned w̄ verdour of Olīues cast in compas; mounsteryng their countenaūces towardes the enteriing of the palace. The staire of thesaid halpas was caste of passage by the wentes of brode steppes, so that from the first foote or lowest steppe, a persone might without pain goo vnto the highest place of the same halpas.

On euery hande was there chamber doores and enteriinges into the chambers of thesame palais, whiche were long and large and well proporcioned, to receiue light and aire at pleasure: the roofes of them from place to place, and chamber to chamber wer siled and couered with cloth of silke, of the most faire and quicke inuencion that before that tyme was seen, for the grounde was white ingrailed. Inbowed and batoned with riche clothes of silkes knitte, and fret with cuttes and braides and sundery newe castes, that thesame clothes of silke shewed like bullions of fine burned gold, and the roses in lossenges. that in the same



same rose, were in kyndly couse furnished so to mannes sight that no huyng creature might but ioye in the beholding thereof for from the iawe pece of thesaied selyng: whiche pece was guylte with fine Golde, were woorkes in paan paled, all the walles to the crest encountering the clere stories, the same creste which was of large depenes, the worke was antique knottes with bosses cast and wrought with more cunningg then I can write, all which woorkes and ouerages were gilte: and to set it the more to the glory, the florishyng Bise was comparable to the riche Ammel.

Also at the foote of thesame palaice was another crest all of fine sette gold, whereon hanged riche and marueilous clothes of Arras wrought of golde and silke, compassed of many auncient stories, with whiche clothes of Arras, euery wall and chamber were hanged and all wyndowes so richely couered, that it passed all other sightes before seen. In euery chamber in place conuenient were clothes of estate, greate and large of clothe of golde, of Tissue, and riche embroudery, with Chaiers couered with like clothe, with pomelles of fine gold: and great Cushyns of riche woorkes of the Turkey making, nothyng lacked of honourable furnishment

Also to thesame palaice was reied a Chapell with twoo closettes, the quire of thesaied Chapell siled with clothe of golde, and thereon frete ingrailed bent clothes of Silke, all was then silke and golde. The aultars of this Chapell were hanged with riche reuesture of clothe of gold of Tissue embroudered with pearles.ouer the high aultare was hanged a riche Canaby of merueilous greatnes, the altare was appareled with fise paire of Candelstickes of golde, and on the aultare an halpas and thereon stode a Corpus domini, all fine golde, and on thesame halpas stode twelue Images of the bignes of a child of foure yeres of age all gold and all the Coopes and Vestementes so riche as might be prepared or bought in the cite of Florens, for all the copes and Vestementes wer but of one pece, so wouen for the purpose, cloth of Tissue and poudered with redde Roses purled with fine gold, the Orfrys sette with pearles and precious stones And all the walles and deskes of this Chapell was hanged with ight Clothe of golde, and three riche greate Crosses were there ready to be borne at festiuall times, and basyns and Senses, Gospellers, Paxes, Crewetes, holy Water vessels, and other ornamentes all of gold

Also in the firste Closet was a trauerse for the kynges person of cloth of golde: And within that the kynges place and Chaire, with Cusshins of clothe of golde. before the trauerse was an altare of prebence, whiche Aultare was adourned with clothe of biouderie, and riche Pearles and precious stones, set in goldesmithes woorkes of fine golde. On the aultare was a deske or halpace, whereon stode a patible of the Crucifix of fine golde, with an Image of the Trinitee, an Image of our Lady, and twelue other Images all fine golde and precious stones, twoo paire of Candelstickes of fine golde, with Basens, Crewetes, Paxes, and other Ornamentes, thesaied Closet was hanged with Tappettes embroudered with riche worke fret with pearles and stones, the rooffe of thesame Closet was siled with woorkes of Inmouled, gylte with fine Golde and Senapar and Bice

The seconde Closette was for the Quenes persone, in whiche was a trauerse of riche clothe of golde, the aultare so richely appareled, that there lacked neither Pearles nor Stones of riches on the aultare were twelue greate Images of golde, the Closet hanged with clothe of golde all other iewelless Missall, I suppose neuer suche like were seen, and the rooffe of thesame closet was siled with like worke that the kynges closet was, as is before rehersed

And from this palaice or place into the mightie and strong fortresse and Castell royall of Guisnes, was a galery for the secrete passage of the kynges persone into a secrete lodgyng within thesame Castle the more for the kynges ease.

Also to this palaice was all houses of offices, that to suche an honourable Courte should apperteyne, that is to wete, the lord Chamberlaine, lorde Steward, lorde Thresourer of the houshold, for the Comptroller and office of grene Clothe, Wardropes, Iuell house, and office of houshold seruice, as Ewery, Pantrie, Seller, Buttery, Spicery, pitcher house, Larder

Larder and Poultrie, and all other offices so large and faire that the officers might and did marueiles, as in the craft of viandes, by Ouens, haithes, reredorses, Chimnays, Ranges, and such instrumentes that there was ordained. In this palaice as ye haue heard, was the kinges grace lodged and all the nobles after their degrees. And for that the toune of Guysnes was litle, and that all the noble men might not there be lodged, thei sette vp tentes in the felde, to the number of twentie and eight hundred sundry lodgynges, whiche was a goodly sighte. Thus was the kyng in his Palais royall at Guysnes

FRAUNCES the Frenche kyng was with all his nobles of the realme of Fraunce, come to the toune of Arde, whiche was prepared for his comyng many tentes, hailes and paulions, were set and pight in the felde. On the French partie also, there was at thesame toune of Arde buylded the Frenche kynges lodgyng full well, but not finished, muche was the prouisions in Picardy on euery part through all. The French kyng commaunded his lodgyng to be made, a litle out of the toune of Aide in the territoire of an old castle, whiche by the way of old time had been beatē. On thesame place was edified a house of solas and sporte, of large and mightie compas, whiche was chiefly sustained by a great mightie maste, wherby the great ropes and takell strained, thesame maste was staied. All the office of the same house hong on thesame Maste, and with takell was strained and borne, by the supporters of thesame Maste or tree, the colours of thesame was all blewe, set with staries of golde foyle, and the Oibes, of the heauens by the crafte of colours in the roffe, were curiously wrought in maner like the sky, or firmamēt, and a cresant strained sumdell towards the toune of Arde, this cresant was couered with frettes and knottes made of Iue busshes, and boxe braunches, and other thynges that longest would be giene for pleasure.

In this tyme the reuerent father lorde Thomas Wolsay, Cardinall and legatē a Latere as the kynges high ambassador rode with noble repaire of lordes, gentlemen & prelates to the toune of Arde, to the French court where of the Frenche kyng, thesame lorde Cardinall was highly enterteined. Of the noblenes of this Cardinall, the Frenchemen made boke, shewing the triumphant dooynges of the Cardinalles royalte. The number of the gentlemen, knightes and lordes all in crimson veluet, with the marueilous number of chaues of golde, the great Horse, Mules, Couisers, and carriages, that there were, whiche went before the Cardinalles comyng into Arde with sumters and cofers. Of his great Crosses and pillers borne, the pillowe bere or cace broudered, the two mantelles, with other the Ceremoniall Offices, with great and honourable number of bishoppes geuyng their attendaunce, the mightie and great number of seruantes, as yomen, gromes, all clothed in Scarlet who so redeth of the Frenche boke, shall finde wonderfully set furthe.

The kyng of England beeyng at the Castle of Guysnes in the newe palais many noble men of the Frenche court resorted to his grace, to se the kyng of England and the quene, and to salute the who of the kyng of Englande were well enterteined

When the lord Cardinall had sojourned at Arde in the French court by the space of two daies, and the high and vrgent princely causes in counsaill declared, the lord Cardinal toke his leaue of the French kyng and of all the Frenche court, and repaired vnto the Castle of Guysnes, where he founde the kyng of England his souereigne Lorde. And thesame kyng by his letters patentes, had geuen full power and auctoritie to thesame lord Cardinall, concerning all matters to bee debated, touching the kyng and the realme, and also gaue vnto thesame Cardinall, full strength, power, and auctoritie, to affirme and confirme, bynd and vbynde, whatsover should be in question, betwene hym and the French kyng, as though the kyng in proper person had been there presently.

When the lordes of the Frenche counsaill, sawe the high and greates auctorite that the Cardinall had, thei shewed it vnto the French kyng, who incontinent commaunded his commission to be made, of like power and auctoritie, that the kyng of Engla had geuen vnto thesaid lorde Cardinall: thesame power and auctoritie had thesame reuerent father,



geuen to him by Fraunce the French kyng, and affirmed by the counsaill royall of Fraunce. Then hastily was sent to the kyng of Englande the Frenche kynges patent, for the lorde Cardinall saied humbly to the Frenche kyng, that he would no suche power receiue, without the consent of the kyng of Englande his souereigne Lord. but when the kyng of Englande and his counsaill, had seen and vewod the French kynges Patent, and it well considered, then he sent thesame Patent of power to the lorde Cardinall with full assent. then the lorde Cardinall the power receiued with much gladnes. It was highly esteemed & taken for great loue that the Frenche Kyng had geuen so greate power to the Kyng of Englandes subiect

Thursday the seuenth day of Iune, in the vale of Andren, within the lordeship royall of Guysnes, befoie daie was set and pight a royall rich tent, all of clothe of-gold, and riche embrouderie of the kyng of Englandes, and diuerse other hailes and pauilions, thesame riche tente of gold, was within langed of the richest Arras, newly cotruied and made, that euer before was seen, and a presence of the kynges estate, with two chayers and riche cushyns therein. the ground was spred with Carpettes, of newe Turkey-makynge, all full of beautie

But here is to be noted, that in this meane season in all the felde about, bothe nigh and far, we many of the French gard, ridyng and beholdyng the maner of the Englishe partie, some of the kynges gard, and some of the duke of Burbons gard, and some of the Admirall of Frañces Gard, whiche shly marked the conueighaunce of the people of Englande. At the houre of metyng appoynted, the Lordes of England set their people and seruautes in good arraie of battail, in a plain felde directly before the castle of Guysnes. The kyng of England commaunded that his Garde shoulde bee set in the breste of the battail, on bend of footemen, and so it was doen. This battail of footemen conducted themselves so in ordre, that from the firste to the laste, neuer a persone of the footemen brake his place or arraie, but kepte themselves so well, that neuer seruyng men themselves better demeaned. The seruyng men thus set in ordie in the felde, on the left hande of the kyng of Englande, somewhat towards the Maries, long while thus abidyng, in whiche tyme the Castle of Guysnes shot a warnyng pece to the toune of Arde, and in likewyse the Toune of Aide gaue warnyng to the Castle of Guysnes.

Now was gathered the Frenche Kynges repaire, and by the Lorde Marshall and Constable of Fraunce, the Lordes and gentlemen were set in ordre. thus bothe these two high and mightie princes, intending to mete and assemble many wordes and tales, and suspect demeanynges arose in the Englishe partie, for the great loue that we the English men had to our Prince, caused the ignoraunt people that were not worthy to know the pretence of princes, to suspecte the Frenche partie, and the more because that Monsieure Chatelion a Lord of Fraunce, in rigorous and cruel maner, threwe doune foure pennons of white and grene which were set by Richard Gibson, by commaundement from the kyng for the sucr marke or metyng place of the two kynges, in what ground they should encounter, wordes rose betwene Monsieure Chatelion and Richard Gibson, as farre as became for that deede, but at the commaundement of the erle Marshall for that tyme, which was the noble erle of Essex, the kyng of Englandes cosyn, that wrong by vs Englishemenne was patiently suffered, thus from tyme to tyme, and watche to watche, and vewe to vewe, the houre diwe nere, that was by bothe the Princes appoynted, of metyng, or encountre

Wherefore the kyng of Englande our souereigne Lorde, with all the Court of nobles of England mounted on horsebacke, and marched towards the valey of Andren in honourable ordre, all Gentlemenne, Squiers, Knightes, and Barons, roade before the kyng and bishoppes also, the dukes, Marques and Fries, gaue attendaunce next the kyng. He were muche wise that could haue tolde or shewed of the riches of apparell that was amongst the Lordes and Gentlemenne of Englande, Clothe of Golde, Clothe of Siluer, Veluettes, Tinsins, Sattins embroudered, and Crymosyn Sattens. The marueilous threasor of golde, that was woune in Chaynes and Bauderickes, so greate, so weightie, some so manfolds,

some in Colours of S. greate, that the Golde was innumerable to my demyng to bee summed, of all noble mienne, Gentlemenne, Squiers, Knights, and euery honest Officer of the Kyng was richly appareled, and had Chaynes of Golde, greate and merucious waight: what should bee said? surely among the Englishemenne lacked no riches, nor beautifull apparell on any, and alwaies as the kyng of Englande and his horsmen marched, so pace for pace marched the moste goodly battaill on bend of foote men (out of defensable apparell) that euer I trowe before was seen

The Frenche kyng on his partie marched towards the encountre with all the rufflers and gallantes of the Frenche Courte. In which tyme came to the Frenche Kyng some repute, that caused him to tarry, and a light from his Horse, then the Frenche men were very doubtfull, and in a staye so still rested, vntill a Loide Fraunce called Monsire Morret, the said Morret came to the Frenche Kyng, and shewed him the very fidelitie of the Kyng of England, whereby the Frenche kyng mounted on horsebacke, and the better couraged, marched towarde the place appoynted of encountre

Thus in maichyng thone kyng to the other, to the kyng of England came lord George Neuell lorde Abingheay, and openly said, sir ye be my kyng and souereigne, wherefore aboue all I am bounden to shewe you truthe, and not to let for none, I haue been in the Frenche partie, and they be mo in nomber, double so many, as ye bee with that was the Erle of Shrewesbury Lorde Steward ready and said, sir, whatsoever my lorde of Burgheny saith, I my selfe haue been there, and the Frenchemenne bee more in feare of you and youre subiectes, then youre subiectes bee of them, wherfore said the Erle, if I wer worthie to geue counsaill, your grace should marche forward, so we intende my Lorde said the kyng. then the Officers of Armes cried on afore, then in shorte while was the kyng on the bank of Andern: then euery gentleman as they roade toke his place and stode still side by side, their regard or face towards the vale of Andern.

Then the kyng of Englande shewed hymself somedele forward in beautie and personage, the moste goodliest Prince that euer reigned ouer the Realme of Englande his grace was apparelled in a gariment of Clothe of Silver, of Damaske, ribbed with Clothe of Golde, so thicke as might bee, the garment was large, and plited verie thicke, and cantele of verie good taile, of suche shape and makyng, that it was maruelous to beholde. The Courser whiche his grace roade on, was Trapped in a maruelous vestime of a newe deuised fashion, the Trapper was of fine Golde in Bullion, curiously wroughte, pounced and sette with antique worke of Romaine Figures. Attending on the kynges grace of Englande, was the Master of his horse, by name Sir Henry Guylford, leading the kynges spare horse, the which horse was Trapped in a Mantellet bront and backe place, all of fine gold in Scifers, of deuce with Tasselles on Cordelles pendaunt, the Sadell was of the same sute and worke so was the hedde stall and raynes. After folowed nine henchemenne, ridyng on Coursers of Naples, the same young Gentlemen were appareled in riche Clothe of Tissue, the Coursers in Harnes of maruelous fashion, scaled in fine golde in Bullion, and workes subtiler more then my sight could continue, and all the same horse Harnes were sette full of trembling spanges that were large and faue. The lorde Marques Dorset bare the kynges swerd of estate before the kynges grace, the reuerent father Lorde Cardinall did his attendaunce.

Thus in litle tyme, abidyng the commyng of the Frenche kyng and his, the which in shorte tyme came with greate number of horsemenne, freshely appareled, the Frenche kyng and his retayne, put themselves in place appoynted, duet against the Englishe partie, beholdyng euery other of bothe nations, the Frenche menne mused muche of the battaill of the foote menne, and euery of the Frenche men to other spake of the multitude of the Englishe men whiche seemed greate, yet were not they so many as the Frenche partie.

When the Frenche kyng had a litle beholden the Englishe men, he put hymself somewhat before his people, that were there on him attendaunt, the Duke of Burbon bearyng a naked Swerde upright, the Lorde Admirall of Fraunce, and the Counte Cosman Galas,



Master of the Frenche kynges horse, and no mo persones gaue their attendance in passyng with the Frenche kyng: when it was perceiued that the Frēch kynges swearde was borne naked; then the kyng of England commaunded the lorde Marques Dorset to drawe out the swearde of estate, and beare it vp naked in presence, whiche was so doen.

Then vp blew the Trumpettes, Sagbuttes, Clarions, and all other Minstrelles on bothe sides, and the kynges descended doune towarde the bottome of the valey of Andern, in sight of bothe the nacions and on horsebacke met and embrased the two kynges eache other: then the two kynges alighted, and after embrased with benyng and curteous maner erbe to other, with swete and goodly wordes of gretyng: and after fewe wooides, these two noble kynges went together into the riche tente of clothe of golde, that there was set on the grounde for such purpose, thus arme in arme went the Frenche kyng Fraunces the firste of Fraunce, and Henry the eight kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, together passyng with communicacion.

When the two princes were in the tente, before rehersed, the French Kyng saied, my dere brother and Cosyn, thus farre to my paine haue I trauailed to se you personally, I thynke verely that you esteeme me as I am. And that I maie to you be your aide, the realmes and seruonies shewe the might of my persone: Sir said the kyng of Englande, neither your realmes nor other the places of your power, is the matter of my regarde, but the stedfastnes and loyall kepyng of promesse, comprised in Charters betwene you and me that obserued and kepte, I neuer sawe Prince with my iyen, that might of my harte bee more loued. And for your loue I haue passed the seas, into the fardest frontier of my realme to se you presently, the whiche doyng now gladdeth me. And then were the two Kynges serued with a banket, and after mirthe had communicacion in the Banket tyne, and there shewed the one the other their pleasure

The Englishe officers went and ranne with great pottes of Wyne and Bolles to the Frenche menne, and them chered the best that might bee, all this season stode still the noble men of the Englishe partie, and all other, and from their places moued nothyng that they were appointed vnto. And the seruylng men in likewise, not once moued from their ground or standyng, but the Frenchemen sodainly brake, and many of them came into the Englishe partie, speaking faire, but for all that, the court of Englande and the lordes, kept still their arraie.

After the two kynges had ended the banket, and spice and wyne geuen to the Frenchemen, Ipcras was chief drinke of plentie, to all that would drinke. In open sight then came the two kynges, that is to wete: the Frenche kyng, and the kyng of England, out of their tent, by whiche I then well perceiued thabilyment royall of the Frenche kyng, his garment was a chemew, of clothe of siluer, culpond with clothe of golde, of damaske cantell wise, and garded on the boidoms with the Burgon bendes, and ouer that a cloke of broched satten, with gold of purple coloure, wrapped aboute his body trauerse, beded from the shulder to the waste, fastened in the lope of the first fold: this said cloke was richely set with pearles and precious stones: this Frenche kyng had on his hed a koyfe of damaske gold set with diamondes, and his courser that he rode on was couered with a trapper of Tissue, broudered with deuise, cut in fashion matell wise, the skirtes were embowed & fret with frised worke, & knit with Cordelles, & buttens tasseled of Turkey making, Raines and hedstall, answeryng of like worke and verely of his persone the same Fraunces the Frenche kyng, a goodly Prince, stately of countenance, mery of chere, broune coloured, great eyes, hugh nosed, bigge lipped, faire breasted and shoulders, small legges, and long fete.

All the nobles of the Frenche counte, were in garments of many colours, so that they were not knownen from the braggery. thus as the two kynges were in communicacion, diuerse noble men of England were called to presence. And then the two kynges departed with their compaignie, the kyng of Englande to Guysnes, the Frenche kyng to Arde.

Saterdaie the ix. daie of Iune in a place within the Englishe pale, were set and pight in a felde, called the campe, two trees of much honor the one called the *Aubespine*, and the other called

called the *Framboister*, whiche is in English the Hathorne, whiche was Henry, and the Raspis berry for Fraunces, after the signification of the Frenche: these twoo trees were mixed one with the other together on a high mountaigne, covered with grene Damaske, the same Trees were artificially wrought resembling the nature of the same as nigh as could be, the leaues were grene Damaske, the braunches, bowes, and withered leaues of clothe of gold, and all the bodies and armes of the same clothe of golde, laied on tymber, thei were in height frō the foote to the toppe xxxiiii. foote of assise, in compasse about an hundred twentie and nyne foote, and from bough to bough, fourtie and three foote: on these trees were flowers and fruites, wrought in kyndly wise with siluer and Venice gold, their beautie shewed farre: on the mountaigne was a place harber wise, where the Herauldes were, the mountaigne was payled about, and the railes covered with grene Damaske

The same day the two noble kynges came to the same trees of honor with greate triumph, accompanied with diuerse nobles and yong valiauntes, before whom were their shildes caried, and after borne aboute the listes, and set on the highest place shewyng into the felde, the kyng of Englandes armes within a Garter, and the French kynges within a Collier of his oudre of saint Michael, with a close Croune, with a flower delice in the toppe. The Campe was in length nyne hundred foote, and in bredth three hundred and twentie foote, ditched rounde aboute, sauynge at the entrees with broad and depe ditches, diuerse skaffoldes were rered aboute this Campe, for the ease of the nobles: on the right side of the felde stood the quene of Englande, and the quene of Fraunce with many ladies. The same Campe was railed and bard on euery ende strongly, there was twoo lodgynges in the entery of the same felde, for the two kynges richely adorned, which were vnto them very necessarie, for therein thei armed them selves and tooke their ease: also in the same compasse was twoo greate Sellers couched full of wyne, whiche was to all men as *largesse* as the fountain.

The cause of the setting vp of the twoo greate shieldes with armes Royall, was for ioye of the honourable metyng, there to passe the tyme from idlenes, with the exercise of noble feactes of Armes in honoure, articles of Iustes, Turnayes, battailes on foote at the Barres, and suche victorious feactes were farre in Realmes Proclaimed, whiche caused muche people of noble courage thether to resorte: the two kynges as brethren in armes, vndertoke to deliuer all personages of the same feactes, and to the same two kynges by the ordre of armes were sociate, the Duke of Vendosme, the Duke of Suffolke, the counte saint Paule the Marques Dorset, Monsire de Roche, sir William Kyngston, Mōsire Brian, sir Richard Garnyngham, Monsire Cauaan, sir Giles Capell, Monsire Bukkall, Master Nicholas Carewe, Monsire Mountafilon, and Master Anthony Kneuet, the shieldes of all these nobles were hanged on the trees, with thre tables of the Challenges, to the which all noble menne that would answere, brought in their shieldes to the same trees, and thei presented to the kynges of Armes, and to the Articles wrote with their handes.

Mondaie the xi. daie of Iune, the two Quenes of Englande and of Fraunce came to the campe, where either saluted other right honorably, and went into a stage for them prepared, right curiously hanged, & specially there was for the quene of England a Tapet all of pearle called Hugues Dike, which was much looked at for the costlynnes of the same.

At the houre assigned, the two kynges armed at all pecēs mounted on horsebacke, on them attendyng the noble persones, parteners of the chalenge the French kyng sette hymself on a Courser barded, couered with Purple sattin, broched with golde, and embrauered with Corbyns fethers round and buckeled, the fether was blacke and hached with gold. Corbyn is a Raven, and the firste silable of Corbyn is *Cor*, whiche is a harte, a penne in English, is a fether in Frenche, and signifieth pain, & so it stode this fether round was endles, the buckels wherwith the fethers wer fastened, betokeneth sothfastnes, thus was the deuise, *harte fastened in pain endles, or pain in harte fastened endles*: on his hed pece he bare a sleue, all the parteners of the Frenche kynges chalenge were in like apparell, euery thyng



thyng correspondent in clothe of sike embroudered, on his persone were attendant on horsebacke noble persones, and on foote foure persones all appareled in purple sattin.

The kyng of Englande mounted on a freshe courser, the trapper of clothe of golde of Tissue, the Arson mantell wise and the brunt of the trapper bald fashion, cutte in waues of water woorke, and euery waue rawe wrought and frised with Damaske golde, this woorke was laied lose on russet veluet, and knitte together with poyntes of golde, which waues signified the Lordshippe of the narowe sea. All the parteners of the kynges chalenge wer in the same sute, their horses aswell as their persones attendyng on the kyng on horsebacke wer sir Henry Guilford Master of the kinges horse, sir Ihon Pechie deputie of Caleis, sir Edward Guilford Master of the kinges army, and Monsie Moiet of the Frēche court appareled al foure in the kynges, luery, which was white on the right side, and the left side gold and russet bothe hose and garmēt. And on him were attendant on foote sixe honorable knyghtes, xx. esquiers and officers to the nombre of an. C. and xii persons, of the whiche number all the knyghtes and gentlemen had coates, the onc halfe siluer, and thother clothe of gold and russet veluet, and the other officers coates wer of right Sattin of the same colour, and all their hosen were of the same suite very costly. Thus with honiour and noble courage these twoo noble kynges with their compaignies entered into the feld, and theim presented vnto the quenes, and after reuerence dooen to them, thei roade rounde aboute the tilte, and so toke their places appoynted, abidyng the answerers, which was for the first the duke Dallencon and tenne men of armes on his bēd, on coursers barded, the bardes couered with white and blacke Veluet, fastened the one within the other, garded with Burgonbendes of Tynsell sattin, aswell their garmentes as their bardes. Then entered on coursers barded twelfe gentlemen of the bende of the lord Admirall of Fraunce, their garmentes and bardes were russet sattin, broched with gold and white and purple Sattin, after the deuise of their pleasure with great plumes. When these bendes were entered the feld, thei shewed themselves about the tilte, and did reuerence to the quenes, the bend of the Duke Dallencon tooke firste place, they made theim prest on bothe sides, the Frenche kyng was the firste that ranne, he did valiauntly and brake speres mightly.

Then ranne the kyng of England to *Monsire Graundeulle* with great vigor, so that the speres brake in the kynges hande to the vantage all to sheuers. And at the second course he gaue the saied *Monsire Graundeulle* suche a stroke that the Charnell of his hedde peoe, although the same was very strong, was broken in suchewise that he might runne no more whereby the kyng wanted three courses.

Then ranne the duke de *Vandon* and mette his counter parte right nobely, and brake speres right valiauntly.

The noble duke of Suffolke charged his course & met right valtiarly his counter parte and furnished the v. courses right nobly together like good men of armes.

And when all parties of the chalenge had right valiantly furnished theyr courses thei ranne agayne the ii. noble kynges, who dyd so valiantly that the beholders had great ioy, after which courses the herauldes cried the *disarmy* and the trompettes sounded to lodgyng.

Tuesday the. xii. daie of Iune at hower cōuenient the ii. quenes toke their stages and the bende of chalenge in the feld prest to answere & deliuer all cominers, to whome came x. gentlemen armed on barded horses of the bend of *Mounsire de Sroyes* ther bardes and apparel cloth of veluet ful of friers knottes syluer, after that they had presēted theim vnto y quenes, then they toke thende of the tilte, & then course after course they ranne to the challengers right egerly, and the challengers of the partie of the twoo kynges deliued to the ende of their articles of Iustes.

Then entred a xi men of armes of the bende of *Mounsire de Tremoyell*, on horses barded with yelow veluet losenged with Friers knottes of blacke veluet, & after they had saluted y quenes, they likewise toke thende of the tilte, and course after course ranne till they wer deliuered of then chalenges of Iustes: valiauntly this daie was finished.

Wednesdaie the. xiii. daie of Iune, the two hardie kynges armed at all peces, entered into the feld right nobly appareled, the French kyng and all his parteners of chalenge were arraied in purple sattin, broched with golde and purple veluet embrodered with litle rolles of white satin, wherein was written, *quando*, all bardes and garmentes were set full of the same, and all the residue where was no rolles, were poudered and sette with the letter ell as thus L whiche in Frenche is she, whiche was interpreted to be *quando elle*, whē she, and ensuyng the deuise of the first daie it signifieth together, harte fastened in pain endles, when she.

The kyng of England with all the bende parteners of his chalenge wer likewise on horsebacke, appeared in trappers of losēges russet veluet and clothe of siluer of damaske, embrodered and set in euery losēge a blanche of Eglantine of gold, the apparell of the persones wer of the same correspondent to the trapper, this Eglantine tree is swete, pleasant and giene, and if it be kyndely and frendly handeled, and if it be rudely delt with, it will pricke, and he that will pull vp the whole tree by the top his handes will bee huite: The two kynges with their compaignies thus appareled, presented themselves to the quenes, and so toke the ende of the tilte then entered into the feld *Monsire Leskew* called lorde Liskyn, with hym came a. xi. men of armes, hymself the xii. on horses barded and richely appareled, and so rode aboute the tilte and saluted the quenes, and toke the ende of the tilte

*Monsire de Leskew* and his xi. compaignions had their bases & bardes, all blacke clothe of gold of damaske all to cut on blacke sattin, their garmentes had mantell sleeves on the left arme, to the wast behynde iust to the shulder, whiche was praised for the strangenes.

The Frenche kyng rāne to Mousire Bewsy Damboyes, one of the bend of Mounsire Liskew, & the kyng of England charged his course and rāne to Mounsire Liskew, & so furnished their coursers (as they laie) right nobly and valiauntly in breakyng speres that were strong, thus course after course eche with other, his countei partie did right valiantly, but the two Kinges surmounted all the rest in prowesse and valiantnes. This bend thus furnished entred the Marques *de Salons* and his bend xii. persones all ridyng on coursers barded and appareled in white Sattin and blacke, broched with gold and siluer, with cuttes and culypnes moche after tawny and blacke Sattin billottes. and after reuerence done to the Quenes, toke the ende of the tilte. To the Marques *de Salons* ianne the kyng of England, and the kyng of Fraūce to another of the same bend, stil course after course ranne all the noble men til the Marques *de Salons* and his bend were deliuered, who bare them right valiantly. then blew the trumpettes the retriacte and the two kinges them vnaimed & after departed, the French kyng to Arde, and the kyng of England to his castle of Guysnes

Thursday the. xiii. day of Iune by the noonetyde the two Quenes mette in the campe and toke their places, the people wer come to behold the honor, & to see the two kynges, who all ready armed entred the feld to receiue and deliuer all men of answere of Iustes. Then entred the erle of Deuonshyre nere cosyn to the kyng of England, on his bend the lorde Mountague also cosyn to the kyng, lord Harbert, lord Leonard Gray, Master Arthur Poole, Master Fraunces Brian, Master Henry Norres, and iii. other all richely appareled, the one side blew Veluet embrodred with a mans hart burnyng in a ladies hand holding a garden pot stillyng with water on the hart, the other side was white Sattin embrodered with letters of golde, this compaignie rode about the tilte and did reuerence to the Quenes & so abode at the ende of the same. The erle of Deuonshyre charged his speie, and the French king likewise charged his course to mete the same erle and rāne so hard together that both their speres brake, and so maintained their courses nobly

Then ianne the kyng of England to *Mounsire Memorācie* and him encountered and bothe bare together & gaue great strokes, the kynges most noble grace neuer disuersed nor breathed tyll he ranne the fūe courses and deliuered his countei partie.

Dukes, Marqueses, Knightes, Esquiers and other ranne as fast as euer they might, there



was none abode when the courses came, tyll the earle of Deuonshyre and his bend were deliuered of demaundes.

Then entered the lorde Hawarde sonneto the Duke of Northfolke and. xi. companions apparelled and barded in crimosyn Sattin full of flames of golde, the borders ribbed with crimosyn Veluct, and with much honor after due reuerence done to the quenes were brought with Heraldes of armes aboute the tiltes, and so toké the place to them appointed, right riche was their apparell. Then ranne the French-kyng and encountered the same lord Edmond, they brake both their staues valiantly course after course, the encounter ceased not til they had furnished theyr five courses, so was the lorde Edmond deliuered by the French kyng.

Then ranne the kyng of Englande to a strong gentle man named Raffe Broke and brake his spere, and ranne course after course till he had finished his courses right nobly & like a prince of moste valiance. The residue ceased not til they had ech deliuered other of their chalège.

Friday the xv. day of Iune the king of England mouëted on a courser roial, his person armed at all pieces, his apparel and trapper was the one side riche cloth of gold, of tissue, the other side of cloth of Tissue of siluer & cloth of gold of Tissue entered ounde the one with ÿ other, the ounde is warke wayyng vp and downe, and all the borders as well trapper as other was garded with letters of fine gold, and on the other side that was ounde was set with signes called cifers of finegold, the which were set with great & oriental perles, the cifers signified letters knit together in a knot, which was to wete, God my frende, my realme & I may. This was the deuise and reason thereof, all the kynges bend were apparelled in like apparell.

The French king likewise armed at all pointes mounted on a courser royal, all his apparel aswel baides as garmentes were purple veluet entred the one with the other, embrodred ful of litle bookes of white Satten, and in thebokes were written *a me*, about the borders of the baides and the borders of the garmentes, a chaine of blewe, like Iron resembling the chayne of a well or prison chaine, whiche was enterpreted to be *Liber*, a booke, within this booke was written as is sayd, *a me*, put these two together and it maketh *libera me*, the chayne betokeneth prison or bondes, and so maketh together in Englishe deliuer me of bōdes, put to ÿ reason, the fyrst day, second day, and. iii. day, of chaūge for he chaūged but the second day, and it is, *hart fastened in paine endles, when she deliuereth me not of bondes*, thus was thintepretacion made but whether it were so in all thinges or not I may not say. Now is roady the two kynges and princes and all their retaine abidyng the answeres, and after salutacions made to the Quenes being by their stages, they toke thende of the tilte.

Ready was Mounsire Florengis and with him, xii. men of armes & coursers barded: the bardes and apparel was Crimosyn veluet, tawny veluet, and Plunket veluet embrodred border wise with shepherdes hokes of cloth of siluer. When they with honor had passed about the tilte, the reuerence to the Quenes and ladies done, the two kynges had their speres redy, then began the rushyng of speres: the kyng of England this day rāne so freshly and so many courses that one of his best coursers was dead that night, this band was deliuered man after man of their pretence of Iustes.

Then entered bendes of *Mounsire de Rambeurs* & *Mounsire de Pyns* eche hauyng. xi. personos in nomber, the one band all white Satten embrodred with blacke, & the other all blacke, dropped & siluer droppes and after reuerence done to the quenes, at the end of the tilte toke their places. Then began a new encoūter hard and sore, many of them bare great strokes of the kynges, to their honor. when these bendes were deliuered, the Heraldes cryed *a lostel* and the princes them disarmed and went to lodgyng.

Saturday, the. xvii. daye of Iune the French kyng with a small nōbre came to ÿ castle of Guisnes about the hour of. viii. in the mornyng: the king being in his priuy chambre, had therof knowledge, who with glad hast went to receiue thesame French king, and him met  
and

and welcomed in frendly and honorable maner, & after cōmunicacion betwene them had, the king of Englād departed, leauyng y French king there in y sumptuous place before named. Then was busy the lord Chāberlain, the lord Steward and all other officers to make ready feast and chere. It were to long to rehearse all for suche a feast and banquet was then made that of long tyme before the like had not been seen

The king of England thus departed, he toke his horse and with cōpaignie of noblemen rode to Arde, where the French quene and other noblemen him receaued with muche honor. After whiche receuyng, he was by the sayd quene and lordes brought into a chamber hāged with blew veluet enbrowdered with flowers delice of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bed of like worke, from whence he was conueighed into another chamber, in the which was a kynges state this chamber was hanged and siled with clothe of gold, enbrodered with great cordelles or friers knottes of cloth of siluer. In the same chambre were two cupbordes on either side one, furnished with great and goodly plate gylte. Noble feasting & chere was there made. After dyner the ladies dressed them to daunce, the king the more to glad the quene & the sayd ladies, departed secretly and put himself with. xlix. persones more in Maskers apparell, fyrst x. yong honorable lordes apparellled after the maner of Ry and Reuel in Ruseland or farre Estland. Fyrst they hosen of riche goldsatten called Aureate satten, ouerrouled to y kne with Skarlet, & on theyr fete, shoen with litle pykes of white nayles after the Estland guise, theyr doublettes of ryche crimosyn veluet and cloth of gold with wide sleues lined with cloth of gold, ouer this they had clokes of crimosyn veluet short, lined with cloth of gold, on eueryside of the clokes ringes of siluer w laces of Venice gold, & on their heades they had hattes made in y toune of Danske and Purses of Seales skynnes, and girdles of the same. all these yong lordes had visers on their faces and their hattes were drawn like hatbondes full of Damaske gold.

Other. x lordes were apparellled in long gounes of blew Satten of the auncient fashion enbrodied with reasons of golde that sayd, *adieu Iunesse*, farewell youth they had tippettes of blacke veluet and hattes hangyng therby, and on theyr heades, high violette standyng cappes and girdelles of silke, and Purses of clothe of golde after the auncient maner, with visers, their faces of like auncientie.

Then was there another compaignie of. x lordes in whiche maskery the king was himselfe, apparellled all in long garmentes of estate all pale riche clothe of golde, all these had riche gounes which were lined with grene Taffata, and knit with pointes of Venice siluer wherewith the riche clothe together was fastened on their faces visers, and all the berdes were fine wyer of Ducket gold, the Drunslad players and other minstrels arrayed in white, yelow, and russet Damaske, these minstrels blew and played and so passed through the strete of Arde, all these noble reuelers came into the Frenche court & put them in presēce of the Frēche Quene and ladies. and when the Quene had them beholden, these reuelers toke ladies and daunced, in passyng the tyme right honorably. Then at thynstance of the French quene and her ladies these maskers and reuelers them disuisered, shewyng them what persons they were. Then spices, frutes, ielies, and banket *viandes* wer brought, that done and ended, y king toke leaue of the French quene & ladies, & in secrete places euery one visered himselfe, so that they were vnknown, and so passed through the French court, to whom were brought. xxx hoises trapped in Damaske, white and yelow, and so in maskeler passed the toune of Arde, into the felde or campe.

But now to tell of the feast and riches royal that was in the presēce of the French kyng in the newe palaice royal. This daie the quene of England receiued the French king w all honor that was accordyng. In presēce lacked neither clothes of estate nor other riches, for to shew the multitude of siluer and golde in plate and vessell there that daie, it were impossible. for all noble men were serued in gylte vessel, and all other in siluer vessel. When the Frenche kyng had washed and in his estate was set, he was right honorably serued in all thinges nedefull, for Forestes, Parkes, felde, salte seas, Riuers, Moates, and Pondes, wer serched and sought through countreys for the delicacie of viādes: well was that man rewarded that



could bring any thyng of likyng or pleasure. Right honourably was the French kyng entertained, and all other after then degre and state. When the French kyng had washed, then the ladies came and profered themselves to daunce, & so did in the French kynges presence, whiche done the French kyng toke leaue of the Quene and ladies of the court. The reuerend father lord Cardinaal accompanied with the duke of Buckyngham and other great Lordes conducted forward the French kyng, and in their way they encountred and met the king of England & his company right in the valy of Andaine apparelled in their Maskyng apparell, whiche gladded the French king. After reuereuce done, the sayd two kynges departed for that night.

<sup>28</sup> Monday the. xviii. day of Iune, there blew such stormes of wind & wether that meruail was to hear, for which hideous tēpest some said it was a very pronosticacion of trouble & hatred to come betwene princes.

Tewsday the. xix. day of Iune, the. ii. valiant chalengers kynges at houre conuenient entred into the felde armed at all pieces abidyng the comers. Then entred Mounsire Bonyual and his bend. xiii. persones in nūber wel armed riding on barded horses, their apparel was black veluet and cloth of golde bylet wise and fayre plumes on their heades, and after reuerence done to the queenes all ready beyng on their stages, they toke their places at the ende of the tilte.

Ready weie the speares, the French king charged and ranne course after course and did nobly. Also the king of England ranne surely and lost no course till Mounsire Bonyual and his bend was deliuered, the kynges and their retaine did not cease.

Then entered xvii. persones royally armed, the bend of the duke of Burbon ridyng on barded coursers, their apparell was white veluet, tawny and blacke veluet, entred together & all bordered with clothe of gold garnished with plumes of thesame colours on their heades, they saluted the queenes and ladies and toke thende of the tilte as they that came to furnishe thende of the chalenge of Iustes.

The kyng of England was ready & strake his horse with the spurres & so fiersly rāne to the countre partie that his graund graue gard was lose with the great stroke that the king gaue him. course after course y<sup>e</sup> king lost none, but euernore he brake his speie and so nobly ended his Iustes royal, for this daie ended the kynges great chalenge, and of the king our souereigne lordes doynge, all men there that him beheld repoted his doynge, (so valiant were his fuctes) euermore in honor to be renowned. The French king on his part ran valiantly breaking speares egrely and so well ended his chalenge of Iustes, that he ought ever to be spoken of. When the bend of the Duke of Burbon was of their pretence of chalenge deliuered, they toke leaue and departed.

Wednesday the. xx. day of Iune, the two kynges began to hold Turneyes with all the parteners of their chalenge, armed at all pieces, The French kyng & his bend wer apparelled, their bard couered with purple sattin, broched with gold and purple veluet, ouer all brodered with garlondes of friers knottes of white sattin, and in euery garlond iii. paunse flowers, whiche signified, thinke on Fraunces, to whō he spake was not knowen, goodly and riche was their apparel.

The king of England mounted on a courser of Naples barded, and after him all the faire bend of his retaine on coursers barded, the bardes & apparell was the one side riche clothe of Tyssue enbrodered, and lined w<sup>th</sup> rich cloth of siluer, all y<sup>e</sup> outward part was cutte, the otherside was russett veluet powdered w<sup>th</sup> gold or purpled with gold, enbrodered with a great rocke or mountaine, and a picture of an armed knight on a courser barded, vauncyng himself vpon that hill. then was on thesame in riche embroidery a picture of a ladie cōmyng out of a cloud strikyng the knight into the body with an arow a deadly wound, and beneth on the borders were written in letters enbrodered that sayd, *In loue whoso mounteth, passeth in perill*, this was the devise, so was the kyng of England apparelled and all his parteners of chalenge.

The quene of Fraunce and the quene of England were in the places appointed for their honors.

honors. The Iudges were on stages to marke with *ȝ* kyng of Heraldes that was for Fraunce named Roy Mon Ioy, and for England kyng of armes Garter, to marke and write the dedes of noblemen. euery person toke a naked swoid in his hande, the trumpettes blewe all waiting to ride and runne, the Frenche kyng and the kyng of England together entred, and their bendes, and reuerēced the quenes, and rode about the place, and then toke the ende of the felde in their abode.

Now againe sounded the trūpettes, *ȝ* Heraldes brought in the bēdes of diuers noble and wel armed men on horses barded, that is to wete, First the duke of Alanson and *x* men of armes on his bende, the loide Admirals bend *xii* menue of armes, and Mounsire Gywer and. *ix.* in nombre of men of armes all gentlemen, Mounsire Trenoyll with. *xi* men of armes, mounsire Liskew and with him. *xi* men of armes on his bende, the Marques de Salons and *xii* men of armes on his bend, al on horses barded, and naked swordes in their handes.

Then the two kynges put doune their visers & rode to the encoūtre valiantly, and for trowth strake and receiued great strokes, but verely the two kynges bet their countrie parties to disarming, and then were they departed and that battail ceased: then went other, euermore two for two till it came to the kynges againe, at whiche it neded not to put them in remēbraunce. for coragiously the two kynges newly fought with great randon and force, they shewed their vigors and strengthes and so did nobly that then cōūter parties had none aduantage. When they had thus eche of them fought *iiii* batailles, then came Mounsire Liskew with whom the kyng of England had fought one battail, and presented the kyng with his horse, whiche the kyng gently receiued and for loue incontinent mounted on him and there fought the *v.* battail right valiantly. Thus was the turney deliuered honorably for that day.

Thursday the *xx.* day of Iune, the quene of England & the Frenche quene were come to the campe in royaltie like vnto their estates, the. *ii.* kynges were in the felde armed and apparelled, the Frenche kyng and his bend on courseis barded, their bardes couered with purple bioched satten and purple veluet right iolally, without any more enbroderyng. The kyng of England was mounted on a horse of force and courage, royally and nobly apparelled he and his retaine in sute like. The apparell was of clothe of siluer of damaske bordered with letters of cloth of golde of damaske all the borders, on the bardes and apparell were litle mountaines & springyng braunches of Basile, wrought all of fyne gold, and euery braunche, lefe, and stalke, was lose and waueryng, all thicke and full of leaues and braunches, that vneth was the clothe of siluer sene, *ȝ* reasons written on the borders was thus, *Breake not these swete herbes of the riche mounte, doute for dāmage*. This apparel was meruailous fleshe and fayre. thus the two kynges & their retaine toke the felde. Then entred theire of Deuonshyre cosyn to the kyng of England and. *xvi.* honorable persones in his bende all armed.

Then came mounsire Florences and *xii* persones on his bend, then came mounsire de Rambeurs Mounsire de Pyns and *ix.* men of armes on his bend, then came the bend of Mounsire de Bonyual himself and *xiii.* men of armes on his bend, then came the bend of Mounsire de Burbon and. *xvii.* men of armes, al wel and warlike horsed and armed and euery of these bendes after their deuises apparelled right richely.

The. *ii.* noble kynges were ready and either of them encountered one man of armes, the Frenche kyng to the erle of Deuonshire, the kyng of England to Mounsire Florences. The kyng of England bare backe Mounsire Florences and brake his Poldron & him disarmed, when *ȝ* strokes were stricken, this battail was departed, it was much praised. Then on went swordes & doune went visers, there was litle abidyng. Sir Ihon Neuell, Master-Fraunces Bryan, sir Rouland, and master Robert Garnyngham were this day as aydes for *ȝ* hurt persones that before were of the entertaing, and fought feruently battail after battail and none ceased till they all that would entre were deliuered of their pretence in chalenge royall pretended. This day was the chalenge of Turnays after the articles ended, and all noble men deliuered and so departed the felde. then the kynges rode about the felde as



honor of armes required, and the Herauldes cried *la fine des Turneyes*, by the sayd two noble princes the. xxi. daie of Iune.

Fryday the xxii day of Iune in the campe was set a barrier for to fight on foote, also an Hale of the kynges of England was sette in the same place, enbrodered with cloudes of blewes, and out of the cloudes the Sunne risyng, the valence of the same was written in letters of blewes enbrodered, *dieu et mon droit*, in whiche Hale the Lordes and other of the entertaine of the chaulenge armed them selves.

Nowe was the noble Kynges ready to do battail on foote at the Barriers, the Quenes on their stages then entered bend after bend on foote and preased to the Barriers, euery one in his hande a Punchion spere, wherewith without any abode foyned and lashed alwayes one at another, two for two as the lotte fell. When the speres were spent, then swordes to them were geuen. Then preased to the Barriers the two valiant kynges, and other, then was no tarryng but fought with suche force that the fyre sprang out of their armure. Thus bend after bend they were all deliuered by the two noble kynges and their aydes of retaine.

Then in came a bend with two hande swordes and castyng dartes to answeere to that chaulenge, xii menne well armed which preased to the barriers & mightely thiewe their speares the one to the other, ready or not ready, none fauored other more than two enemies or at vterance, and euer still two for two, till all were deliuered concernyng the chaulenge, so this same two kynges safe in body and lymmes ended the battail for that day at the barriers with great honor.

All men of armes passed and departed for that time, much preparacion was made there, as setting vp tentes, hailes, and other places for furnishing of houses of offices and chābers of estates for the kynges and quenes, & also thesame night was in the campe reared a large frame of tymber worke for a chapell place, whiche was syled w riches clothes enbrodered, wherein was made a stage of two degrees, with the chayre and cloth of state for the lorde Cardynall, the altar appparelled with all luelles myssal of great riches, thesame chapel thus finished the xxiii. day of Iune beyng satterday, at houre conuenient, the said loid Cardinal sang an high and solempne masse by note before the two kynges and quenes, the same done, Indulgence was geuen to all hearers, the two kynges together associate tooke their chamber. Of this masse in Flaunders arose muche communicacion, in so muche that the common voyce went, how the ii. kynges wer sworne together on the sacrament, which was contraiy, for the masse was for none other entent then to geue Indulgence to the kynges.

When tyme was, the two kynges washed and satte to meat vnder their clothes of estate where they were richely serued, the royaltie of the faré and the riches of vessell, plate and luelles surmounteth the witte of man to expresse the quenes in another Chamber wer serued with no lesse honor, the dyner ended, the sayd straungers royally appparelled, presented themselves in places of estate.

To tell you the apparel of the ladies, their riche attyres, their sumptuous luelles, their diuersities of beauties, and the goodly behavior from day to day sithe the first metyng, I assure you ten mennes wittes can scarce declare it.

The two noble kynges put themselves in armes with their bend and entered the felde on foote, before the barriers, then entered the bendes of men of armes in armur right richely, then all was ready and the ii. kynges at the barriers ready to fight right nobly. This day was deliuered at barriers by battail a C. & vi. persones, the ii. last battailes did the kynges. The kyng of England with few strokes disarmed his counter partie, the French kyng likewise bare himself right valiantly. Thus the sayd saterday was fully ended, and all men deliuered of articles of lustes and all Turneyes and battailes on foote by the sayd two noble kynges.

After this chaulenge honorably performed, the kynges prepared diuers maskers and especially the king of England had iii. companies, and in euery companie. x. persones appparelled as you shall heare.

The fyrst persone of the fyist x. was apparelled like Hercules in a shirt of syluer of damaske written in letters of purple about y border. *en femes et mfauntes cy petit assurance*, whiche in Englishe is as muche to say: In women and children is htle assurance. he had on his head a whode with a garlound of grene damaske cut into leaues like Vyne leaues and Hawthorne leaues, in his hand a club couered with grene damaske full of prickes. the Lyons skyn about his backe was of cloth gold of damaske, wrought and frysed with flatte golde of damaske for the heeles, and buskins of gold on his legges. Other thre were apparelled for Hector, Alexandrie and *Iulius Cesar*, in Turkey lubbes of grene cloth of gold wrought like Châlet very richly, & on their heades bonettes of Turkey fashion, of cloth of golde of Tyssue, and clothe of syluer rolled in Cypres, kercheffes after the Panyns fashion, and girdles of cloth of gold with pendants of thesame cut in great flames, & euery one buskins of grene damaske, & thre other like princes of Iury for Dauid, Iosue, and Iudas Machabeus. these thre wer in long gounes of russet Tinsel satten with great wide sleues lined with cloth of gold pendant and great tippettes of the same cloth of gold bandericke wise and whodes of thesame, buskyns of grene damaske, their visers had berdes of fyne gold the other thre were for Christen princes, as Charlemaine, Arthur, & Godfry de Bulloigne. These thre were apparelled in long vestures of calendred cloth of gold and purple clothe of gold broched together with whoddes and cappes of thesame, visers & buskyns of grene damaske.

Other x. were apparelled in cotes of crimosyn satten al ouer couered with *quaterfoyles* of clothe of gold, of tisse, and clothe of syluer raised, the gold was fringed with syluer, and the syluer with gold and layd lose on the Crimosyn satten, and euery quaterfoyle was knit to other with laces of gold.ouer that y said. x. persones had euery one a large mantle or Robe of crimosyn satten enbrodered tull of figures of gold, and on their heades bonettes of stoole worke. of golde of damaske, and euery one had on his viser a berde of golde wyer with whoddes and buskyns of crimosyn satten.

Ten of the ladies were apparelled after the Genowayes fashion, the ground of their gounes was white satten, ouer diapiel with right crimosyn satten & gold of damaske, and on their heades square bonettes of damaske golde, rolled with lose golde that did hang doune at their backes, with kercheffes or cleres of fine Cypres.

The other x. ladies were attired after the fashion of Myllayne, in riche Tyssue and cloth of syluer raised, parted, trauners, & ruffed sleues with foresleues pendant, knit w pointes of gold & caules or coyfes of gold piped, & Myllaine bonettes of crimosyn satten diawen through with clothe of golde. Thus the kyng of England and. xix. noblemen with him and his sister Quene Marye dowager of Fraunce and. xix. ladies with her like maskers apparelled as you haue heard, all moued on horses trapped in veluet white and yelow, and euermore a lord and a lady ridyng together, with mynstrelsy departed out of Guysnes on sonday the. xxiii. day of Iune and toke their way toward Arde, and in the way on the banke of Anderne these Maskers met with the Frenche kyng, beyng in a chariot with xxxviii. persones richely apparelled in Maskyng apparell, and eche compaigny passed by other without any countenance makyng or disuiseryng.

The Frenche kyng and his compaignie went to Guysnes, the kyng of England to Arde, where his maiestie was receiued into the French court, and brought into the chamber of riche apparell, where at the instance of the French Quene the kyng and all his, thein disuisered and shewed theyr faces, and al the ladies of England likewyse, then began feast & chere to arise, the kyng of England was set, and after all y ladies and Maskers of England and were nobly serued of many straunge meates. After dyner began the daunces in passing the tyme ioyously.

The French Maskers apparell was not all of one suite, but of seuerall fashions, of diners silkes, some cut, some broched, some had plumes that were very fayie, but very beautiful was the sight.

The Frenche kyng and his company was then at guisnes where the quene of Englad met



met and welcomed them. Then the French king and his Maskers shewed themselves bare faced, and when the Quene them saw she did then the more reuerence. Great was the chere that then was there. After dyner and daunces done, the French kyng drew himselfe into a secrete chamber & put from him his apparel of maskery and toke to him his apparel of vsaunce, in the whiche were many fayre Emeraudes, this done he toke his leaue of the quene, and on the court he loked with a high countenance, and so departed, the lord Cardinal and the duke of Buckingham him conductyng, the king of England, this tyme duryng, was at Arde, where he passed the time with much solas: At tyme conuenient he toke leaue of the Frenchmen & all othei of the Frēch court, and after they had visered themselves they rode nobly thus apparelléd through ꝑ. toune of Arde, & so passed till they came to the campe whereas all the chalenges were finished, and there the French kyng perceiuyng the cōmyng of the English maskers, stode still beholding them. Then the kyng of England put of his viser and preased vnto the French king: then the two kynges enbrased and amiably together communed, after which communicacion either of othei by kyngly salutyng tooke leaue, and for remembraunce either to othei gaue giftes. The kyng of England gaue to the Frenche kyng a collar of Jewels of precious stones called Balastes the Sanker furnished with great Diamantes and Perles. The Frenche kyng gaue to the kyng of England a Bracelet of precious stones, riche Jewels and fayre, and so departed the sayd two noble kynges, the sayd. xxiii. day of Iune, whiche was sonday and Midsomerday.

Duryng this triumph so much people of Picardie and west Flaūders drew to Guysnes to se ꝑ kyng of England & his honor, to whō vitales of the court were in plentie, the conducte of the gate ianne wyne alwaies, there were vacaboundes, plowmen, laborers & of the bragery, wagoners & beggers that for diunkennes lay in routes and heapes, so great resort thether came, that both knightes & ladies that wer come to see the noblenes, were faine to lye in haye and strawe, & helde them therof highly pleased. From the court of the Emperor, nor of the Lady Margaretes court, nor of Flaūders, Brabāt nor Burgoyne came neuer a persone to answere to the chalenge. By that it semed that there was small loue betwene the Emperour and the Frenche kyng. Moreouer, Mounsire Fayot capitaine of Boleyn with Mounsire Chattelon did then deuoir to haue taken the toune of saint Omer, of whiche doying was thought no goodnes to the Emperour.

Monday the. xxv. day of Iune, the kyng of England & the Quene & all the court remoued frō Guysnes to the toune of Caley & there made the king his abode, where was concluded the metyng of the Emperour with the kyng, wherfore was made newe and great prouisions.

In the tyme of the triumph there was a mutterynge that the toune of Caley should be rēdred into the French kinges hādes, & for truth the Frenchmen so spake & sayd, wherewith many Englishmen wer greued.

While the king lay thus in Caley he considered the charge of his nobles, and thought that lesse nombre of seruautes would now serue them for the tyme of his abode, and so caused the Cardynal to call all ꝑ gentlemen before him, whiche in the kynges name gaue to them thanks with much commendacions, and for eschewyng of cost, because the kyng taried but the Emperours commyng, he licēsed them to send home the halfe nombre of their seruautes & bad them after their long charges to lue warely, this terme warely was amongst the moste part taken for barely, at which saying the gentlemen sore disdained.

Thus in Caley rested the king & the quene vntil the. x. day of Iuly. Then ꝑ kinges grace with goodly repaire rode to the toune of Graelyng in Flaunders there that night to rest & se the Emperour, on ꝑ kyng were waityng the lord Cardinal, Dukes, Marquises, Eyles, bishops, Barons, knightes, and gentlemen. The noble Emperour passed the water of Graelyng, and at a place called Wael, there he met & receiued the kyng of England, the Emperour made such semblant of loue to all the court of England that he wan ꝑ loue of Thenglishmen, & so passed the Emperour and the king of England to Graelyng where  
the

the kyng lodged the best that might be, all lordes, gentlemen, yomen & all sortes of Englishmen frō the highest to the lowest werc so chered and feasted, with so louyng maner that muche they praised Themperors court. In Grauelyng was the Emperors Aunte Margarete, she welcomed the kyng and other noble men of the realme.

When the French king and his lordes had knowlege of þy metyng of the Emperor and the kyng of Englād in the towne of Grauelynge, they were therewith greatly greued, as by many thynges appeared, for after the Englishmen were in Fraunce disdained, & in their suites there greatly deferied and had litle right and muche lesse fauor, so from day to day still more and more began hartbrennyng, and in cōclūsiō open warre did arise betwene the two realmes

Wednesday the xi day of Iuly, the Emperor & the lady Margarete came with the king of England to the towne of Caleys, the Emperor & the lady Margaret were lodged in Staple hall, and al gentlemen and other lodged in other places right well prepared of all necessities for their cōmyng: & for solas was builded a banqueting house, 80. foote round, after a goodly deuise, builded vpō Mastes of shippes in suche maner as I thinke was neuer sene, for in it was the whole speite portrated, whiche by reason of the great winde that blew, could not be acheued, thesame day at night, the kyng & xv. persones were appparelled all in blacke Veluet couered with cloth of gold, cut on the veluet, fastened w knottes of gold, on the whiche knottes hong spangels of gold like tustes, and bonettes of thesame and clokes of crimosyn Satten & cloth of gold wrapped trauers, and their buskins of thesame clothe of gold. All these lustie maskers went to the Emperors lodging and wer receiued and in the chambre of presens daūced and reuelled, the which at the Emperors request, the kyng and other theinselfes disuised, whereby the king was knowen: then the kyng toke his leaue and departed for that night.

Tuesday the. xii day of Iulye, because the banquet house could not be finished, the Emperor and the lady Margaret supped with the king & the quene at the Checker, where the same night after supper reuelled lxxxxvi. Maskers after the reuelles was a banquet: After whiche banquet the kyng brought the Emperor and the ladie Margaret to the Staple, and after withdrew him.

This night was. viii. compaignies of maskers, and in euery compaignie xii. persones all in gold, siluer and veluet richely appparelled, but because the rome was small, the shew was the lesse.

In these reuelles were put in maskers apparel diuers gentlemen of the French court vnwetyng to þy kyng or any other that bare rule, for diuers yong gentlemen of the French court fauored more the Frenche partie, then the Emperors partie, through which meanes they saw and much more heard then they should haue done.

Friday, the. xiii. day of Iuly, the Emperor did intend to haue departed from Caleys, but the counsaill was suche that he departed not that night. The charters before tyme cōclūded, there were redde, and to the Emperor declared all the whole articles of high peace and league tripartite, to which the French kyng had assented and fully contented, & for the more exemplificacion of thesame, he sent thelorde *de Roche* with letters of credēce to signifie to the Emperors Maiestie that to the same articles he the Frenche kyng promised in the worde of a king as prince faythfull, to obserue & kepe for him and his realme & subiectes. Thus by the lord *de Roche* in the Emperors presēce & before the king of England in the name of his master there shewed the Frenche kynges will in the towne of Caleys with many high and vrgent causes concernyng the princes, whereby the Emperor went not out of Calays that night, by whiche abode the Emperors seruauantes were muche in doubt of the Emperors persone.

Saterday the. xiiii. day of Iuly, about none the emperor toke leaue of the quene of England his aunte and of her train of ladies, the kyng with all his nobles conducted the Emperor on his way to a village towardes Flaūders called Wael, where the Emperor enbrased the



the kyng, and him betoke to almightie God, and the kyng gaue to him a courser of Naples richely appareled

The kyng toke leaue of the Duches of Sauoye great aunte to the Emperour and of all nobles of the Emperours court, & so departed, smal tyme in Calayce the kyng made abode, but in goodly hast shipped and with the quene and all other nobles in safetie tooke lande. And after passed the tyme of Sommer with hantying and other sportes honorably and made no great iestes this yere.

This yere the kyng kept his Christmas at his maner of Grenewichie with muche noblenes & open court. And the x. day of February in his owne person Iusted to all corners, and the. xii. day his grace and therle of Deuonshyre with him. aydes answered at the Turnay all corners whiche were xvi. persones, noble and riche was their apparel, but in feates of armes the kyng excelled the rest.

The duke  
of Buck-  
ingham ac-  
cused.

In this tyme was Edward Duke of Buckyngham accused to the kyng of high treason, wherfore the kynges grace by the aduise of his counsaill, sent & directed his letters to the sayd duke, beyng at his maner of Thornbury in the countie of Glocester, that incontinent he should come to his presence all excuses layde aside. Also the kyng gaue commaundement to sir Willyam Crompton, sir Richard Weston, and sir Willyam Kyngston knyghtes for the kynges body, to take with them secret power and also seruauntes at armes, and that they should wisely take hede that when the duke had receiued the kynges letters, he shuld not conuey himselfe, whiche they wisely accomplished.

The sayd Duke vpon the sight of the kynges letters remoued, & so iorned tyll he came to Wyndsores, and there offered at S. George, and alwayes not farre from him awaityng his demeanour, were thesame knyghtes lyng. The duke lodged in Wyndsores for that night, and as it was well proued, he meruailously feared, insomuche that he called vnto him a seruaunt of the kynges named Thomas Ward, thesame Thomas Ward was gentleman Herberenger for the kyng, and demaunded of him what he made there, who answered, sayyng that ther lay his office, there the duke perceiued that he could not escape. And so muche was he in spirit troubled that as he was at breakfast his meat would not doune, yet he made good countenance, and shortly toke his horse, and so rode till he came to Tothill besides Westminster where he toke his barge: before this tyme was the dukes chauncellour taken and as a prisoner kept in the tower, whiche had confessed matter of high treason concernyng the kynges persone.

When the Duke was in his barge, he commaunded to lande at my lorde Cardinals bridge where he landed with foure or fve of his seruauntes, desiryng to see thesame lorde Cardinall, but to him was answered how the same lorde was diseased, well sayd the duke yet will I drynke of my lordes wyne or I passe, then a gentleman of my lordes brought the Duke with muche reuerence into the Sellar, where the duke dranke.

When he sawe and perceiued no chere to him was made, he chaunged colour and so departed to his barge, sayyng to his seruauntes, I meruail where my chauncellor is, that he cometh not to me, not knowyng that he was in prison.

The duke thus in his barge comyng towards London, sir Henry Marne capitaine of the Kynges Garde, on him attendyng C. yomen of the Kynges garde in a barge on the riuier of Thames met thesame duke, and without abode borded the dukes barge & him in the Kynges name attached. And then from him were put his seruauntes, and the duke was brought to the hawe wharfe and there landed, the dukes seruauntes were commaunded to go to the Maner of the rose in saint Larence Pountnay, and there to abide tyll the Kynges pleasure were further knowen.

Sir Henry Marney brought the duke through the Thames strete to the Tower of London, the people muche mused that the cause might be, and for trowth till it was knowen, among them was muche speakyng. There was also attached a Monke of a Charter house besides Bristow called Henton, also Master Ihon Delakar the Dukes Confessor, and the dukes Chauncellor before mencioned, al were in the Tower prisoners. The. xvi. day of April was

the same Duke brought to the Tower. Alas the while that euer ambicion should be the losse of so noble a man, and so muche in the kynges fauor, by him all lordes and other may beware how they geue credence to false prophetes or false hypocrites. For a Monke of the Charter house shewed the duke that he should be kyng of England, whiche to the kynges persone could be no higher treason. Alas that euer he gaue credence to suche a false traitor.

THE XIII. YERE.

IN this tyme inquiries were made in diuerse shyres of Edward duke of Buckyngham<sup>7</sup> beyng prisoner in the tower of London, where, by the knightes and gentlemen, there he was endited of high treason for certayne wordes spoken by thesame duke in Blechyngly to the lorde Aburgenye, thesame Lorde was attached for consailement, and the Lorde Moun-  
tague the kynges Cosyn and both ledde to the Tower. And sir Edward Neuell knight, brother to the sayd lorde Aburgenye forbidden the kynges presence.

The Duke of Northfolke was made by the kynges letters patentes high Steward of Eng-  
lande, to accomplishe the high cause of appele of the Piere or Pieres of the realme, and to decerne & iudge the causes of the piers. &c

Wherefore shortly after was made in Westmynster hall a scaffold for the lordes and a presence for a Iudge railed and counter railed about, and barred with degrees. The Duke of Northfolke was chiefe Iudge, and many Pieres of the realme, as the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Worcester, Deuonshyre, Essex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxford, and Darby, the lorde of S. Iohns, lorde Delaware, lorde Fitz Warren, lorde Willoughby, lorde Broke, lorde Cobham, lorde Harbert, and the lord Moiley, satte as Peres & iudges vpon thesame duke of Buckyngham.

When the lordes had taken their places, sir Thomas Louel and sir Richard Chomley knightes brought the duke to the barre with thaxe of the Tower before him, who humbly bareheaded reuerenced the duke of Northfolke, and after all the lordes and the kynges lérned counsaill. Then the Clarke of ð counsaill sayd, sir Edward Duke of Buckyngham hold vp thy hande, thou art endited of high treason, for that thou traitorously hast conspired and ymagined as farre as in thee lay to shorten the life of our soueraigne lorde the kyng. of this treason how wilt thou acquite thee, the duke answered by my Peres

And when thenditement was openly redde, the Duke sayd it is false and vnttrue, and conspired and forged to bryng me to my death, & that will I proue, allegyng many reasons to falsify the inditement, and against his reasons the kynges Atturney alledged the examinations, cōtessions and proues of witnesses.

The Duke desired the witnesses to be brought furth, then was brought before him sir Gylbert Perke priest his Chauncellor, fyrst accuser of thesame Duke, Master Ihon Delacourt priest, the Dukes Confessor and his owne hand wrytyng layde before him to the accusement of the duke. Charles Kneuet Esquier Cosyn to the Duke, and a Monke, Prior of the Charterhouse besides Bath, whiche like a false ypocrite had enduced the Duke to the treason, and had diuerse tymes sayd to the duke that he should be kyng of England, but the duke sayd that in himselfe he neuer consented to it. Diuers presumptions and accusementes wer layde to him by Charles Kneuet, whiche he would fain haue coueied. The deposicions were redde, and the deponentes were deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower.

Then spake the Duke of Northfolke, and sayd my lorde, the kyng our soueraigne Lorde hath commaunded, that you shall haue his lawes ministred with fauor and right to you. Wherefore if you haue any other thing to say for your selfe you shalbe hard. Then he was commaunded to withdrawe him, & so was led into Paradise a house so named. The lordes went to counsaill a great while and after tooke their places. Then sayd the Duke of Northfolke to the Duke of Suffolke, what say you of sir Edward Duke of Buckyngham touch-  
ing



ing the high treasons the Duke of Suffolke answered, he is guiltie, and so sayd the Marques and all the other Erles & lordes. Thus was this prince duke of Buckyngham founde guiltie of high treason by a Duke, a Marques, vii. Erles, and. xii. Barons.

The Duke was brought to the barie soie chafyng and swette mercifulously, after he had made his reuerēce, he paused a while. The duke of Northfolke as a ludge sayd, sir Edward, you haue heard how you be endited of high treason, you pleaded thereto not guiltie, puttyng your selfe to the Peeres of the realme, the whiche haue found you guiltie. then the Duke of Northfolke wept and sayd, you shalbe be ledde to the kynges prison and there layde on a Herdill and so diawen to the place of execucion, and there to be hanged, cutte doune a liue, your membres to be cutte of and cast into the fyer, your bowels brent before you, your head snytten of, and your body quartered and deuyded at the kynges will, and God haue mercy on your soule *Amen*

The duke  
of Buck-  
yngham  
iudgement.

The Duke of Buckingham sayd, my lorde of Northfolke, you haue sayd as a traytor should be sayd vnto, but I was neuer none, but my lordes I nothyng maligne for that you haue done to me, but the eternal God forgeue you my death and I do: I shall neuer sue to the kyng for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him then I desire. I desire you my lordes and all my felowes to pray for me.

Then was the edge of the axe turned towardes him, and so led into a barge, sir Thomas Louell desired him to syttie on the cushyns and carpet ordained for him, he sayd nay, for when I went to Westminster, I was duke of Buckyngham, now I am but Edwardes Bowhen the mooste cattiffe of the wolde. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receiued him sir Nicholas Vawse & Sir Willyam Sandes Baronetes and led him through the citie, who desired euer the people to pray for him, of whom some wept and lamented, and sayd, this is thende of euill life. God forgeue him, he was a proude prince, It is pitie that he behaued him so against his kyng and hege lorde, whō God preserue. Thus aboute. iiii. of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

Frydaye the. xvii. day of Maie, about xi. of the clocke. This duke w<sup>th</sup> a great power was deliuered to Ihon Kyeme and Ihon Skeuyngton shyriffes, who led him to the skaffolde on on Tower hill, where he sayd he had offended the kynges grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noblemen to beware by him, and al men to pray for him, and that he trusted to dye the kynges true man. Thus mekely with an axe he toke his death on whose soule Iesu haue meicy. Then the Augustine friers toke the body & head and buried them. Alas that euer the grace of truth was wdrawen frō so noble a man, that he was not to his kyng in alegeaunce as he ought to haue been, suche is thende of ambicion, thende of false prophesies, thende of euill life and euill counsaill.

About this tyme, Fraunces the Frenche kyng made open warre against the Emperor Charles both by lande and sea. The Prouinces of Aragon, Castile, and all Spayne, Germany, Brabant, Flaunders & the steades maintained the partie of the Empeior. The kynges highnes cōsideryng y<sup>e</sup> murder & effusion of Christen bloud, and the trouble that might ensue to al the princes of Christendome, by inuasion of the great Turke, sent the Cardinal of Yorke his Chaūcellor by name lord Thomas Wolsey to his toune of Calayce to intreate an amitie and peace betwene those two mightie princes. For this voyage great preparation was made, not onely for him but also for the Erle of Worcestre then lorde Chamberlayn, the lord of saint Ihons, the lord Ferryes, the lord Harbert, the bishop of Duresme, the bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armicane, sir Thomas Boleyn, sir Ihon Peche, sir Ihon Hussey, sir Richard Wyngfelde, sir Henry Gildforde, and many other knightes, Esquiers, gentlemen, Doctors and learned menne. And thus honorably accompanied he rodc through London the xxv. day of Iuly, & at Thomas Beckettes house the Maier, and Aldermen toke leaue of him, prayng God to send him good spede. Thus passed he to Cātorbury where tharchebishop, and the bishop of Cātorbury and other places receiued him in pontificalibus and brought him to his lodgyng vuder Canape to the Bishoppes palayce the. viii. day of Iulye he came to Douer: the xx. day he and thother lordes with their

their retinues toke passage, & ariued at Calayce in safetie, where the lord Deputie & counsaill receiued them with muche honor, and lodged the Cardinall in the Staple hall

Shortly after whose arriual, came thether *ȝ* Chauncelor of Fraunce, and the Countie de Palays with. iii. C. horse, as ambassadors frō the Frenche kyng and likewise from the Emperour came great Ambassadors, and when thei satte in counsaill, the Emperours Ambassade shewed their Commission & power. And euen so did the Frenche kynges Ambassade, which was more larger then the Emperours Commission. Thus when the giudges were declared on bothe sides, when the Emperours Ambassadors cōsented to peace, the French kynges would not. And when the Frenche Ambassadors cōsented to peace, the Emperours would not. The Cardinal then would haue knitted the Emperour, the kyng our soueraigne lorde, the Frenche kyng, and the bishop of Rome in a league and amitie together. the other Ambassadors had no suche Commission, especially the bishop of Romes, wherevpon letters were sent to Rome in all hast and the Frenchmen taried in Calayce till he returned, & beheld the toune, with whiche the counsaill of Calayce wer not contented. Herevpon the Cardinal rode to the Emperour accompanied with his Ambassadors (and left the Frenche ambassadors in Calayce to abide his returne) and passed by Grauelyng, Dūkirk, Newport, Owdenborow, & sundry tynes in the waie he was encoūtered and receiued with noble men. And without Bruges he was receiued with many noble men, and many lordes and other of the Emperours court, and a myle without Bruges the Emperour his owne person met him, and shewed to him and to the other lordes & gentlemen of Englād gracious countenance, & so accompanied *ȝ* Cardinal into the toune, where great multitude of people beheld them, & so rode to the Emperours palayce where he lighted, and fyrst embrased the Cardinal and after all the lordes, knightes, and gentlemen of Englande. It is to suppose the Emperour knewe of the Commission geuen to the sayd Cardinal, whiche had the kynges power as if his grace had been present, and also had the great seal w̄ him, whiche had not been seen before, or els the Emperour would not haue done him so high honor and reuerence.

The Englishe lordes, knightes, esquiers, yomen of the kynges gard & other beyng to the nūmber of. iii. C. lx. horse, were well lodged euery man after his degree and euery lodgyng furnished with fewell, bread, bere, wyne, Beues, Muttons, Veles, Lambes, Venison, and all maner deintie viand aswell in fishe as fleshe, with no lacke of spices and banquettyng dishes.

The next day after the great chere made to *ȝ* lord Cardinal & to all his lordes, knightes, gentlemen, and all other lordes and knightes of England (in whose presence) the Cardinal made his proposicion cōcernyng peace to be had betwene the sayd Emperour and the French kyng declaryng the calamities, misery and wretchednes that came by warre and the cōmodities, benefite, and welth that came by peace, concorde & trāquilitie, whiche proposicion continued a great while and when the Cardinal had made an ende, the Emperour himselfe answered and said: The lawe God byndeth euery man to claime and aske his right, & that thesame lawe byndeth no man to holde, kepe, and withstande another mans right. Our cosyn of Fraunce doeth witholde our rightes & patrimonies whiche we haue princely desired, & eftsones wil, and if he will rendre to vs our said rightes & patrimonies, we are contented to haue peace with him and his subiectes, if not we trust in God and our right that the troubles by your fatherhed rehersed, shal come vpon him and his adherentes. And for the tides of our regaltie, to putte that to the bishop of Rome, we do consider that kyng Edward of Englande the third of that name of noble memory, waried by iust title to recover the realme of Fraunce from Philip de Valois, whiche title by intercession was put to the bishop of Rome & his court, to discusse & expended there by *ȝ* space of. xxiii. yeres vndetermined, notwithstanding great pursuite & labor was made to haue it ended: Suche like tyme shoulde be to vs tedious, wherfore we entende by the ayde of God to folowe our title.

The Cardinal replied and declared the league that was betwene the thre mightiest princes of the worlde, that is to say, the Emperour, the kyng our souereigne lorde Henry the. viii.



and the Frenche kyng, and how that to the prince that fyrst moued warre, the other two should be enemies vnto him, and sayd, beholde the mightie power and puissaunt realme, riches, shippes, vitales, and ordinaūce, lordes, chivalry, horsemen, archers and communitie, this is in the high and mightie kyng of England my soueraigne lord, and he that fyrst warre beginneth, by the sayd league my sayd soueraigne lorde to his honor may lefully spred his baner and make waire in defence of his frende. For this and other thynges my soueraigne lorde desires of your highnes and Maiestie the consent of peace

My lorde Cardinal sayd the Emperor, I esteeme moste the honor of my dere vncle the kyng of Englande and trust in his assurance, that neither his royall person, his realme, his power, Nauye, nor ordinaūce shalbe but to our ayde in assistyng our tried title, nor will cōsent to any thyng in dishonoryng vs or our Empire. God defende but we should humble our selfe to his request, our high honor reserued. Lorde God who may esteeme more higher iniuries and wronges then we in our person, our predecessours, and our louyng subiectes haue endured by the house of Fraunce. My lorde Cardinall sayd the Emperor, their pride with our honor we may & must apprehende and ouerthrow by the help of God: With these wordes the counsaill brake vp.

All the lordes and menne of honor of England that day dyned in the Emperors court.

When they were set and serued, it came so to passe that an honorable man of the Emperors as he sat at dyne sayd thus. It is thought that the kynges Maiestie of Englande entendeth to make a peace. Alas that euer he should ymagyn a thyng so muche to the dishonor of the Emperor. The kyng is his vncle, is it not come to his hearyng that all the worlde heareth? It was so that by assent of the bishoppe of Rome and other princes to make peace with vs, the Frenche partie after the battail of Gyngate obtained by Maximilian then archduke of Osteriche, where euerye noble manne of vs fought with the Frenchmen quarter naked, and slewe of them a meruailous number. They desired the doughter of Maximilian named Margarete to wife, whiche lady is Duches of Sauoy and yet liuyng, & she beyng like an Emperors childe was deliuered into their handes as quene of the realme, with diuers tounes in Picardie redred with her and partie of high Burgōnie, and treasure meruailous. Nowe sithen thesame Maximilian had spoused Iane doughter and heire of Fraunces duke of Britaigne, whiche lande the Frenchemen ouer rāne and spoiled, and she constrained to sue vnto Charles kyng of Fraunce for a safe conduct to passe through his realme to Maximilian her spouse, and vpon the same safe conduct graunted, the sayd ladie Iane passyng through Fraunce with a small company, was by ſaine Charles taken at Ambois & there married her against her will, whervpon he forsoke the lady Margarete and sent her againe to her father themporor without redyluer or rendryng againe the tounes that were deliuered with her. And where as the duke of Geldre is subiect to the Emperor, is he not yet at this day by the procurement of the Fienche kyng, rebell? And where also by iust title the realme of Naples ought to be vnted to the croune of Castell, did not the Frenche kyng faine a iorney into the holy lande pretending title by Ienamy brother to the great Turke beyng then captiue in Rome, and by a craftie treatie obtained the sayd Ienamy, & so passed into Naples without perill, and seized all the lande into his handes, & then prisoned he thesame Ienamy? Thus to the great dammage of Castell, he made claime to Naples by Margaret quene of England late wife to Henry the vi.

The kyng of Nauerne is euermore vassal to the house of Aragon & Castell, yet the Frenche kyng caused him to rebell, hopyng therby to subdue the sayd countreys.

Or late daies the Frenche kyng by false treason caused sir Robert de la Marche to submitte himselfe to the Emperors maiestie, who receiued him vpō his othe & fidelitie, pardonnyng all offences past. Is not this false traitor returned, and is of the Frenche partie? How may that court, that counsaill, that kyng that realme that consenteth to treason & perjury by maintenaunce of traitors be called honorable? Hath not the French kyng sworne, and is bounden neuer to retaine the Switchers in wages to make warre against the Emperor? & yet doth at this day. And albeith that his Maiestie speaketh not of these thinges, yet he well

well considereth them. I trust verely sayd this noble man that God sayeth, *vive Burgoigne*, enery man that heard this rebursal, knew that it was true, howbeit he was not answered, but some Englishe knightes sayd, syr you haue sayd well, and as God will all must be Thus was this narracion ended

In this season the Emperor gatte the toune of Mewzon: Also of the Emperors partie a great army arriued in the Duchy of Mylan & also the Emperors power besieged the noble cite of Messiers, but the capitaine called *Franciscus* was suspected of treason, for he removed with the hoste from the seage without knowlege of the Emperor.

The Emperor made a seage volant aboute the cite of Turnay, for the reskue wherof and also of Messiers the French kyng made a great army and him selfe in person

Duryng this seage the Frenchemen toke a Spaniardes ship laden with Englishemens goodes at Margate within the kinges streames, not without great slaughter on both parties, yet the Frenchemen were Clx. men, and of Spaniardes and Englishemen, only. xxv.

The kyng of Denmarke Cristianus came to se the emperor his brother in law beyng a stately prince, yet meanes was made that the lorde Cardinal and he spake together without great signe of amitie.

The lorde Cardinal after he had sojourned in Bruges by the space of xiii daies & concluded diuers matters with the Emperor & accomplished his comission: he tooke leaue of his Maiestie, and likewise did all the hoble men of England, & after couenient iornies arriued with al his company at Calyce, where thembassadors of Fraunce taried him, & immediatly after his arriuyng he treated w<sup>th</sup> the of peace, yet not so earnestly as he did before & that perceived well the sayd Ambassadors & wrote therof to the Freche kyng, yet the welth & prosperitie of both f<sup>r</sup> realmes and their subiectes were highly reasoned betwene the Cardinal and the sayd Ambassadors, especially for fishyng, wherevpon was concluded that the subiectes of both the princes might freely fishe on the sea, and repaire to any porte of thone or thother prince without robbing, spoylyng, or takyng vnto the second day of February next.

The French kyng with a mightie army & himself in person repaired to the couñtre of Cambray, myndyng to passe the streites, but they wer w<sup>st</sup>anded by the Emperors power, yet he cōtinued there frō October vnto Nouembre w<sup>th</sup> out any thing doying, to the great displeasure of the French kyng. The duke Daleson hearyng that, made preparacions w<sup>th</sup> the Almaynes to passe the marrys by the point Dassans & there the Almaynes had made bridges of Pypes and vessels, and brought thither their great ordinaunce The Emperor beyng in the toune of Valécian and therof aduertised, caused strong watche to be made, and as they would haue passed, the bastarde Emery, & the capitaine of Gaunt with xii. C. men mette with them, where was a great conflicte and many men slaine, and at the last the Almaynes wer put to flight and their bridges and other prouisions broken: Of the Frenche partie wer slaine in this conflicte xiii. C. men, and of the Burgonians were slaine the bastarde Emery, the capitaine of Gaunte and iiii. C. men.

The lord Cardinal after he had long treated with the Ambassadors of Fraunce and could not bryng them to no conformitie of peace, he sent to the Emperor the lord of saint Iohns and sir Thomas Boleyn knyght to aduertise his Maiestie therof.

Likewise the sayd lord Cardinal sent to the Frenche kyng the Erle of Worcester and the bishop of Ely to exhorte his grace to peace, he hard them, but he gaue them but fewe wordes to answere, and after they had been. xix. or xx. daies in his hoost, they tooke leaue and returned to Calyce.

Duryng the continuance of the Cardinall in Calayce all writtes and patentes wer there by him sealed and no shyriffes chosen for lacke of his presence.

The kyng of Hungary sent an Ambassador to the kynges highnes for ayde against the Turke, whom the Cardinall honorably entertayned duryng his abode in Calayce. His comyng was for ayde as men sayd against the Frenche kyng.

The lorde Cardinal after the returne of the Englishe Ambassadors from the Emperour and from the Frenche kyng, tooke shippyng and landed at the porte of Douer, the xxvii. day



of Nouember, and there toke his iorney to Blechyngly, where the kinges grace welcomed him, geuyng him also thankes for his great paines and trauail.

This tyme the Frenche kyng layde seage to the toune and Castle of Hedyng, the Burgonions perceuyng they were not furnished for the defence thereof, forsoke the sayd toune and castle and fledde into Flaunders to no litle reioysyng of the sayd Frenchemen.

The Admyrall of Fraunce named Mounsire Bonyfet with a puissaunt armie made signe as though he would passe into Nauerne, howbeit sodainly he reculed with his hoost and beseagled the toune of Fontraby in Biskay, and brake the fyrst, second, and third walle thereof with his ordinaunce meruailously. And after gaue a fresche assault to the same. The Spaniardes (notwithstanding that the ordinaunce was caryed into Nauerne for defence thereof) defended themselves manfully and slewe of the Frenchemen. vi hundredeth and moo, and of the Spaniardes. lx. slaine. Then the capitaine of Fontraby made serche what vitayles was in the toune, and founde that there was but for two meles, he called the inhabitauntes and menne of warre together declaryng their great necessitie, and sayd the battery of the walles discourages vs not, but the great necessitie of victalles, wherfore we must do like the Wolfe that runneth from the wood for hunger to his death, and considering the great scarcitie of vitayles in Byskay, by meanes wherof we cannot be vitailed we must nedes rendre the toune. Neuerthelesse they kept the toune seuen daies after that they had neither bread, fleshe fruite nor oyles in the same, but onely herbes and water, yet at last herbes failed also, by meanes wherof they rendred the toune by composicion, and or the Frenchemen entred, they deliuered the Englishbemen all their goodes out of the toune.

The Frenche kyng lyng embattailed in the countrey of Cambray sodainly brake his campe, not muche to his honor. Great waies was this tyme in Italye in so muche that the Emperours hoost wanne the cite and countrey of Mylan to the high displeasure of the Frenche kyng, for he lost there many of his nobles and other capitaines & men of waire.

Thus the Frenche kyng returned into his countrey without reskuyng the cite of Turnay, neuerthelesse he sent them a letter which was taken by the people of the Countye of Nasson, the tenour whereof foloweth.

Trustie and welbeloued we grete you well, lettyng you to wete that dayly before vs appeareth your true faythfull seruises, by that you abode within our cite of Turnay with great reopardie, to the muche honor of vs and our realme, and to your praise and manly fame for euer, and vs to be your good lord for the demerites of your so high seruises. And where as we entended the relief and reskue of you and our sayd subiectes and cite of Turnay, we considering the weale of our persone and realme, haue remoued vs from that purpose. Wherefore we may no more say vnto you but God and Mounsire saint Denys be your succours.

When the Countie of Nasson knewe that no reskew should come, he then sent for more people and ordinaunce and planted siege on all parties of the cite. Then the capitaine of the Castell and Prouost of the cite after thei knewe of the Frenche kynges reitre, and after long consultacion amongst them had, rendred the Cite and Castle by appointment, that is to say, that the Burgeises should haue xv. daies to depart with bagge and baggage, leuyng behynd them all the ordinaüces aswel of the Castle as of the Cite. Thus was the Castle and Cite of Turnay rendred into the Emperors handes the last day of Nouember, the yere of oure lorde God M.D.xxi

This yere many goodly and gorgious Mōmeries were made in the court to the great reioysyng of the Quene and ladies and other nobles beyng there.

The last day of December the Cardinal accompaigned the Emperors Ambassadors to the court where they were honorably receiued and highly feasted duryng their abode there, and many sumptuous and gorgious disguisynge, enterludes and bankettes made in the same season.

Pope Leo dyed and Adryan chosen.

This yere was a great pestulence and death in London & other places of the realme,  
and

and many noble capitaines died, as the lorde Broke, sir Weston Browne, sir Ihon Heron, sir Edward, sir Ihon Peché and muche other people.

The bishop of London Doctor Fitz Iames likewise deceased this yere, and Doctor Tunstall was preferred to the same benefice.

The lorde Thomas Hawarde eile of Surrey, came out of Ireland to the court the. xxv. day of Ianuary, when he had been there the space of. xx. monethes in great trauail & pain, and often tymes sore troubled by the wylde Irishé, howbeit by his noblenes and manhod he brought the lordes of Ireland to the kynges due obeysaunce, and had of them many victories to his perpetual laude and praise.

The Frenchemen this tyme spoiled & shamefully robbed the kynges subiectes on euery coast of the sea, so that wheresoeuer the kyng roade his poore subiectes came with lamentacions and cryes shewing his grace of the crueltie of the Frenchemen & of their inhumane dealing with them, but euer the Frenche Ambassadors promised restitution of euery thyng, but none was restored.

In this moneth of Ianuary, the kyng commaunded all his shippes of warre to be made in a readynes, which was done with all diligēce.

About this tyme the duke of Albany arriued in Scotland, notwithstanding that the Frenche kyng sware vnto the Cardinall that he should neuer come into Scotlande without the kyng our souereigne lordes consent, but for all that he had cōmission frō the Frenche kyng although the Frenche kyng wrote to y kyng that he was entred Scotlande without his assent.

The second day of February, the kyng beyng at Grenewiche, came thether the Cardinal with a Legacion from Leo bishop of Rome, and also his ambassadour, on whō waited many a nobleman, the kyng met them at his chamber doore welcōmyng them as though they had both come from Rome. Then sayd the Cardinal, high and victorious kyng it hath pleased our lorde God to indue your grace with a great multitude of manifolde graces as a kyng electe in fauor of the high heauen, and so appeareth presently by your noble persone, so formed & figured in shape and stature with force and pulchritude, whiche signifieth the present pleasure of our lorde God wrought in your noble grace. And further he praised his wisdom, prudence and leaſnyng, with many other goodly wordes in the praise of his most noble grace. And finally the Cardinal declared how the sayd bishop of Rome had sent his highnes an Acte in Bull vnder leade, declaryng therein his grace to be the defendor of the Christian fayth, and his successors for euermore.

Defender of  
the fayth.

And when his grace had receiued the sayd Bull and caused it to be redde & published, he went to his chapell to heare Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadors of sundry princes, the Cardinall beyng reuested to syng masse, the Erle of Essex brought the Bason with water, the duke of Suffolke gaue thassay, the duke of Northfolke helde the towell, and so proceded to Masse. And that done gaue vnto all them that heard the masse cleane remission & blessed the kyng and the Queene and all the people: then was the Bull eftsones declared, and trumpettes blew, the shalmes and saggbuttes plaid in honour of the kynges newe style. Thus his highnes went to dinner in the middes whereof the kyng of Heraldes and his compaignie began the *larges*, crying *Henricus de gratia rex Anglie, & Francie, defensor fidei, & dominus Hibernie* thus ended the dinner, with muche habundance of vitall and wyne, to all maner of people.

The. x. daie of February, the Lord Hodie chief Baron of the kynges Eschequer gaue ouer his office, and for hym was admitted by the Cardinall, master Ihon Fitz Iames, a right honorable man & well learned.

In this tyme was much busines betwene themperor & the French kyng, wherefore the kyng sent to the sea sixe good shippes, well manned and vtailed for the warre: the Admiral was called Christopher Coe, a man expert on the sea, for saffegarde of the Merchauntes, and other the kynges subiectes, that were greuously spoyled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scottes, and other rouers.

Thus



This tyme the viii. daie of February, the lorde Dacres Wardein of the Marches of Scotlande entered into Scotlande with. v. C. men, by the Kynges commaundement, and there Proclaimed that the Scottes should come into the kynges peace, by the first daie of Marche folowynge, or els stande at their perilles, the Duke of Albany beeyng then within five miles, with a mightie power of Scottes.

The. xi. daie of February, sir George Neuell lorde a Burgayny, beeyng then prisoner in the Tower was brought to Westminster, and ther in the kynges Bêche confessed his enditement of misprision, in the cause of Edward late Duke of Buckyngham to bee true, and after the open confession thereof, led again to the Tower.

The lorde Montacute the kynges cosyn, was about this tyme recôcled to his graces fauor, whiche had been prisoner in the Tower, with sir Edward Neuell knight, this sir Edward Neuell was forbidden the kynges presence, for bearyng fauor to the Duke of Buckyngham.

This yere the second of Marche, certain noble men of the Empire arriued in England to passe into Spain, who were honorably receiued, and in honor of them greate Iustes and triumphes wer made, and that finished and doen, thei toke then leaue and departed on their iorney.

Also this tyme commission was geuen throughout the realme, for generall musters to be had, to knowe what power might be made within thesame, & also men swoine of what substance and landes thei wer of And the Cardinal aduertised of thesame: not without grudging of the people, & maruelynge why thei should be sworne for their awne goodes.

The citee of London was this moneth aduertised of the comynge of the Emperor, wherefore was made greate preparacion: and the citezens sent the kynges grace one hundred tall men well harnessed, to furnishe his nauie, appoynted to kepe the narowe seas.

The French kyng certified the kynges highnes, by his letters dated in Marche, how the Graunde capitain of Fraunce, the Countie de Palais, Monsire de Lescue, and other noble men of Fraunce, had won the toune of Milain, whiche was not true, for within five or sixe daies after, it was evidently known that the Frenchmen were beaten backe, and had wonne nothing, to their great shame and reproche.

Moreouer thesame season the Frenche kyng wrote his letters to the Seignory and commonaltie of Gean, to send him three Carectes, and sixe Galeis furnished for the warres, vnto his porte of Breste, to maintain his warres against the foresaied Emperor, who made him by their letters suche a reasonable excuse, that he was contented to spare them for that tyme.

The kynges highnes kept this yere his Easter at his manour of Richemont, and caused his amner to make enquire, eight miles round about thesaid manour, what poore people was in euery parish. And for the eschuyng of murther, that most commonly fortunéd euery goodfridaie, by reason of the great resort of poore people, his grace caused them to be refreshed with his almose at home at their houses.

About this tyme a iouer or theif of Scotlande, called Duncan Camell, was after long fight taken on the sea, by a Squier of Cornewall called master Ihon Arondell, and presented to the kynges highnes, who committed hym to the Tower of London, where he remaignéd prisoner a long season after.

In the moneth of Marche, as you haue hard before, came certain noble men from the Emperor to the king, which the more to solace them enterprised a Iustes, he himself was chief on the one side, his courser was barded in cloth of siluer, of Denmarke embrodered with L. L. L. of Golde, and vnder the letters a harte of a manne wounded, and greate rolles of golde with blacke letters, in whiche was written, *mon nauera*, put together it is, *ell mon ceur a nauera, she hath wounded my harte*, and thesame suite was his base

Then folowed sir Nicolas Carewe, his base and barde was white Damaske, on whiche was embraudered with Clothe of gold: a prison and a man loking out at a grate, and ouer the prison came from the prisoner a rolle, in whiche was written in Frenche, in prison I am

at libertie, and at libertie I am in prison, and all his apparell was garded with shakelles of siluer.

Then folowed therle of Deuonshire, the lord Roos in one suite, their apparell was white veluet, embraudered with cloth of golde, wrought in deuce an harte, traueised crosse wise with a chayne, the which deuided the bard in foure quarters, in two quarters was a hand of golde holding a spere of the worlde, on the other two quarters was two handes holding two plumes of fethers, and on the borders were written my harte is betwene ioye and pain

Then folowed Anthony Kyngston, and Anthony Kneuet, their apparell was a hart bounde in a blew lace embroudered on Crimosyn sattin: and written about with letters of gold, my harte is bounde

Nicholas Darrel had a bard and base of black sattin, embraudered full of hartes, turned or broken of gold, and written in letters of siluer, my harte is broken

Last of that bend was Anthony Broune, whiche had a bard of siluer full of speeres of the world broken, set on hartes broken al of gold written aboute in letters of blacke *sance remedy*, without remedy.

Then entered the Duke of Suffolke and his bend, all in bardes and bases of russet veluet and cloth of siluer, embraudered with braunches of paunces of golde, at these Iustes were many speeres broken, whiche the straungiers highly commended.

The third day of Marche, the Cardinall made to the kyng and the Ambassadors, a great and a costely banket, and after that, a plaie and a Maske, their garmentes were russet sattin and yelow, all the one side was yelow, face and legge, and all the other side was russet.

On shrowetewesdaye at night, thesaid Cardinall to the kyng and ambassadors made another supper, and after supper they came into a great chamber hanged with Arras, and there was a clothe of estate, and many braunches, and on euery braunche, xxxii torchettes of waxe, and in the nether ende of thesame chamber was a castle, in which was a principall Tower, in which was a Cresset burning: and two other lesse Towers stode on euery side, warded and embattaile, and on euery Tower was a banner, one banner was of iii rent hartes, the other was a ladies hand griping a mans harte, the third banner was a ladies hand turnyng a mannes hart: this castle was kept with ladies of straunge names, the first *Beautie*, the second *Honor*, the third *Perseueraunce*, the fourth *Kyndnes*, the fifth *Constance*, the sixte *Bountie*, the seuenthe *Mercie*, and the eight *Pitie*. these eight ladies had Millian gounes of white sattin, euery Lady had her name embraudered with golde, on their heddés calles, and Millein bonettes of gold, with Iwelles. Vnder nethe the basse fortresse of the castle were other eight ladies, whose names were, *Dangier*, *Disdaim*, *Gelousie*, *Vnkyndenes*, *Scorne*, *Malebouche*, *Straungenes*, these ladies were tired like to women of Inde. Then entered eight Lordes in clothe of golde cappes and all, and great mantell clokes of blew sattin, these lordes were named. *Amorus*, *Noblenes*, *Youth*, *Attendaunce*, *Loyaltie*, *Pleasure*, *Gentlenes*, and *Libertie*, the kyng was chief of this compaignie, this compaignie was led by one all in crimosin sattin with burnyng flames of gold, called *Ardent Desire*, whiche so moued the Ladies to geue ouer the Castle, but *Scorne* and *Disdaim* saied they would holde the place, then *Desire* saied the ladies should be wonne and came and encouraged the knightes, then the lordes ranne to the castle, (at whiche tyme without was shot a greate peale of gunnes) and the ladies defended the castle with Rose water and Comfittes, and the lordes threwe in Dates and Orenge, and other fruites made for pleasure, but at the last the place was wonne, but Lady *Scorne* and her compaignie stubbornely defended them with boows and balles, till they were driven out of the place and fled. Then the lordes toke the ladies of honor as prisoners by the handes, and brought them doune, and daunced together verie pleasauntly, which much pleased the straungers, and when they had daunced their fill, then all these disuisered themselves and wer knownen and then was there a costely banket, and when all was done, the straungiers tooke their leaue of the king and the



the Cardinall, and so departed into Flaunders, geuyng to the kyng muche commendacion.

The kyng like a pryncce which forseeth all thynges, saw what warre was likely to ensue, caused the erle of Suirey his high Admirall, to put in readines his nauie, both for the conduityng of the Emperoure into Englande, and also for the defence of his subiectes, which were daily robbed and spoyled on the sea, which lordc Admiral toke suche diligence with the helpe of sir William Fitz William his Vice Admirall, that all the shippes by the beginnyng of Aprill, were rigged and trimmed, and in especial the Henry grace of due, the kynges great ship, was brought out of the riuier of Thamys into the Dounes, redy to saile whether God and the kyng would.

In this yere at the Assise, kept at the castle of Cambridge in Lent, the Iustices, and all the gentlemen, Bailiffes and other, resorting thether, toke suche an infeccion, whether it wer of the sauer of the prisoners, or of the filthe of the house, that many gentlemen, as sir Ihon Cut, sir Giles Alington knyghtes, and many other honest yomen thereof died, and all most all whiche were there present, were sore sicke and narrowly escaped with their liues. And this yere also died Sir Edward Pownynges, knight of the Gartier, sir Ihon Pechy, and sir Edward Belknap, valiaunt capitaines, whiche were suspected to be poisoned, at a banket made at Arde, when the two kynges met last.

This yere also, was not without Pestilence nor Dertlie of Corne, for Whete was sold this yere in the citee of Londō, for. xx. s. a quarter, and in other places, for. xxvi. s. viii. d. And in thesame yere in Decēber, died Leo bisshop of Rome, for whom was chosen, one Adriā born at Vtnke the Emperors schoole master. And in thesame moneth Gawan Douglas bisshop of Dunkell in Scotland, fled out of Scotland into England because the Duke of Albany was arrued into Scotland, and had taken vpon hym to be gouernour of the kyng and the realme to whom the kyng assigned an honest pencion to liue on. But when the king was aduertised, that the Duke of Albany was arrued into Scotland, and had taken the rule of the young king, his realme, and he much doubted the sequele of the matter, considering the Duke to be heire apparant to the Croune of Scotland: wherefore he sent Clarēseaux kyng of Armes into Scotland, and with commaundement, that he should declare to the Duke of Albany, that his pleasure was, that he should depart f̃ realm of Scotland for two causes, the one, because it was promised by the French kyng, at the last metyng, that he should not come into Scotland, the second was, that the kyng of England was vncle to the kyng of Scottes, and by the very bond of nature, ought to defende his nephew. Wherefore his nephew beyng young, and in the custodie of him, to whom, if he should d̃ye, the realme of Scotlande should discende, he doubted lest he might be brought out of the way, as other dukes of Albany before had serued the heires of Scotlande: and if he would not auoyde Scotlande, then Clarenceaux was commaunded to defie hym, which accordyngly did defie hym, at holy Rode house in Edenbrough, to whom he answered, that neither f̃ Frēche kyng, nor the kyng of Englande, should let him to come into his naturall countrey, by their agrement: also as touchyng the young king, he saied, that he loued him as his souereigne lord, and hym would kepe and protect, against all other.

When Clarenceaux had reported his answer to the King, then he knewe well that all this was the French kynges dooyng, wherefore he prouided in all thynges accordyngly. The erle of Anguise of Scotland that had married lady Margaret, the king our souereigns lordes sister, late wife vnto kyng Iames of Scotlande, that was slain at Floddon felde, was by the Duke of Albany, sent by a coloured Ambassade into Fraunce, where shortly after his arriuyng, he was by the French king committed to prison, and his brother likewise, which escaped after as you shall heare.

Also the. vi. day of Marche, the French kyng commaunded all Englishemēes goodes beyng in Burdeaux, to be attached and put vnder a reste. and likewise detained the kynges tribute, whiche he should haue out of Fraunce, and also the French quenes dowry, and  
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when the kyng sent to him for it, he euer gaue faire wordes, and made delaies, but none was paid, and euer the Ambassadoi promised faire

¶ THE. XIIIJ. YERE.

THE king this yere kept the daie of. S. George with great solempnitie, at his manour of <sup>The XIII.</sup> Richemond, where wer elect to the ordre of the Gaitier, Done Ferdinando brother to the Emperor, and Archduke of Oystrike, and sir Richard Wyngfeld knight by the Emperors meanes, to the which the Emperor had geuen twoo hundred pound pencion, out of the house of Burgoyne, whiche sir Edward Pounynges before had of the Emperors gifte. During this war betwene the Emperour and the French kyng, and the Lyng of Englande lying still an entreator betwene them, the Englishemen were robbed on both sides, and when their wines were laden at Burdeaux, and ready to depart, it was attached, and the Merchautes put in prison the poore fishermen on the coast of Englande, sometye met with the Frenchmen and them spoyled, but to no recompence of that they had taken. The Merchautes of England, that had factors at Burdeaux, complained to the king of England, and shewed hym how the Frenche king, contrary to his league and his safeconduit vnder his seal, by his people, had taken their goodes and emprisoned their factors and frendes, and can haue no remedy. Likewise complained all the Merchautes, how their shippes were restrained, in euery port of Fraunce, and their goodes rifeled, and could haue no redresse. The king and his counsaill, were sory to here the cōplaintes of the merchautes, and so concluded to sende for the Frenche Ambassadors, to whom the Cardinall saied sir how is this chaunce happened? you haue promised euer in the name of the kyng your Master, that all leagues, promises, and couenautes should be kept, & that full restitution should be made of euery hurt and dammage, and that ferme peace and amitie should be kept, but contrary to your sayng our Merchautes be robbed and spoyled, yea, although he hath graunted his safeconduite, yet they bee robbed, and staid at Burdeaux, is this the peace that you and your Master hath promised to be kept? Is this the amitie that he was sworne to kepe? Is this the word of a kyng? Is this the strength of a prince, to breake his safeconduite? And where you aduised our merchantes to sue in Fraunce for restitution, and did warrant them to be restored, you haue put them to coste and losse, for they haue sued there long and spent their goodes, without any redresse, and now you haue emprisoned them. and kept bothe them and their goods, is this iustice? is this restitution? And all this was your procurement, and now see what is come of your promise, surely this may not be suffered, and beside this the kyng is enformed, that the kyng your Master hath spoken by hym, foule and opprobrious wordes, yea in the hearyng of the Englishemen whiche were sore greued to hear such wordes, and were not able to be reuenged.

The Ambassadour of Fraunce saied, that it was not so as it was reported well saied the Cardinall, if you note the counsaill of Englande so light as to tel fables, you may be misauised, But I pray you how often times hath the kyng written to your master, for restitution of such robberies as hath been done, and yet can haue no redresse? Wherefore he graited letters of marke, which may stand with the league, but Monsire Chastillon hath taken Merchautes of Englande prisoners, and hath sent certaynether for their rāsome, this is open waire & no peace. Master president Polliot or Pulteyne the French Ambassador, answered, that suerly the matters which wer alleged against his Master the Frenche king, were but forged matters and not true. but he saied that for a truthe, daily in the Court of Fraunce, were complaintes made against the Englishemen for greate robberies done by them, aswell on land as sea, affirmyng it to be done in the Emperors querrell, and yet the French kyng for the loue he beareth to England, letteth his subiectes to be vnhard, although he daily lament the great iniury, done to hym and his subiectes by Englishemen. and therefore my lord I praie you, beleue no suche tales, till I haue tolde you the truthe.



Then the Cardinall called the foure hostages, that laie here for the paiment of money for Turney, and they foure wer deliuered, to my lord of saint Ihones, to sir Thomas Louell, to sir Andrewe Wyndsores, and to sir Thomas Neuell, euery knight one to kepe safe, and none of their countrey to speake with them priuely, and the Ambassador was comaunded to kepe his house in silence, and not to come in presence, till he was sent for, whiche ordie sore abashed the French hostages, and thambassador, but there was no remedy, and commaundement was geuen to the Maior of London, to attache all the Frenchemen, body and goodes and them to kepe in prison, till he hard farther of the kynges pleasure: then were all the Frenchmen in London and aboute, arrested and brought to prison, so that all the prisons in and aboute London, wer full of them, some of them escaped by speakyng Dutch, and saied thei wer Fleinynges borne, whiche was not tried.

The kyng for safegard of his Merchautes, sent. xxviii goodly shippes to the sea, well manned and trimmed for the warres, and seuen othershippes hesent toward Scotland, whiche entered the Frith, and proffered to enter into the Scottishe shippes that lay in the hauen, but the Scottes ran their shippes on land, and the Englishemen folowed with boates and landed, and set the shippes on fire, and at Lithe toke certain pisoners, whiche they brought into Englande, & still the kynges great nauie kept the narrowe seas, for then was neither peace betwene Englande and Fraunce, nor open warre as you haue hard.

The kyng had perfect knowlege, that Charles the Emperour would be at the kinges toune of Calice the. xxiii. daie of May, to passe thorow Englande into Spain, wherefore the kyng sent the Marques Dorcet, accompanied with diuerse knightes and gentlemen, to receiue hym at Calice whiche in all hast sped them thether. Likewise the Cardinal toke his iorney toward Douer the. xx. daie of Maie, and rode through London, accompanied with two Erles. xxxvi Knightes, and a hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishoppes, ten Abbottes, thirty Chapelleines, all in veluet and Sattin, and yomen seuen C. and so by iorneyng he came to Douer the xxvi daie beyng Monday In the meane season tidynges were brought to the kyng, that the Frenche kyng had sent a great army toward Calice, and the men of war laie at Abuile, Munstrell, Bullein and about, nere the Englishe pale. Wherefore the kyng like a Prince that forsaue all, and entending not to be disceaued, wrote to his nobles, and cities, and townes, to prepare certain menne of warre in a readines, which was shortly done, and so they were sent to the nauie, so that thei might shortly be at Calice if nede required.

On Sundaie the xxv. daie of Maie, the lorde Marques Dorset the bishop of Chichester and the lorde de Lawarr, with other noble men, at the water of Grauelyng, receiued the Emperour in the name of the kyng of England, and so the Emperour embraced them, and he hauyng in his compaignie many noble men came toward Calice, where at the Turnepike in the lordeship of Marke, he was receiued of sir Edward Gylford Marshall of Calice, with fiftie menne of armes richly beseen, and also a hundred archers on horsebacke, then in passing forward toward Calice, the ordinaunce shot terribly, and into Calice he was receiued with procession, and then by the lord Baine deputed there, and the counsaill of the toune then was he receiued by the Maior and Aldermen of the toune, and then of the Maior and merchautes of the Staple, and so conueighed to the Checker, and there lodged.

On the Mondae, he and al the nobles of Spain, Flaunders, & Germany, toke ship at Calice and landed at Douer, at foure of the Clocke at after noone, and with hym the duke Daluoy, the Prince of Orenge, the Countie Nassaw, the Countie Vascord, the lorde Ogmond, and the Marques of Brandebrough, all in one ship bote. The Cardinall receiued hym on the Sandes, accompanied with three hundred Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen of Englande: the emperor embraced the Cardinall, and toke hym by the aime, and so passed forward and toke horses and rode together to Douer Castle, where thei wer lodged Thenglishe Harbingers diligently lodged the Emperours train, euery man according to his degree. The kyng of England was come to Cantorbury, the. xxvii. daie of Maie, and receiued by  
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the Archbishop and hearyng of the Emperors arriual, with a smal compaignie on the Wednesdaie, beyng the Assension euen, he rode to Douer, and with muche ioye and gladnes the Emperour and he met, and there tailed the Assension day, and on Friday the kyng brought the Emperoure aborde on his newe ship, called the Henry grace a dieu, a shippe of xv. C. and rowed aboute to all his greateshippes, whiche then lay in Douer rode, the Emperour and his lordes, muche praised the making of the shippes, and especially the artulerie, they saied, they neuer sawe shippes so armed.

The same day at after none, the two noble princes marched forward to Cantorbury, where the Maior and Aldermen receiued them without the toun with a solemne oracion, to whom the Emperors Secretary answered ornatly. Then the Princes with their sweardes borne naked before them, and the Emperour on the right hand entered the citee of Cantorbury, and so with procession were brought to Christes Church where the Archebishop and twelve prelates mitred, receiued them vnder a Canapy, and so they offered to the Sacrament, and the Emperour was brought to the Bishoppes palace, where he lay for that night, and the kyng lodged at saint Augustines. The morowe after, these princes remoued to Sityngborne, and the next day to Rochester, where the Bishop receiued them with the whole Couent, and on Mondaye they came to Grauesede by one of the Clocke, where they toke their Barges, and there wer thirty Barges appoynted, for the straigiers, and so by vi of the clocke they landed at Grenewiche, the same Monday the ii. day of Iune, where the emperor was of the kyng newly welcōmed, and al his nobilitie, and at the halle doore the Quene and the Princes, and all the Ladies, receiued and welcomed hym and he asked the Quene blessing, (for that is the fashion of Spain, betwene the Aunte and Nephew) the Emperour had great ioye to se the Quene his Aunte, and in especiall his young cosyn germain the Lady Mary. The Emperour was lodged in the kynges lodging, whiche was so richely hanged, that the Spanyardes wōdered at it, and specially at the riche cloth of estate nothyng lacked that might be gotten, to chere the Emperour and his Lordes, and all that came in his compaignie, were highly feasted.

The Wednesday, the more to doo the Emperour pleasure, was prepared a Iustes royall. on the one part was the kyng, the Erle of Deuonshire and x more compaignions, al mounted on horsebacke, their apparell and bardes, were of rich Clothē of golde, embroudered with siluer letters, very riche, with great plumes on their heddes. This cortypaignie tooke the felde, and rode aboute the tilte then entered the Duke of Suffolk, and the Marques Dorset, and x with them barded, and their apparel was russet veluet, embroudered with sundery knottes, and culpyns of golde. The emperor and the Quene, with all the nobles stode in the gallery, to behold the doying. The king ran at the duke of Suffolk viii courses, and at euery course brake his spere. Then euery man ran his courses, and that done, all ranne together volant, as fast as they could discharge, and when the speres appoynted were broken, then they disarmed and went to supper. After supper, the Emperour beheld the ladies daunces, and sodainly came to the chamber, sixe noble mē, appareled in Crimosin veluet and cloth of golde, and a mantell of taffeta, rolled about their bodies, and hoodes and bonettes of cloth of gold, on their heddes, and veluet buskins on their legges: these Maskers entred and daunced a greates while with the ladies, and sodainly entered sixe other Maskers with drumslades, appareled in long gounes and hoodes of cloth of gold, of whiche number was the kyng, the duke of Suffolk the prince of Orange, the Countie of Nassow, the Countie of Naueray, & Monsire Egremond. Whē these maskers wer entred, the other auoyded and then they toke ladies and daunced, so that the straigers much praised them, & when the tyme came, euery person departed to their lodgyng.

Thursday, they that Iusted the other daie appoynted themselves to Tornay, & as the kyng was armyng him, there came to him one George Luffkin and shewed him, that there was one come frō his Ambassador in Fraunce, the kyng called for the messenger, and deliuered his letters, whiche the king red, and said to sir William Compton, tell the Emperour that I



haue newes, if it pleaseth hym to come hether: sir Willyam Compton, went and told this to the Emperoure, which without delay came to the kyng, whiche shewed him the letters frō sir Thomas Cheney his Ambassador wherein was contened the definitive answer, made as wel to sir Thomas Cheney, as to Clarenceaux king of armes of Englande, by the Frenche kyng, to the kynges requestes for you shall vnderstande, that the kyng of Englande, by his Ambassador, had often times demaunded, both his tribute and his lawfull debte, and also restitution to be made to his subiectes greued, and farther also the league was broken by makyng warre on the emperor, so that now by the league the kyng of Englande should be enemy, to him that first brake, and did take part with the other, yet he had so much compassion, on shedyng of Christen blood, that he would not entre waire, but shew himself a mediator and an entreator betwene them. And vpō this sir Thomas Cheney had often moued the French kyng, & also moued him to take peace with the Emperior for two yeres, so that some mediacion of peace might be entreated, in the meane season to all this the French kyng answered, we haue well considered your Masters desire, to the which we nothyng agree, nor hold vs content with his request. Sir said thambassador, the kyng my Master shal be aduertised of your answer by me, wherefore I beseeche your grace of safe conduite, to returne into England. then saied the kyng there is an officer of armes come hether out of Englande, let hym come and he shalbe haid, and haue an answer, to which thing sir Thomas Cheney answered not but with reuerence departed, and so on the. xxi. daie of Maie, the said officer called Clarenceaux king of armes, came to the French kynges chāber at Lyons, which was accompanied with many noble men and gentlemen, and then Clarenceaux put on his cote of armes, and desired license to speake, and libertie according to the law of armes, which was to him graūted. then he declared that where the French kyng was bound by league tripartite, to kepe peace with the Emperor, and with the king of England, and whosoever first brake, the other two to bee enemies to hym, to the which league the Frenche king was sworne, whiche league he apparantly had broken by making warre on the emperor, by sir Robert de la Marche and by hymself in persone. Wherefore the kyng by that league must be his enemy and take parte against hym.

Also he declared, y the French king kept away the kynges rētes and debtes, dewe to him. Also that he detained the dower of the French quene. Also that contrary to his promise, he had sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland: Also that contrary to Iustice he had imprisoned Merchantes, hauyng his safeconduite, where they should haue gope in safte, seyng there was no warre proclaimed, betwene him and the kyng his master all these articles with many mo, y kyng my master is iedy to proue. Nay said the French kyng, I began not the war, nor sent Robert de Lamarche to make warre, but commaunded him to the contrary, and or I made warre in proper person, his warre was open, & he had our toune of Tournay strongly besieged, and as touching the duke of Albany, it hath cost me xl. M. Frankes, to kepe hym out of Scotland, but I could not let him to go into his awne cōtreie. This the Frenche kyng excused his vnruth. Sn I am farther charged to tell yon, said Clarenceaux that the king my souereigne lord, holdeth you for his mortall enemy, from this daie furth & al your adherentes well said the French kyng, I looked for this a great while agone, for sith the Cardinal was at Bridges, I looked for no nother, but you haue done your message: then y French king rose and departed, and Clarenceaux was conueighed to his lodgyng, and shortly after, sir Thomas Cheney and he, by safe conduite, departed and came to Bullein, and there Monsire Fayett capitain there, them both staid till the Ambassador of Fraunce, whiche had lien in England, wer clerely deliuered out of Calice. The whole circumstance of the demaūdes and defiaunce, and the French kynges answer, was contened in the letter, which was brought to the king, which shewed it to the Emperor (as you haue hard) but while the king and the Emperor looked on the letter, a sodein noyse rose emongest both their subiectes, that it was a letter of defiance, sent to them bothe by the French kyng, whiche was nothyng so. Thus now was the warre open of all parties,  
betwene

betwene Englande and Francke, & Spain When the two princes had of this matter com-  
moned their fill, the emperor called for a horse, and the king himself was armed, and bothe  
the hendes that should Tornay mounted on horsebacke, and the emperor in rich apparell of  
tissew and richely tripped brought the king into the felde, and toke vp his horse, that all  
men had great pleasure to beholde him. The men of armes fell to Turnay, and brake  
sweardes and were seuered, and after came together again, and fought very valiantly, and  
when tyme was, the Herauldes cried the disarme, and assone as the king was vnarmed, the  
Emperour and he went to supper, and after supper the kyng brought the Emperour into the hall where  
was a Cupperd of xii stages all set with great mightie plate all of golde, at the vpper end hong  
three clothes of estate, and the hall was full of great lightes, set on gylte braunches

When the twoo Princes were set and the queene also, then entered in eight noble menne in  
Maskers apparell with visers, then garments blacke Veluet garded and embroidered with  
golde in cut woorkes and ouer that double Lumbeirdy Mantelles of Sattyn, folded vp on  
euery shulder, curiously embroidered, these Maskers were halfe Englishe Lordes, and  
the other straungiers They toke Ladies and daunsed, and sodainly entered eight other  
Maskers, appareled in ryche tinsel, matched with clothe of golde, and on that Turkey  
Clokes rebanded with Nettes of Siluer, and betwene the knyttynge Flowers of Golde, and  
the Mantelles were Crimosyn Sattyn, both the Maskers had hoddies of Crimosyn Sattyn,  
these lustie Maskers entered, and reuelled lustely, and when they had done, then were there  
spices brought and wyne, and then all persones began to drave to reste

On Friday, the sixe daie of Iune, the King and the Emperour with all their com-  
paignies marched toward London, where in the waie, a Myle from Sainet Georges barre,  
was set a riche Tente of Clothe of golde, in whiche Tente were two lodgynges, one  
for the Emperoure, and another for the Kyng, where these two Princes shifted them.  
And when the Herauldes had appointed euery man their rounge, then euery man set  
forwarde in ordie, richely appareled in Clothe of gold, Tissew, Siluer, Tynsell, and Vel-  
uettes of all coloures There lacked no massye Cheynes, nor curious Collers an Englishe-  
manne and a straungier rode euery together, matched accordyng to their degrees, before the  
Emperoure and the Kyng, were borne twoo swoirdes naked, then the two Princes folowed  
in Coates of Cloth of Golde, embraudered with Siluer, bothe of one suite after them  
folowed the Kynges Henchemenne, in coates of Purple Veluet pieled and paned with  
riche Cloth of Siluer, and with them were matched the Emperours Henche menne  
in equall number, in Coates of Crimosyn Veluet, with two gardes, the one Golde,  
and the other Siluer then folowed the Capitaines of the Gardes, then the Emperours  
Garde on the right hande, and the Englishe Garde on the left hande, and so in  
this ordie they went forwarde, and in the waie the Maior Ihon Milborne and his brethren,  
in fine Skarlet and well horssed, met with the Emperoure and the king where one sir Thomas  
More knight, and well learned, made to them an eloquent Oracion, in the praise of the  
two princes, and of the peace and loue betwene them, and what comfort it was to their  
subiectes, to see them in such amitie, and how that the Maior and Citezens, offered any  
pleasure or seruice that in them laye, next their souereigne lorde

When this was done, they came into Southwarke, where the Cleigie receiued them in  
Copes, with Crosses, and Sensors, and so kept the one side of the strete, all the citee  
through When they came by the Marshalsee and the Kynges Benche, the Emperoure desired  
pardon of the kyng, for the prisioners, and he at the Emperours request, pardoned a great  
number of them When they were almoste at the Budge foote, there was a staie, the Kyng  
demaunded the cause, and it was told hym, that the Herauldes had appoynted two gentle-  
men to ride together, one was the Ambassadour from the Marques of Mantua, to the Em-  
perour, and the other from the Citée of Seines, to the Emperour also, and the Citée and  
the Marques were not frendes, the Emperoure incontinent, sent his Lorde Chamberlaine  
to them, sayng that if they would that daie do him honour, he would thanke them,  
and if they would not ride as they were appointed, he praied them to departe. When  
the



the Lorde Chamberlaine had told this message, they rode furth and made no more curtesie.

When they were come to the Drawe Bridge, there were set Targettes, of the Armes of the Emperour and his Dominions, richely paincted, and on the other side, stode one greate Giaunte, representyng Hercules, with a mightie Clubbe in his hand, and on the other syde stode another Giaunte representyng Sampson, with the Iawe bone of an Asse in his hande. These twoo Gyauntes helde a greate Table, in the whiche was written in Golden letters, all the Emperours Stile. From the Drawe Bridge, these twoo Princes passed to the middes of the Bridge, where was raised a faire edifice, with Towers embattayled and gates, all like Masonrie, of White and Blacke, like Touche and White Merbell. above this buyldyng was a faire pagiaunt, in the whiche stode Iason all in harnes, hauyng before hym a golden Flece, and on the one side of hym stode a fiery Dragon, and on the other side stode two Bulles whiche beastes cast out fyer continually, & in a tower on the one syde stode a fayre mayde representyng the lady Medea whiche was very straungely and richely apparelled, and aboue this Pagiant were written these verses.

*Leticia quantum mimis prebebat, Iason  
Aurea Phryee vellera nactus ouis  
Leticia quantum tulerat Pompeius et Vrbi  
Hoste triumphato Scipio Romulidum  
Tantum tu nobis Cæsar mitissime Princeps  
Intrans Henrici Principis hospitium*

When they had beholden this Pagiant they came to the Conduite at Gracious strete where was made a Bastyle with two great gates, one on the one side of the way and the other on the other side, and ouer these gates and betwene these gates were made. iiii. great towers embattaile and vaulted with lopes Lucanes like Masonry, curiously wrought, and in the middle tower was a clothe of estate, vnder whiche sat one representyng the Emperour, and in the third tower represetyng the kyng And Charlemayne hauyng ii. swordes gaue to the Emperour the sworde of Iustice, and to the kyng the sworde of triumphant victory, & before him sat the Pope to whom he gaue the crowne of thorne & thre nayles About this pagiant were sette all the armes of the electors of thempyre and these verses in a table.

*Carole Christigenum decus et quem scripta loquuntur  
A magno ductum Carolo habere genus  
Tuque Henrice pia virtutis laude refulgens  
Doctrina ingenio religione fide  
Vos pretor consul sanctus cum plebe senatus  
Vectos huc fausto sydere gestit ouans*

This Pagiant was made by the Esterlynges.

From Gracious strete, where the Esterlynges stode in good order, the twoo princes came to Leden halle wher ouerthwart the great strete that leadeth to Byshoppes gate was erected a goodly Pagiant wonderfull curiously wrought, it was xxxviii. fote broad and lxxx. of length, at the fote of the pagiant sat Ihon duke of Lancastre called Ihon of Gaunte sonne to kyng Edward the thirde. This duke sat in a rote and out of the rote sprang many braunches curiously wrought with leaues whiche by pollecie dropped swete water, and on euery braunche satte a kyng and a quene or some other noble parsonage descended of the sayd duke, to the number of lv images, and on the toppe stode the Emperour, the kyng of England and the Quene, as thre in the vi. degree from the sayd Duke. This pagiant was made at the cost of the Italyans & was much praised. Frō thence they passed to þe conduite in Cornehill where the strete was enclosed frō side to side with ii. gates to open & shutte, and ouer the gates wer arches with towers embattaile set with vanes and scutchions of the armes of the Emperour & the kyng, and ouer the arches were two towers, the one full of Trompettes and the other full of Shalmes and shagbuttes whiche played continually:

Betwene

Between these two towers was a palace, vnder a riche clothe of estate sat kyng Arthur at a rounde table & was serued with x. kynges, Dukes and erles all bearyng Targettes of their armes, and when the Emperour and the kyng were commyng thither a Poet sayd.

*Laudat magnanimos vrbs inclita Roma Catones*

*Cantant Hannibalem punica regna suum*

*Gentis erat Solime rei ingens gloria Dauid.*

*Gentis Alexander gloria prima sue.*

*Illustrat fortes Arthuri fama Britannos*

*Illustras gentem Cesar & ipse tuam*

*Cui deus imperium victo precor hoste secundet*

*Regnet vt in terris pacis amica quies*

When this was sayd, they came to the Stockes where was a quadiant stage where on was an Herber full of Roses, Lylies & all other flowers curiously wrought, and byrdes, beastes and all other thynges of pleasure. And aboute the Herber was made the water full of Fyshe, and about it was the Elementes, the Planettes and Starres in their places and euery thing moued, and in a type in the toppe was made the Trinitie with the Angels singyng, and the Trinitie blessed the kyng & the Emperour, and vnder his feete was written, *behold the louer of peace and concord.* And so they passed through the Poultry to the great Conduite in Chepe, where was made on the right hand of the sayd Conduite (as they passed) in maner quadiant with fower towers, at euery corner one with goodly types, betweene euery tower was a gallery, whiche galleries were hanged with clothes of golde and siluer within, and so couered ouer. The forefrontes of euery gallery were hanged with white & grene Saicenet wrethed and with great knottes of golde, let doune in maner of a valence before the gallery, and vnder the sayd galleries were Targettes and scutchions of the Emperours and kynges aimes & deuises. In the fower towers were fower fayre ladyes for the cardinall vertues so richely besene that it was great pleasure to behold, euery vertue hauyng a signe and token of her propriete. In the galleries sat children mixed with men and women singyng and playyng on instrumētes melodiously, of the whiche sort one child sayd these verses folowyng.

*Quanto amplexetur populus te Cæsar amore*

*Testantur varijs gaudia mixta sonis*

*Aera, tube, Lili, cantus cithare calamusq,*

*Consona te resonant organa disparibus*

*Vnum te celebrant, te vnum sic cuncta salutant*

*O decus, O rerum gloria Cæsar aue.*

When they came to the stādard there was made a mightie buildyng of tymber w towers set in carbles forced with aiches buttād & al abilamentes embossed, & the lynterelles inhaunsēd with pillers quadrant & the voutes in orbes with crobbes depēdyng & mōsteis bearyng vp the pillers & in the roffe was a louer swelling, in ȝ top wherof was a bāner of the armes of Spayne & England & al the pagiant ful of scutchions of aimes of the ii princes. At the fote of this pagiāt sat Alphons kyng of Spayne richely appareled, & out of his brest a braunche of whiche sprang many kynges, quenes and princes whiche satte and were liuely peisones richely appareled euery one with a scutchion of aimes shewyng their manages, and in the highest braunche satte the Emperoi, the kyng and iust v and vii. degrees frō the sayd kyng of Spayne, to whō the sayd kyng Alphons sayd these verses.

*Carole qui fulges sceptro & diademate sacro*

*Tuq, Henrice simul stemmata iuncta gerens*

*Alter germanus, lux alter clara britannis*

*Miscens Hispano sanguine vterque genus*

*Vivite felices quot vixit secula Nestor*

*Vivite cumane tempora fatidice*

After this pagiant seen & the verses sayd, they came to the hile Conduite in Chepe where



## THE. XIII. YERE OF

was buylded a place like heauen curiously painted with cloudes, erbes, starres & the Ierarchies of angels, in the top of this pagiant was a great type & out of this type sodainly issued out of a cloude a fayre Lady richely appareled, & then al the minstrels whiche wer in the pagiant played & the angels sang, & sodainly againe she was assumed into the cloud whiche was very curiously done, and aboute this pagiant stode the Apostles whe of one sayd these verses.

*Ob quorum aduentum tocies gens ipsa britanna  
Supplex dijs superis vota preterq, dedit  
Quos etas omnis, pueri, iuuenesq; senesq;  
Optarunt oculis sepe videre suis  
Venistis tandem auspicio Christi Marieq;  
Pacis coniuncti federe perpetuo  
Heroes saluete pꝛj, saluete beati  
Exhilarant nostros minima vestra lares*

Yet you must not forget for all the pagiantes how the Citezens well apparellled stode within railes sette on the lefte side of the stretes and the clergie on the right side in riche copes, whiche sensed the princes as they passed and all the stretes were richely hanged with clothes of golde, siluer veluet and Arras, and in euery house almooste Mynstrely, and in euery strete were these two verses written in letters of gold.

*Carolus, Henricus, uiuant defensor vterq;  
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie*

Whiche verses wer also wrtten in other tables in golden letters as ensueth.

Long prosperitie

To Charles and Henry

The one of fayth

The other of the Church

Princes mozte puissaunt.

Chosen defendant.

When they were past the lytle Conduite they came to the west ende of Poules church and there they alighted, there was a Canapie redy vnder whiche they two stode and were receiued by the Archebishop of Cañtorbury and xxi. prelates in pontificalles and so they offered at the high autel and returned to horsebacke and came to the Blacke Friers where the Emperor was lodged in great royaltie. All his nobles were lodged in his newe palace of Brydewell, out of the whiche was made a Gallery to the Emperors lodgyng, whiche gallery was very long, and that gallery and all other galleries therewer hanged with Arras. The kynges palayce was so richely adorned of all thynges that my witte is to dull to descriue them or the riches of the hangynges or the sumptuous buildyng and giltynge of chambers.

On saterday the kyng & the Emperor playd at tennice at the Bayne against the princes of Orenge and the Marques of Brandenborow, & on the Princes syde stopped the erle of Deuonshyre and the lorde Edmond on the other syde, and they departed euen handes on bothe sydes after xi. games fully played.

On Whitsunday the viii. day of Iune themperor and the kyng with great honor both apparellled in cloth of siluer reysed, gounes and cotes and all their apparell white except their bonettes, roade to the Church of saint Paule & there heard high Masse whiche was song by the Cardinal whiche had his trauers & cupborde, and before Masse ii. Barons gaue him water & after the Gospell ii. Esles, and at the last lauatory ii. Dukes whiche prde the Spanyardes sore disdayned. When Masse was done they returned to Brydewell where the Emperor was highly feasted. Thesame sonday at after noone the two princes went by water to Westminster and roade to the church, and in ridyng all the sanctuary menne cryed mercy and pardon, they were so hasty and presed so nere that the sergeauntes at armes could scape kepe them from touchyng the Emperor and the kyng: The Cardinal gaue them a gentle answere whiche contented them for a tyme. They wer receiued with Procession into the Abbey & heard euensong & beheld kyng Henry the seuenthes chapel &  
then

then went into Westminster halle, at the largenesse wherof the Emperor muche meruailed, then they turned to Brydewell and there supped.

On Mōday thei dyed in Southwarke with the duke of Suffolke and hunted there in the Parke, and roade to the Manor of Richmond to their lodgyng and the next day to Hampton court, where they had great chere and from thence on thursday to Wyndsore where he hunted Fryday and Saterday and on Sunday at night in the great halle was a disguysing or play, theeffect of it was y there was a proud horse which would not be tamed nor brided, but amitie sent prudence and pollicie which tamed him, and force & poissaunce brided him. This horse was ment by y Fiēche kyng, & amitie by the king of Englād & themperor, & the other prisoners were their counsaill & power, after this play ended was a sumptuous Maske of xii. men and. xii women, the men had in garments of clothes of golde and siluer lose layde on crimosyn Satten, knit with pointes of gold, bonnettes, whoddes, buskyns, were all of gold. The ladies were of thesame surte whiche was very niche to beholde, and when they had daunced, then came in a costly bāket and a voidy of spices, and so departed to their lodgyng.

Monday, tewsday, and wednesday the princes and their counsaill sat moste parte in counsaill, and on *Corpus Christi* day, they with great triumph rode to the college of Wyndsore where the Emperor ware his Mantle of the Garter and satte in his owne stall, and gaue to the Herauldes CC crownes that day bothe the Princes receiued the Sacrament, and after Masse both sware to kepe the promises & league eche to other, for the which amitie great roy was made on both parties, & after y Masse was ended they went to dyner where was great feasting.

On Fryday they departed out of Wyndsore, & by easy iorneyes came to Wyncheste the. xxii. day of Iune, & in the way thether, the Emperoi hunted the Hart Before the Emperor was come to Wynchester, therle of Surray Admyrall of England with all y kynges Nauy was come to Hampton, and with him the lorde Fitz Water, the Barō Curson, sir Gyles Capell, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Richard Wyngfeld, sir Richard Iernyngham, Fraunces Bryan, Anthony Browne, Iohn Russell, of whiche many were of the kynges preuy chamber: These with many more departed from Hampton with. xxx shippes well manned & ordinaūced in the ende of Iune, noysyng that they should only skouie the seas for safeguard of the Emperor and his Nauye But they had priuy instruccions to go to another place as you shall heare after.

All this while was the warre on the parties of Picardy botte, and the capitaine of Bullain called Payet wrote euer mockyng letters to the garrison of Calaise, and said if the garrison of Calaise would issue out, he would mete with them halfe way with iii M men. When upon sir Edward Guildfoide Marshall of Calayce, whom the capitaine of Bullain called the fyrebrand, because it was his badge, sette furthe out of Calayce the xi day of Iune with xii C men, & went out of Calayce and sent a pousuant to the capitaine of Bullain certifying him that he was comyng with h s fyrebrand, and bad him kepe promise. This officer declared the message to him, but he came not Furth marched sir Edward til he came to Marguison and taryed to see whether the capitaine of Bullayne would come or no And when he sawe he came not, he set fyre in the toune, and the light horsemen forayed the beastes and pilage, and brent villages all about whiche was well perceived in the cuntrye a farre of, and towarde night all the crew came home with good pilage, & on the morow sir Edward Gyldford deliuered a prisoner franke and free, on condicion he should tell the capitaine of Bullain that he had bene at Marguison with his fyrebrand, whiche truely did his message, for the whiche the capitaine brake his head all the castels and fortresses in the Englishe pale were well manned and vntailed and lacked no artillerie, so that the Frenchemen could do them no harme.

When the Emperor and the kyng laye at Byshops Waltham they ioynly sent letters of defiance to the Duke of Lorraine, as alye and confederate with the Frenche kyng The fyrst day of Iuly the Emperors nauie sailed before Hampton, which wer C lxxx goodly shippes.



shippes. When the Emperors shippes were come, he tooke leaue of the kyng and had great gyftes geuen him and muche money lent to him, & so the. vi. day of Iuly he toke his shippe, so with all his Nauy he made saile towarde Spayne where he arriued in safetie the. x. day after.

The kyng about this very tyme sent to the cite of London to borow xx M. pouñdes, whiche sore chafed the citizens, but the somme was promised, and for the payment the Mayer sent for none but for men of substaunce. Howbeit the craftes sold muche of their plate. This somme was payde, and the kyng sent his letter promysing payment of thesame and so did the Cardinall. The poore men were content with this payment and sayd, let the riche churles pay, for they may well. Lyke loane was practised through al the realme, and priuy scales deliuered for the repayment of the same.

This season the xxi. day of May was the cite of Geane gotten by the Emperors capitaine called *Octauiano de Columna*, whiche had with him iiii. M. and iiii. C. Spaniards v. M. Italyans, and iiii. M. Lancelknightes & in the cite was taken *Porter de Nauarro* the Frenche kynges familiar capitaine and all the lordes of Geane whiche fauored the Frenche kyng were taken prisoners or slaine, and especially one *Octauiano Faragoso*, whiche ruled there for the Frenche kyng, was euil punished. The spoyle of the cite that the souldiers had, was iiii. M. dukates beside the pillage, whiche was a great thyng.

Now let vs returne to the lorde Admyrall of Englande whiche departed frō Hampton as you haue heard, and so with his Nauy sayled and skoured the seas, and at last came on the costes of Britaigne, and commaunded the wysest Masters and Mariners to boy the hauen of Morles, whiche was done, and so the next night all the flete came to the hauen of Morles in safetie & moored their shippes together. Then all men were commaunded to harnes and to auance their standardes, & all souldiers to geue their attendance on their capitaines, and then the lorde Admyrall appointed and caused. xiiii. pieces of ordinaunce called Faucons to be brought to land and drawen furth with strēgth of men. Then when all menne that shoulde go forward were landed, the lorde Amyrall with banner displayed tooke lande on the Estside of the hauen the fyrst day of Iulye, and with him a fayre band of souldiers, as the lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, sir Richard Wyngfelde, sir Richard Iernyngham, sir Wyllyam Barantyne, sir Adrian Foskew, sir Edwarde Donne, sir Edwarde Chamberlayne, Fraunces Bryan, Richard Cornewall, sir Anthony poynes, sir Hēry Sherborne, and the vice Admyrall, sir Wyllyam Fitzwyllyam, sir Edmond Bray, sir Gyles Capel, sir Wyllyam Pyrton, sir Ihon Cornewalles, sir Ihon Wallop, sir Edward Echyngham, sir Wyllyam Sidnay, Anthony Broune, Gyles Huse, Thomas More, Ihon Russell, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Owdayle, Thomas Louell, Robert Iernyngham, Anthony Kneut, sir Ihon Tremaille, and the Master of the kynges ordinaunce, sir Wyllyam Skeuyngton, and Ihon Fabian sericant at armes, by whom this enterprise was chiefly moued as was reported, with many other gentlemen and souldiers, to the nombre of vii. M. The lorde Admyrall and sir Richard Wyngfeld brought these men in good orde of battail, & caused Christopher Morres the master gunner to see all thinges redy prepared, & then about. viii. of the clocke of the sayd fyist day they marched towarde Morles in good ordre of battail with banners displaid. The *alarme* rose in the country and came to the toune of Morles wheyby the gentlemen of the country shewed themselves prickying, but when they heard the Gunnes they fledde as though they neuer vsed warre. They of Morles armed themselves & went to the walles and shut the gates and laide ordinaunce where was most ieopardie. The Englishemen had gone fure long myle and were now come to the subberbes of the toune: then the Englishemen archers shot, and the Brytons them defended then the Admyrall commaunded the toune to be assauted, then the lord Fitz Water and the Baron Curson quartered the toune on all sides: The Englishemen shot with long bowes, and the Brytons with crosse bowes, whiche defended themselves manfully Before the port Moruet where is a *Meason de dieu*, At this gate gaue the assaut sir Richard Wyngfelde, Nycholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, sir Ihon Wallop and all their bendes

hauyng

trauiyng with them thre pieces of ordinaunce called Faucons, whiche the māster Gunner oft tymes shot, but the Brytons had set the gate full of hacbushes, then the Gunner sayd, haue at the wicket, and in the smoke of the gunnes let vs entre the gate, the gentlemen assented, then the sayd sir Christopher Gunner strake the locke of the wicket, so that it flew open, then in the smoke ranne to the gate the said Christopher and the other forenamed gentlemen, and when Christopher came to the gate he found the wicket open & entred, and the gentlemen folowed, the Brytons defended them selves, but thei were put backe or slaine, then was the great gate opened and then entered the souldiers that were on the other side of the toune. When the Brytons on the walles sawe the towne gotten, some fled at the posteine and some by another way, the best way that they could. Therle of Surray with banner displayed toke the market place. Then the souldiers fell to pillage and rifled the chestes and ware houses of marchauntes, for the toune of Morles was very riche. and specially of lynnyn clothe, the gentlemen suffered the souldiers to do what they would. When the souldiers had taken their pleasure of the toune as muche for a tieth or more then they could beare away.

Morles assaulted & gotten.

The lorde Admiral commaunded the truimpettes to blow, & commaunded all men to set fyre in al places of the toune (the holy places only except) the fayre market place was set on fyre, & the subbuibes brent ardātly. Wherefore all men were commaunded to their standaides, and aboute vi. of the clocke the army retreated, and as they passed they brent the villages and places. And when night approached they drewe together and all that night lay on land abyding their enemies. And the next day with honor they tooke their shippes, and when all menne were shipped and fewe or none missed. The lorde Admirall commaunded xvi. or xvii. shippes small and great lyng in the hauen to be brent. Then they sailed furth and came to anker before saint Polle de Lyon, then he commaunded that the foyst and other small shippes and great botes should be manned to enter into an harborow for shippes called pypoll or pypole, which was sone done, the boates entred y place & some laded, but then the Brytons were to strong, & so they tooke their boates & bet the Britons on the shore, & the Brytons shotte great ordinaunce at the Englishemen, but it did them no harme, and yet the Englishemen brent a shippe of. CC. and many small vessells. When tyme came the whole flete sailed into the hauen of Brest and with barkes and rowe barges entered the hauen and toke land, and some Englishemen did so muche that they set fyre in houses nere the castle. And euen as the Englishemen sayled by the cost the Brytons them as- kryed and fortified the lading places, yet dayly the Englishemen skymished with the Brytons and came safely to their shippes againe: with this warre was all the duchy of Brytaine sore troubled.

When the lorde Admirall had wonne the toune of Morles as you haue heard. He called to him certaine squyers whom for their hardynes and noble courage he made knyghtes, fyrst sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Anthony Broune, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Thomas More, sir Gyles Husc, sir Ihon Russell, sir Ihon Raynsford, sir George Cobham, sir Ihon Cornwalles, sir Edward Rigley and diuers other. And after he wrote letters to the kyng of his good spede: In the whiche he muche praised all the gentlemen and souldiers for their hardynes. When he had sayled a while on the seas, he had letters sent from the king that he should retreite, and so he came with all his flete vnder the Isle of Wyght to a place called the Kow, and then he departed from his shippe and came to Estamstede the. xxi. daye of Iulye to the kyng, of whom he was well welcomed you may be sure. And so on munday the. xxiii. day of Iulye the kyng and he came to London to the Cardynals place and there sat in counsaile to determine what should be done. After this the kyng dyned with the Cardinall the. xxiii. day of Iulye, where he rehersed that he had knowlege that the Admirall of Britaigne was in Morles with a C. horsemen and a C. crosbowes, and yet he fledde, and the kyng muche comended the lorde Admirall for his paine and hardynes, and praised them of his garde, and specially fiftie, whiche left pylferiing and neuer went from the lorde capitaine.

On the third day of Iuly. while this enterprise was done at Morles, certaine Frenchemen to the number of, CCC. horsemen came nere to the castle of Guysnes and kept them selfe



in a close couert and so appered. viii. or x. horsemen and came nere Guynes: out of the Castle came. viii. Englishe archers and issued out of the gate and fell with the Frenche horsemen in skymishe: to the Frenchemenes reskue came. iii. men of armes and skymished with the archers whiche were a fote Then out of Guynes issued. xii. dimilances all Welshemen and iane boldly to ȝ Frenchemen in reskue of the fotemen, Then the whole bend of Frenchemen issued out and set on the Welshemen, the fotemen shotte while arrowes lasted and were faine to fight with swordes, the Welshmen kept themselves together and entred into the bend of Frenchemen and brake their speies and then fought so with swordes that they made away, so that they escaped from the bend of. CCC. horsemen, and of the Frenchemen were slayne iii. men and. v. horse, the fotemen were ouerpressed and solde their lues dere, for the Frenchemen slew them all and would take none prisoner, they were so angry with the killing of their horse.

Also the xxv day of Iuly sir Wylliam Sandes treasurer of Caleys and sir Edward Guilforde Marshall, with banners spred, issued out of Caleys with. xiiii. C. menne and went into the Frenche pale lokyng for Mounsire Foyat whiche was a great mocker and a coward. But when he appeared not they went to Whitsand baye and set it on fyre, and the people fled to the churche whiche was fortified and stode at defence, the body of the churche was wonne and then they toke the Steple and some yelded themselves, but the remnant by counsaile of a priest maintained so long that the Steple was fyred and then the priest cried succour, but it was to late and so the Frenche people was fayne to lepe the Steple & diuers perished, & they that were saued werled to Caleys as prisoners. Farther the xxiii. daye of the same moneth Thwaites a capitain of an Englishe shippe tooke land beside Bullein, and went vp the myle into the countrey to a toune called Newe Castle and forayed all the countrey and in his retorne set fyre on the toune & brent a great part thereof maugre the Bullenoyes, and with his bowes and men whiche only was. vi. score, he put backe, lxxx. Hagbushes and. CCC. men of warre of the countrey and so came to their shippe with all the botie and lost no mā notwithstanding they were sore folowed to their shippe.

On the. vi. day of Iuly the Cardynal satte in the starre chamber at Westminster where he sayd, my Lordes it is reason that you should know the honorable enterprise done by the lorde Admural and his compaigny in Brytaigne whiche hath dispoyled and destroyed the great toune of Morles in Brytaigne with all the villages and countrey adioynyng to the same, which is in the Frenche dominion, whiche mischiefe had neuer seen if Fraunces the Frenche kyng had kept his othe and promise. For he is bound that he should neuer retayne the Swyches from the Emperior, nor that he shall not invade any of the Emperiors landes or dominions, whiche he hath done, for he hath invaded the cōtrey of Henaude and Cambrises and taken Hedyng and Fountraby with many other inuyses. For when the kyng sent me and other to his great costes the last yere to Caleys to treate a vntie and peace betwene them, all our saynges were by the Frenche kyng turned into a mocquery. Also cōtrafy to his promise he hath suffeied Duke Ihon of Albany to entre the realme of Scotland to the great peril of the yong kyng Nephieu to our soueraigne lorde, and also entendeth to mary the Queene of Scottes contrary to the kynges honor. The sayd Frenche king also withholdeth the kynges dueties & his sisters dower. wherfore of necessitie the kyng is entred into warre, for no prince will suffie the wrong that the French kyng offereth him as an vntrue & forsworne prince, wherfore for your owne welth you must now ayde your prince, trustyng to punishe and chastice him to your great honor and fame.

Then by commaundement wer all Frenchemen and Scottes imprisoned and the goodes seized, and all suche as were denizens were commaunded to shewe then letters patentes, & suche as were allowed had all their goodes and the other not, and all Frenchemen and Scottes that had maryed Englishewomen, the wifes and children had halfe the goodes deliuered vnto them, and euery denizen to fynde suertie for his good abearyng, and al the other if they would be bayled to fynde suerties for their trueth and alleageaunce or els to be kept in prison, for the portes were so kept that they could not flye.

The kyng nowe beyng entered into the warres thought not to slepe and let the Frenche kyng alone, wherfore by his letters he commaunded certain persones with their powers to come to Lodon in August. They that wer appointed came accordyngly, euery man with suche a number as to him was appointed, and when they had mustered at London before the kynges Commissioners they were xiiij. M. menne with the Pyoners, and they wer sent to the lorde Admyral whiche lay at Douer with. iiii. M. mē, but because haruest was not done, & vitale at Caleys was to litle for so great an armye, wherfor they lay in Kent at tounes there a good space, whiche made vitayle dere there

In this sommer the lorde Rosse and the lorde Dacres of the North whiche were appointed to kepe the borders against Scotland did so valiantly that they burned the good tounes of Kelsy and. lxxx. villages and ouerthrew. xviii. towers of stone with all their Barnkyns or Bulwerkes.

The kyng also in this moneth was credibly enformed that the Duke of Albany prepared an army Royal of Scottes and Fienchemen to inuade England. Wherfore the kyng appointed the Erle of Shrewsbury his lorde Steward to be his Licutenaunt generall against the sayd Duke and his inuasions, whiche directed his letters to the shyres of Yorke, Darby, Stafford, Shropshyre and al other beyond Trent that all menne should be in a readynes.

The xx. day of August the Cardynall sent for the Maior, Aldermen and the moste substantiallest comunoners of the Cite of London, where he declared to them that the kyng had appointed commissioners through the whole realme of England for to swere euery manne of what value he is in mouables, the more to be in readynes for the defence of this realme. And the kyng for the loue he beareth you would haue syt with you himselfe, but for certayn other affayres in his warres to be done he is letted, and so hath appointed me your Commissioner. Wherfore in conuenient tyme certafye me the number of all suche as be worth one hundreth poundes and vwarde, to the entent I may sweare them of their values for fyrst the kyng asketh of you your louyng hautes and due obeysaunce, the whiche shall appeare by your conformitie to his requestes, and when the value is taken he desyreth only the tenth part of goodes and landes whiche is the least reasonable thyng that you can ayde your prince with. I thinke euerye one of you wyll offer no lesse, as for the spiritualue euery manne is in the shyres sworne and shall and wyll gladly pay the fowerth part to the kyng and lue on the iii. partes. Nowe to your part I am sure you wyll not grudge, therefore name me the men of substaunce and for the meaner sort, meane Commissioners shall be appointed. Sir sayd a marchaunt if it may please you, how shal this tenth part to the king be deliuered? in moncy plate or Iuels sayd the Cardynall at a value. O my lorde sayd the Aldermen it is not yet twoo monethes sithe the kyng had of the Cite. xx. thousand pound in ready money in loane, whereby the Cite is very bare of money, for Goddes sake remember this that riche marchauntes in ware be bare of money. Well sayd the Cardynall, this must be done and therefore go about it. So the Aldermen resorted to their Wardes and named suche as they iudged to be of that value, which came before the Cardynall and moste humbly besought him that they might not be sworne for the true value of their substaunce, for the true valuacon to them was vnkownen and many honest mennes credence was better then his substaunce, and therefore they doubted the perill of periury. Well sayd the Cardynall sythe you dread the cyme of periurye, it is a signe of grace, and therefore I wil for you borowe of the kyng a lytle. Make you your bylles of your owne value likely to report your fame and then more busynes nedeth not, for you see what two costly armyes the kyng hath ready against bothe Fraunce and Scotland, therefore nowe shewe your selves lyke louyng subiectes, for you be able inough. And I dare sweare the substance of London is no lesse worth then two Myllions of golde. Then sayd the citezens we would to God that it were so; and the cite is soie appaired by the great occupying of strangers. Well sayd the Cardinal it shalbe redressed if I lue. But on Saturday next I shall appoint one to receiue your bylles, and he that is of credence more then of Substance let him resorte to me and I will be secrete and good to him.

Thus



Thus the Citezens departed in great agony sayng, that at the last loane some lent the fifth part and now to haue the tenth part was to muche. And here note wel that the. x. thousand poundes that was lent was not taken as the. xx. of euery mannes substaunce, but it should be allowed as part of the. x. part, and this valuacion should performe vp the whole. x. part Great was the mourning of the common people as it is euer in suche cases of paymentes But in the ende one doctor Tonny-a secretary to the Cardinal came to the Chapifer house of Poules, and to him the citezens brought in their bylles and on their honestie they were receiued, whiche values afterwarde turned them to displeasure.

The spiritualltie made suite to thelorde Cardinal that no temporal men should sit to examyne them to be made prauy to their possessions & goodes wherfore bishoppes and Abbottes were appointed commissioners to take the value of their substaunce.

In this season was great plentie of vitayle sent to Caleys, and to the lorde Admyral were sent Tentes and Paulions some of lxx. lodgynges for him and other noblemen.

The Friday beyng the xxii. day of August certain Welshemen were lodged at a poore village named Cause, because in Caleys was verye narrow lodgyng, and the same night. CCCC. Frenchmen passed by Caleys haue for lacke of good watche and came into the same village and set fyre in the house where the Welshemen lay, which ranne awaye naked into the Marishe and saued themselves, but their horses wer taken. This chaunce happned for lacke of good watche.

When the lorde Admyrall had brought all his menne out of the shippes and that all the souldiors were come out of Englande and the ordinaunce set on land, then came into Caleys haunc. xiiii. shyppes out of Spayne from the Emperor whiche set on land. CCC. Spanyardes whiche wer sent to serue the lorde Admyrall and vnder him they were put. When all thynges were ready, thelorde Admyral set in order his battels and for the forwarde he appointed sir Robert Ratchiffe, lorde Fitzwater for Capitayne, and with him diuers knights and gentlemen whiche capitaine kept his men in very good order.

After that battail folowed the ordinaunce, artilerie and other trusses with vitall and all necessaries, & for the capitaine of the horsemen was appointed sir Edward Gyldford, by whom the currers and vewers of the countrey were appointed. The myddle warde ledde the lorde Admyrall himselfe, and in his compaignie the lorde Edmond Hawarde his brother with many worshipfull knightes, squiers, and tall yomen: The last battail was ledde by two valaunt knightes of the Garter sir Wylliam Sandes and sir Richard Wyngfelde, and with them was sir Richard Iernyngham with many other. In good order of battail they passed ouer Newnam bridge the. xxx. day of August to a place called Calkewell & there lodged betwene f Wyndmyl & the Marrishe.

The same day came to the lorde Admyrall a certain nombre of wilde persones, as menne out of seruice and apprentices that ranne frō their Masters and other ydle persones, and him desired that they might be retained in the kinges wages, to whom he answered, that the kyng had appointed the nōbre of suche as should haue wages, whiche was fully complete and aduised them to returne into England and not to loyter there. Then sayd a tall yoman, my lorde here be many good felowes that with your fauor would ieopaid to get or lose, for their mynde is to be reuenged on the Frenchemen enemies to the kyng and his realme. Good felowe sayd the lorde Admyrall, their mindes be good, but if for lacke of conduite they should be cast awaye, it were a losse to the kyng and a great corage to the Frenchemen. Then all the compaignie cried, let vs go in the name of God and saint George. Then after counsaill take he gaue them a Pēon of saint George and bad them aduenture (of whiche they were called aduenturers) and farther bad them that if they got any botie they should euer bryng it to tharmy and they should be payde to the vttermost, and then he gaue them money and cōmaunded them weapons & so the sayd. xxxi. day the sayd aduenturers. iiii. C. in nombre and mo, sette forwaide before the host, but how they did, you shall heare afterwarde

Monday the fyrst day of September the armye remoued towaide Guisnes, which day was very hote & drinke lacked, and water was not nere, so that some died for faintnes, & this night they laye at Guysnes.

Tewsday the second day of September the armye passed towarde Arde and in the golden Valay where the kyng of England and the Frenche kyng met two yeres before, there met with tharmy of England two capitaines of the Burgonyons, the erle of Egremond the Seneschal of Henande, and the lorde of Bauers Admyral of Flaunders with v<sup>c</sup>. horsemen, like men of warre. The lord Admyral in gentle maner receiued these two capitaines and their compaignie & so they ioyned themselves to the Englishe armye, and the same day they tooke lodgyng at Arde south from the toune, where they were wel vitailed, & there lay wednesday all day, and the Burgonyons lay vnder the castle of Mountoriey. The next day they remoued to the vale of Lyekes, & there encaped themselves. Sir George Cobham the same day v<sup>c</sup>. ii. M. men, by the Admyralls comaundement came to the toune of Selloys & set fyre in the toune, & when the toune was on fyre he assauted the castle. They within made resistance, but it auayled not, for the walles were entred & the souldiers taken, and the castle set on fyre, & with gunpouder ouerthrew the walles then v<sup>c</sup>. hast he remoued to a toune called Brune bridge and set it on fyre, and also brent a toune called Senekerke, and also the tounes of Botyngnam and Manstier & so returned to the lord Admyrall whiche gaue him great thanks, The Frenchmen appered in plumpes, but yet they durst not reskue their tounes.

On saterday the lord Admyrall remoued with the whole army to a ground beside saint Nerbyns and there lay all sonday beyng the. vii. day of September, where he sent diuers companies out which forraged the couñtreys & brent many villages as faire as they might traunail: the lord Admyrall caused the toune of Narbyn to be brent, & tooke the castle and rased it and vterly destroyed it.

On Monday the. viii. day, he remoued to Dauerne and brent all the tounes as he passed, and lyng there, he brent the toune of Dauerne and cast doune the castle of Columberge & the castle Rew, but the churches of Dauerne and a house of Nonnes were saued by his comaundement

Thesame day was brent saint Marie de Boys and all the countrey twelue myle about was of light fyre, the people fledde and left tounes and Castelles full of wyne, corne, and all other necessaries, so that in Dauerne the Englishmen found great plentie, whiche for they went away they set a fyre.

The ix. day of Septembre the whole armye came before the toune of Boyardes in whiche was a Church more liker a castle then a Church, for it was depe ditched with drawe bridges and with Bulwarkes fortified and lopes very warlike, The Admyrall beholdyng it sayd, this is like no house of praiser. Then he commaunded his people to entre the dyches and plucke doune the drawe bridges and set fyre in y<sup>e</sup> Church, and with gunpouder ouerthrew it, and brent the toune and all the villages adiacent to the same, the people cried and fledde, well was he that might saue himselfe.

The. x. day, they came to the toune of Vaus, which was nye the toune called Foucamberge and there a company of Frenchmen wer askried, for out of a wood they showed themselves, but they taryed not long, but without profer of encountie they departed. Wherefore the whole armye toke their campe & there lay till the. xii. day which was saterday, euery day sending plumpes out to set fyre in the countrey, and on that day they toke the way to Fyngge or Fryoges, and there brent the toune and destroyed the castle which was very strong

The Sonday beyng the. xiii. day, the lorde Admyral with his compaigny in great raine and yll wether passed by hilles and valeys verrye painefully, and with great labor came to a toune called Blaniow, and there taried monday ail day, & there all day counsailed the capitaines both of England and Flaunders or Burgon what was best to be done.

On tewsday in the mornyng came a trumpet from the Castle of Hedyng and desired to speake with the capitaine, whiche incontinent sent for him. my lorde capitaine sayd the trumpet, the capitaine of Hedyng desueth you to come thither and see the place, and on the walles he wil bring you good lucke, and he prayeth you not to hurt the dere in his parke, and for any other hurt you can do him, he careth not. well sayd the lorde Admyrall, I will send him

Message to  
Hedyng.



The answer him answere by my trumpet. Incontinent he called a trumpet and had him go to Hedyng to Mounsire de Bees and to say to him that he would come to the castle of Hedyng, & if he saue neither man, woman, nor childe. So with that message the trumpet departed & declared it to Mounsire de Bees, whiche sayd that it was spoken of noble corage, and so the trumpet returned, and the same day the campe was reinoued and the whole army came about the castle of Hedyng, at whiche tyme the toune of Hedyng was sore infecte with pestilence, wherefore a generall commaundement was geuen that no mā should ones come into the toune, howbeit some of the Burgonyans did and set fyre in the houses.

Hedyng besieged

When the siege was planted, the ordinaunce was very light for the wayes were so depe and the ground so wet that the great ordinaunce could not be caried. This thing was well debated by the lord Admyral and the capitaines. After they had been there. xi. dayes, fyrst they considered that the castle could not be obtained without great ordinaunce, which in no wise could then be caried, and also if they with the light ordinaunce shotyng should spend all their poudre and not get the castle then in thenn might be reckened great foly, and also they should be in great ieopardie to passe without ordinaunce, and further the plage began sore in the armye, wherefore they determined to leaue the siege and retorne. But while they lay at y<sup>e</sup> toune they bet doune ioffies, galleries, chymnies, and suche other thinges as the light ordinaunce would bete doune, whiche sore defaced the beautie of the castle. They also destroyed all the dere in the Parke, whiche were falowe dere and left none for the capitaine. The Englishemen were clerely determined to haue assauted the castle if the Burgonions would haue done the same but they refused, whiche seying the Englishmen left the assaut alone. For though the Englishemen had gotten it, it should haue been deliuered to the Emperours vse by the treatie, for he clamed it as his inheritaunce, whiche caused the Englishmen to leaue the assaut.

The cause why the castle was not assauted.

The siege raised

And so the xxii. day of September they rered the siege and set them selves in good order of battail and passed styl onwarde til they came to Dorlans and brient the toune, and rased the castle, and fiō thence came to the good towne of Darrier and brent and spoyled the same. Thus he brient all the way as he passed and euei the wether was worse, and men fell sicke, wherefore the Burgonions and the Spaniards returned into Flaunders about Betwyn.

Then the lorde Admyrall saw that it was no tyme to kepe the felde, turned backward in good ordre of battail & came to Calais the xvi. day of October. And while he lay at Calayce he sent out sir Wilyā Sandes, sir Morice Barkeley, sir Wilyam Fitzwilyam with. iii. M. men, whiche brent Mārguyson whiche was newly edified and fortified, they brent also the toune of sauct Iohnes Rhode & Templé toune, & many villages. At this voiage wer takē many prisoners. xiiii. M. shepe, xiiii. C. great cattal as Oxen & Kyen, & xiiii. C. hogges, and vi. C. Mares & Horses, with this great boue this crew returned to Calayce in safetie.

Then y<sup>e</sup> lord Admyrall sent sir Ihon Walop with. ix. C. men to saunt Omers to lye there and at Guynes, Hamines and at Marke, & at Oye left another nombre and left capitaines to ouerse them, & all the soudiers had a monethes wages payde them & so returned into England.

The aduenturers tanced stil and gat many good prayes, & brought to the garrisons, and lacked nothyng they were muche drad of all the common people, for of them they had great prayes, and dayly learned feates of warre whiche made them the holder.

When the lorde Admyrall had set all thinges in an order on that side the sea, he toke shippe & with the Navy came into the riuer of Thames and so to the kyng, of whom he was well welcommed & not vnworthy.

In this season were banished out of Southwarke. xii. Scottes whiche had dwelt there a long season & wer conueied fiō parishe to parishe by the constable like men y<sup>e</sup> had abiured the realme, & on their vttermost garment a white crosse before & another behind.

hynd them. Thus were they conueyed through London Northwarde till they came to Scotlande.

While the lord Admiral was this in Fraunce destroyng the countrey, the noble Erle of Shrewesbury lorde George Talbot & Steward of the kynges houshold prepared by the kynges commaundement a great army toward Scotland. for the kyng was enformed that Duke Ihon of Albany (whiche in y<sup>e</sup> Parliament of Scotland was made lord gouernor of the realme and of the yong kyng duryng his nonage) had raised a mightie & puissaunt host of Scottes to the number of, lxxx M. men as after was well knowen, whiche were wai like appointed, & that he with, v C Frenchemen with handgunnes and other great artillerie was cōmyng forward to invade the west Marches of England adioynng toward Scotland. Wherefore the kyng sent worde to therle of Shrewesbury, which with all diligēce like a noble capitain set forward towardes Yorke, & wrote to therles of Northumberland, Westmeiland and Darby, to the lorde Dacres, Lumley, Clyfford, Scrope, Latemei, Ogle, Darcy, Conyers, & to all other gentlemen to be ready w<sup>th</sup> viii houres warnyng with all their powers, and so in joinyng, he with his power whiche was great, came to the cite of Yorke abiding the ordinaunce, and the lordes and all other thynges necessary in such a case

In the meane season the Scottes were come nigh to the cite of Carleyle and lodged them nigh the water of Eske not farre from Sulway sandes, & there made their abode. Therle of Westmeiland, y<sup>e</sup> lord Dacres, the lorde Roos, the lorde Mountagle, with the knightes of Lancashire, Westmerland & Cumberlānd were ready with xxviii. M. men to haue geuten them battail.

When the Scottes sawe that they could not come into Englād with out battail, the lordes of Scotland drew to counsaile, and amongst all one wyseman sayd, my lordes, hether be we come by the cōmaundement of my lorde Gouvernor the duke of Albany, but for what cause the warre is we should knowe you al remēbre that the last warie was to y<sup>e</sup> realme of Scotland muche preiudiciall. For kyng Iames the iii brought the realme of Scotlād to the best that euer it was: and by his warre it was brought to y<sup>e</sup> woist almost that may be, for by that warre was he & his nobilitie slaine, whiche Scotlād sore lamēteth: Wherefore by mine aduise let vs go to y<sup>e</sup> duke & know of him the cause. Thē thei al came to y<sup>e</sup> dukes court, & therle of Ar rayn an aūcient mā spake for the all & sayd, my lord Gouvernor, by your wil & cōmaundement here is assēbled almost all y<sup>e</sup> nobilitie of Scotland w<sup>th</sup> their power vpō a pretence to en're into Englād, my lordes here would knowe y<sup>e</sup> cause & quarel why this war is begon, if it might please your goodnes, it should wel satisfie then mīdes

The sayyng  
of a Scot-  
tish Erle.

The duke studied a good while & sayd: this questiō would haue been demāded or now: For well you knowe y<sup>e</sup> I for the very loue that I bere to y<sup>e</sup> realme of Scotlād, of the whiche I haue my name, honor & lignage. I haue passed y<sup>e</sup> seas out of y<sup>e</sup> noble realme of Fraunce into this realme of Scotlād. One great cause to bring you to a vnitie when you wer in deuision by reason of which deuision your realme was likely to be cōquered & destroyed. Also y<sup>e</sup> Frenche kyng by my suites & intercessiō wil ioyne w<sup>th</sup> you in ayde against thenglishe nacion: & when this war was determined in y<sup>e</sup> parliament, you made me capitain, authorisying me to invade Englād w<sup>th</sup> bānei displeied then was no questiō demāded of y<sup>e</sup> right or quarel, & that I haue is by your assent & agrement, & that I will iustifie. But to answer your demāde, my thynke you haue iust cause to invade Englād with fyer, sword, & blood, if you be not to forgetfull & without you will beare dishonor & reproche for euer. For you knowe that this realme of Scotlād is our inheritaūce as a porcion of y<sup>e</sup> worlde allotted to our nacion & aūcētors whō we succede. Then where may be better warie then to mainteine this our natural inheritaūce, is not daily seen the great inuasions y<sup>e</sup> thenglishmen on vs make, y<sup>e</sup> great māslaughters & murders with robberies & spoiles that they do dayly? Is not this a cause of warre? To defend the cōtrey is y<sup>e</sup> office of a king, the honor of noble men & the very seruice of chualry, & the dutie natural of y<sup>e</sup> cominaltie. For I thinke it a iust quarel if we might cōquere the realme of Englād & annex it to our realme & make a Monarchie. For sith y<sup>e</sup> beginning of our habitacion in this Isle of Britaigne, that naciō & we haue been ene-

The an-  
swere of the  
duke of Al-  
bany.



mies, & vs they haue euer hated, & yet we haue euer with stode thē til at ȝ last battail of Braxxston where we by chaūce lost our souereigne lord & many noble men, but that was by treason of his lord chāberlain, & yet I thinke we wan ȝ telde: whiche murther I thinke all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I would that you should coragiously auānce your self in this quarel to get honor & to be reuēged.

Then a sad mā called the president of the cōsail sayd, my lord; Fortune of war is led by him that all ledeth, & he striketh the stroke, we can worke no miracles, & here are ȝ lordes of Englād redy to encountre vs, and surely they will fight, for their power shall encrease daily and ours is at the hiest. And if God geue vs ȝ victory as I trust he will, yet haue we not won the field. For redy cōming is ȝ lord Talbot erle of Shrewesbury so muche drad in Flaūce as you know well, with a great puissaūt army, & there is no doubt but the kyng of Englād wil send or bring another army, if we should chaūce to get the first battail: if we get the in feld, that will not be wout losse of many nobles, by reason wherof the realme shalbe weaker. And if we be ouercome, how many shalbe slaine God knoweth. They ȝ fle be worthy to be reputed as traitors to ȝ king & so by wilfulnes & folishe hardynes ȝ realme shalbe in ieopardie to be wdone, & I say, while the king is win age, we ought to moue no war, sith by war we may bring him to distuccion. Alas sayd ȝ duke, here is al ȝ puissaūce of Scotlād. if we returne, we shall encorage our enemies, & the realme of Scotlād shal euer be rebuked & defamed. All this communicacion in cōsail was written by one sir Lother priest & Scot and secretary to ȝ quene of Scottes, whiche was a secretary there in ȝ host at that tyme, to a Scottishe priest ȝ dwelt in Lōdon. & farther he wrote that the Scottishe king did muche for the Frenche kynges pleasure to draw the lordes of Englād w their powers toward that partie & to put the kyng of Englād to charges, so that he should not inuade Fraunce.

After this cōmunicacion the quene of Scottes whiche doubted the sequele of this matter, sēt worde to the duke & him required to comon of a peace w the warden of thenglishe Marches, which sent an Herald to the lord Daker then warden of ȝ west Marches, ȝ lord Daker agreed, & vpō hostages wēt to the duke of Albany into his cāpe, where ȝ quene of Scottes by that tyme was come, & so ther was an abstinence of war taken for a season: and in the meane tyme the duke and the quene promised to send Ambassadors to the kyng of England to conclude a peace. And thus ȝ Scottes returned into their houses. This truce was takē the xi. day of Septēber betwene Englād and Scotlād this xiii. yere of ȝ kyng. Therle of Shrewesbury hearyng of the truce by the lord Dacres letters returned with al his cōpany, sory that he had not gone forward on the Scottes. In this season the cōmissioners sat for the loane of the x part of euery mans substaunce in euery shyre, the people were sworne and some auauced them selves more then they were worth of pride, not remembryng what was comyng, and the commissioners did what they could to set the people to the vttermoste, whiche afterwarde turned the people to muche heaumes, & by reason of this, great summes of money were leued, but the moste part were not content, because the loane was so suddenly payed. But vnder the value of, v. pound no mā lent a peny. The vii. day of October was, iii M. pound payde to the cite of London whiche was lent for a priuate cause about the loane of the x part.

In this yere the bakers of London came and told the Mayre that corne would be dere, wherupon he and the aldermen made prouision for xv C. quarters, & when it was come they would bye none, and made the cōmon people beleue that it was musty, because they would vtter their owne, so that the lord Cardynal was faine to proue it, and found the bakers false and commaunded them to bye it.

The xvi. day of October the kyng lay at Hitchyn in Hartford shyre to see his Haukes flye, and by chaunce, there the kynges lodgyng was on fyre & he in great feare, but in no ieopardie, and so the kyng came shortly to London and sent for the Mayre and diuerse comyners and to them gaue thanks for many kyndnes whiche they thought they had wel deserved.

The warre thus cōtinuing betwene the Frenche kyng and the kyng of England, there was  
a valiaunt

a valiaunt capitane Constable of the castle of Hammes vnder the lorde Mountioy called sir Richard Whethyll, the Frēche men him somuche hated that they deuised a policie to take him, & so on Christmasday at night there issued out of Bullain CC. horsmen and CCC. fotemen, and somuche they traualled that all together were come to a place where Hoppes grew, nere Hammes castle called Catte Hall. When they were come thither, they kept themselves couert, and in the morning they brake vp the Turne pyke by saint Geitrudes. Then sent they into Hammes Marche. ix. or. x. fotemen to take cattell. In the castle the *alarme* rang, but the embushment kept them still close. The Constable perceiued what the *alarme* ment, and armed him, & so did his archers, and toke his hoise, and thie gētle- men went on fote by him. The Frenchmen of purpose diuied the cattel here & there as though it would not be driuen, sir Richard Whethyll pursued them. When the diuers sawe him, they droue the cattel into a great felde then were the bushment of hoisemen and fote- men betwene him and saint Gertrudes, and they sodaynly brake out on him, and the thre gentlemen on fote fought valiantly but they were slaine, the knight alighted and fought on fote manfully, but he was borne doune with pykes, and sore wounded and so was compelled to yelde himselfe prisoner by that tyme wer xxx. archers come out of the castle, and when they sawe the great number of the Frenchemen, then they knewe that their capitaine was be- trayed and so returned.

In this Chustmas whiche was kept at Eltham, the Cardinal made diuers reformatiōns for the kynges housholde, and all they that had no masters were commaunded to auoyde

The xxvii. day of February sir Ihon Walop knight sent. lx. auenturers from Guynes to seke auentures, and they mette with a gentlewomanne called Thomas Palmer whiche went with them. And out of a castle betwene Bullaine and Marguison called Hadyngham came out lxxx Frenchemen with Pykes and Crosbowes, and sette on the same Palmer whiche him defended.

All his company sauyng, xxii. persons wer gone about to seke their pray. These xxiii. persones him manfully succoured & after the Frenchmen had slaine his hoise and wounded him, his company slew. iii. Frenchemen and toke xxv. on liue whiche were all hurt & so wer thenglishmen, for the Frenchemen fought sore. All these prisoners were brought to Guis- nes, & the remnant of thaduenturers returned with muche cattel.

The last day of February. lx. Englishmen archers & bilmen came to a place called saint Anthones nere to Marguison & entred ȝ. houses and fell a spoiling. The Frenchmen were therof aduertised by a spy, & came on & set on a few Englishmen which wer together then with noise other of thenglishmen approched, so they were. xl. persones. Then came out a freshe embushment of Frenchmen & set on thenglishmen & so slewe xi. & toke xx. prisoners & the other scaped. About this time ȝ. duke of Albany sailed out of Scotlād into Fraūce, & the French king somuch fauored him, ȝ. as it was shewed to the kyng of Englād for trueth; that when ȝ. Fienche king rode through Paris he rode on ȝ. one hand & Richard de la Pole a traitor to Englād & by parliament attainted on ȝ. other hād, & that the duke had asked of the Frēch kyng v. M. horsemen & x. M. Almaines, & that he had promised ȝ. French kyng if he had thoe xv. M. men, he would do one of these. iii. thynges, either sley ȝ. kyng of Englād in battail, or els take him prisoner, or els diue him out of his realme. These were shamefull biaggēs of a noble man and very folishe.

Ye haue hard before how truce was taken by ȝ. duke of Albany & the lord Dacres for a season betwene Englād & Scotlād & that Ambassadors should be sent to ȝ. king of Englād, so it was ȝ. in October accordyng to their accustomed doubles they sent iii. personages of small behauior as it semed, as Ambassadors frō Scotlād they were snially regarded & shortly de- parted. Their Cōmission to was know whether the same tyme or abstinēce of warre was by ȝ. king assēted to or not, & other cōmission had they none. Thus they inent craftely as you may perceiue, for in suchie troublous tyme they steale vnpunished, whiche they may not do in tyme of peace. Wherefore the kyng to be sure of them sent for Hēry the. v. erle of Northūberland & him made warden of the whole Marches which thākefully accepted the-

*NO*

The duke  
of Albany  
returned.

Ambassade  
frō Scotlād.



same, & so departed lord Warden. But how soeuer it happened he made suite to *ȝ* kyng & his counsaill & neuer left, till he was discharged of the same, & then therle of Surry lord Admyral of Englā was made general warden, & the lord Marques Dorset was made Warden of thest Marches, & myddil, and the lord Dacres of the west Marches: whiche. iii. lordes sped them thether the vi. day of March for *ȝ* defence of the borders. For refusing of this office therle of Northūberland was not regarded of his owne tenaūtes whiche disdained him and his blod and muche lamēted his foly, and all men esteemed him without hart or loue of honor and chualie.

The loane gathered,

The kyng out of hād sent cōmissions to gather *ȝ* loane, this was called the practisynge of the loane, which sore emptied mens purses. In the same moneth were musters taken through the realme & every mā cōmaūded to be ready within a dayes warnyng to do the kyng seruice in harnes, which caused every man of honesty to bye harnes and weapon.

The lorde Marques Dorset warden of the East Marches betwene England & Scotland accompanied with sir Willyam Bulmer and sir Arthur Darcy and many other noble men, the second day of April then beyng shere thursday entred into Tyuedale & so. x. myle into Galoway and brent on euery side townes and villages, and the Scottes in great number shewed themselves on the hylles & did not approche, & so he all that night taried in the Scottishe ground & on good Friday returned with then botie whiche was. iii. M. head of nete into England, when they had brent, Grymslay, Mowhouse, Dufforde mylles, Ackeforthe, Crowling, Nowes maner, Midder Crowling, Marbottel, Low Bog, Sefforth Maner, Myddelrige, Primsed, Broket, Shawes Haruel, wide open Haught & other townes & villages, & yet lost not many men.

The xv. day of April beganne a Parliamt at the blacke Fryers in Lōdon, & that day the Masse of the holy ghost was song, all the lordes beyng present in their Parliamt robes. And when Masse was finished the kyng came into the Parliamt chamber and thre satte doune in the seate royall or throne, and at his fete on the right side satte the Cardynal of Yorke & the Archebishop of Cantorbury, & at the ryle behind stode doctor Tūstal bishop of Lōdon, which made to the whole Parliamt an eloquent Oracion declaring to the people the office of a kyng. Fyrst he must be a man of iudgement accordyng to the sayng of the Prophete Dauid *Deus iudicium tuum regi da*, &c. Also he must be a man of great learnyng accordyng to the sayng of the Prophete, *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram*. Accordyng to whiche saynges he said that God had sent vs a prince of great iudgment, of great lernyng, & great experience, whiche accordyng to his princely dutie forgat not to studye to sette forwarde all thynges whiche might be profitable to his people and realme, least ther might be layde to his charge the sayng of Seneca *Es rex & non habes tempus esse rex*? Art thou a kyng and hast no tyme to be a kyng, which is asmuch to say, as art thou a kyng and doest nothyng profitable to thy people? Art thou a kyng & seest the people haue an insufficient lawe? Art thou a kyng and wilt not prouide remedy for the mischiefe of thy people? These thynges haue moued the kynges highnes to call this his high court of Parliamt both for the remedy of mischefes whiche be in the common law, as recoueries, forain vouchers and corrupt trials. And for making & orderyng of new estatutes which may be to the high auancement of the common wealth, wherfore he wyllth the commons to repare to the cōmon house and thereto elect thein a speaker, or their comon mouth, and to certifie the lorde Chauncellour of the same, whiche should thereof make report to the kynges moste noble grace, whiche should declare his pleasure when he would haue him presented before his persone. This was the cause of the Parlyamt he said, but surely of these thynges no worde was spoken in the whole Parlyamt, and in effect no good act made except the graunt of a great subsidie were one, but accordyng to this instruccion the commons departed to the common house and chose for their speaker sir Thomas Moore knight & presented him the saterday after in the Parliamt chamber, where he accordyng to the old vsage disabled himselfe both in wit, learnyng, and discrecion, to speake before the kyng, & brought in for his purpose

how

The Oracion of Doctor Tūstal bishop of London

7081

The Oracion of sir Thomas Moore.

how one Phormio desired Hanniball to come to his readyng, whiche thereto assented, and when Hannyball was come he began to reade, *de re militari*, that is of Chiuallrie, when Hannyball perceiued him, he called him arrogant foole, because he would presume to teache him whiche was master of Chiuallrie, in the feates of warre. So the speaker sayd, if he should speake before the kyng of learnyng and orderyng of a cōmon welth and such other like the kyng beyng so well learned & of suche prudence & experience might say to him as Hannyball sayd to *Phormio*. Wherefore he desired his grace that the commons might chose another speaker. The Cardinall answered, that the kyng knewe his witte, learnyng & discrecion by long experience in his seruice wherefore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the moste metest of all, and so he did admit him. Then sir Thomas Moore gaue to the kyng his moste humble thankes, and desired of him two petitions. The one, if he should be sent from the commons to the king on message & mistake their entent, that he might with the kynges pleasure resort againe to the commons for the knowlege of their true meanyng: The other was, if in communicacion & reasonyng any man in the cōmon house should speake more largely then of dutie he ought to do, that all suche offences should be pardoned, & that to be entred of recorde, whiche two petitions were graunted, and so thus began the Parlyament and continued as you shal heare.

Because an euil chaūce happened to the great rebuke of all christen princes, I entend briefly to declare the same miserable chaunce. In the begynnyng of this yere Sultan Solymann Pac called *ŷ* great Turke whiche was but the viii. of *ŷ* ligne of Ottoman, the first that toke vpō him to be a great capitaine or ruler. And to whom Sultan Selyme his father had lost the empyres of Constantinoble, Trapesonde, Alexandry, & Babylon, with many diuers kyngdomes & realmes: whiche Sultan Solymon the yere before had gotten the toun of Belgrado beyng the key of Hungary. Because he sawe all *ŷ* great princes in Christendome now at discord, thought it most for his honor & profite to make waire on the Isle of *ŷ* Rhodes and to take the same, which Isle had been kept by the space of CC. xiiii. yeres by the biethen or knightes of the order of saint Iohnes of Ierusalē. Dyuers thynges moued him to take this enterpryse. One was because this Isle stode so that the religious of the same eschientymes toke & destroyed his shippes as they came with golde and other riches from Egypt, Sirie & other Estparties to Constantinoble, so that by them of that Isle he sustayned more hurt then by all Christendome, because the sayd Isle stode in the entry toward Constantinoble. Another mocion was because his father when he died charged him to assaye to take the Rhodes for to be reuenged of the shame that they had done to his graundfather Mahomet the great Turke whiche was with dishonor beten frō the siege of the Rhodes. But the greatest occasion of all was the exhortacion of a great counsailler of the religiō called Andrewe Amyral borne in Portyngale, whiche knew the whole estate & in what case the toun stode in. The cause why this Andrew Amyral bare malice to his religion, was because after the death of Frier Fabrica de Laretto lord master of their religion, he was not elected to that honor, but one Philip de Vylhers de Lisle Adam of Fraunce was named to be lord Master, wherefore the said Andrew prouoked the Turke to come to the Rhodes.

Why ye  
turk couet-  
ed the  
Rhodes,

The great Turke seyng so great an occasiō offered & desyng honor, & also knowing the fortresse of *ŷ* Rhodes to lacke municions (for surely the biethen of the sayd order wer both of suche wealth & pride, and also liued after suche an vngracious & vngodly fashion, that they toke neither heede of their vow & solempne profession, nor also did forese the thyng to come, so that the great welth of them, & their euil luyng blinded them, so that they thought *ŷ* Turke durst not ones attēpt to set on their garrison, & so they beyng eleuate in in this point of pride, left their toun vnfurnished and so wer sodainly surprised as you shal heare) wherefore *ŷ* sayd Turke couertly prouided for. iii. C. saile, in *ŷ* which he caried all his artillery & all other thynges necessary. in *ŷ* which army wer. lx. M. myners and pyoners prepared for the only intent to digge & myne: all the rest of the army of *ŷ* Turke came by lād to a place called Fysco, which stādeth so directly against *ŷ* Rhodes that a tyer may be seen frō the one side to the other, frō whiche place the Turke sent letters to *ŷ* aboue-

named



named Philip de Vylliers lord Master of the sayd religion signifying to him that he would haue  $\text{ȝ}$  sayd Isle for  $\text{ȝ}$  great damage  $\text{ȝ}$  they had done to him & his people, and if they would yeld to him the sayd Isle, he promised on his fayth & by Mahomet his fyrst prophet, they should haue no damage nor hurt by him, & that they that would depart shuld go in safetie, & they that would tary & seue him should haue good wages, & if they refused this to do, he sware that he would subuert the walles of their fortresse and destroy them all and make them slaues, whiche letter was dated at Constantinople the fyrst day of Iune. The said Lorde Master and his compaignie were greatly abashed of this letter, but yet-like hardy gentlemen they intended to defende them, and made all the preparacions that they could do in so short a space, and wrote to all princes christen of their nede and distres. But the Turke like a wyly serpent knowyng the great deuision amōgest  $\text{ȝ}$  christen princes, so that he knew that they could sende no succours to the Rhodes, sent CC M. Turkes whiche arriued in the Isle of the Rhodes on Mydsomerday, whiche was  $\text{ȝ}$  feastful day of  $\text{ȝ}$  Rhodrians in honor of S. Ihon baptist whiche sodain comyng sore abashed the Rhodyans beyng but vi C. knightes and v. M. other mete to beare armes yet of noble courage and trusting in God, they determined to defend the enemies of God, and the xxviii day of Iuly the Turke arriued there in his owne person, whiche muche encoraged his people.

The moites

When the Turke was arriued, he bent his ordinaunce towardes the toune and did no great haim, when he saw that the walles were of that defence that ordinaunce did litle haim, he caused all his Pyoners to cast yerth one banke ouer another styll till they came within a bowshot of the wall, and although that many of the pyoners were slain with ordinaunce of the toune, they neuer ceased tyll they had made a banke of yearth higher by x foote then the wall of the toune, and then there layde their ordinaunce, so that no persone durst styre on the walles or Bulworkes, and thus with mountaines of yerth was the toune enuironed and behynd the mountaines lay the Basheaux and chief capitaines of the Turke whiche were ever redy to take their aduantage, and dayly they shot into the toune and bet doune houses and slewe the people in the streates, for they vpon this mount might easely see into the toune.

The Mynes.

Beside this, the Turke caused so many mynes to be made in diuers places, that they within were not able to make countermynes for lacke of people, insomuche as women were set a worke to dygge and cary, by reason wherof a great part of the walles were overthrowen, and if they within had not made countermynes the toune had been gotten within a short space.

The assaues

Also the Turkes in September gaue to the Rhodyans foure great assautes like valiaunt warners, but the Christen men within, so valiantly defended them, that at every assaut they lost at the lest ii M. men, and at the fourth assaut they lost. x. M. Turkes and more.

Treason espyed

The great Turke seying the losse of his men at the assautes, sent for Moustaffa Basshaw, through whose counsaill he toke on him this enterprice and much blamed him that he had made him beleue that he might haue the toune within xii. dayes or in a moneth at  $\text{ȝ}$  most, wherfore in  $\text{ȝ}$  furie he would haue put him to death, if the other Basshawes had not equetreated for him but in cōclusiō  $\text{ȝ}$  Turke determined clerely to rayse his siege and to depart, and so had done if that same night sir Andiew Amyrall that you heard of before and a Iewe beyng within the Rhodes had not written letters and shot them out on quarells into the Turkes army By whiche letters the Turke knew the necessitie of the toune and febleness of the people, whiche caused him to chaunge his purpose. But this treason was espyed, and the traytors taken and put to terrible execution. And the Turke caused so many Mynes to be made, that although some tooke none effecte, yet by some he ouerthrew bothe Bulwarkes, walles and towers, so that he might entre into the toune. and so on saint Andiewes euen he caused a great assaut to be geuen, whiche was very fierce, but yet the Christen men so valiauntly defended them, that they slewe three thousand Turkes and mo, and kept them from enterieng that daie, but the Citezens of the Rhodes after this assaute, came to the lorde Master, and prayed hym to haue compassion of them, their wiues and children, and shewed him that if the toune wer taken by assaut, (as it was like to be) that they al should be cruelly murdered, the Lorde Master inuche regarded his honor, and com-

forted the people with faire wordes, but by chaunce about thesame tyme, the great Turke sent a letter into the Rhodes, willyng them to deliuer the toun, and they all should haue their liues and goodes, and they that would tary, should tary in quiet, & thei that would depart, should sauely depart.

When this letter was knowen, then the people cried out on the lorde Master to take the offre, wherefore he calling all his counsaill together seyng that it was not possible to kepe the toun longer, both for lacke of artillay and vitale, and also because his nombre was so diminished that scace he had souldiers to kepe the walles wherefore he by greate aduice determined to take the Turkes offer, and so sent to hym twoo of his religion, for the farther conclusion and assuraunce of thesame, whiche well entertained them, and had writynges sealed of all thynges that they desired, to which two knightes, Aymeche Basshaw sware by his faith that there was slain at the siege. lxiii. thousande Turkes, and. xl. thousande dedde of mortalitie and mo.

The yeld-  
yng vp of  
the Rhodes.

And so on Christmas daie, the greate Turke hymself entered into the Rhodes, and toke possession therof, and the lorde Master and all his religion, the first daie of Ianuary tooke ship and sailed to Candy, and so in conclusion came to Rome, and there declared his chaunce and aduenture Thus was the toun and the isle of the Rhodes, taken by the great Turke, whiche was a greate succor to all Christian men, resortyng into the East partes of the world, whiche chaunce was muche lamented thorowe all Christendom, and much blame put in all Princes, because they sent no succor nor aide to the Isle.

And this yere the Byshoppe of Duresme died, and the kyng gaue the bishoprike to the Cardinall, and he resigned the bishoprike of Bathe, to doctor Ihon Clerke master of the Rolles, and he made sir Henry Marney his vicechamberleyn lorde Priue Seale, & after created hym lorde Marney In thende of this yere, doctor Blithe bishopp of Chester, was attached for treason, but he acquite hymself And aboute this season, the Cardinall of Yorke beyng Legate, proued testamentes, and did call before hym, all the executors and administrators, of euery Dioces within the realme, so that the bishoppes and ordinaries, did proue no great willes in then Dioces, except he wer compounded with, not to their litle disauantage. Also by his power Legantine he gaue by prouencions, all benefices belongyng to spirituall persones, by the whiche doying, he not onely had the hatred of the spiritualtie, but also he ran into the daunger of the Premunire, whiche he sore after repented, as it shall appere in the. xxi. yere of this kyng.

### ¶ THE XV YERE.

THE Parliament beyng begon, as you haue hard before rehersed, the Cardinall accom-  
paignd with diuerse lordes, aswell of the Spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, came the.  
xv. daie of Aprill into the Common house, where he eloquently declared to the commons,  
how the Fienche Kyng, Fraunces the first, called the moste Christened kyng, had, so often  
tymes broken promise with the kyng of England, and his welbeloued nephew Charles the  
Emperoi, that the kyng of his honor could no longer suffre. For first he declared, that the  
metyng of the saied twoo princes at Guynes, thesaid Fienche kyng was sworne, to kepe  
all the articles contained in the tripartie league, made betwene him, the Emperoi, and  
the kyng of Englande, sith the whiche tyme, he hath made warre on thempeiors dominios,  
by Robert de la Marche his capitain. He also hath with holden the tributes and other par-  
mentes, whiche he should paie to the kyng of Englande for redempcion of Toinay and  
Tirwin, and not with this content, hath not alonely robbed and spoyled the kynges subiectes,  
but also hath sent Ihon duke of Albany into Scotland, to make warre and to invade this  
realme, wherefore the King of necessitie was driuen to warre and defence, whiche in no  
wise could be maintained, without great somes of money, and he thought no lesse then. viii.  
C. M. l. to be reised of the fifth part of euery mans goodes and landes, that is to saie.  
iii. s. of euery pounce, for he said that the yere folowyng, the Kyng and the Emperor should  
make suche warre in Fraunce, as hath not been seen.

The xv.  
yere  
The Car-  
dinales or-  
din-  
ciō

The de-  
maunds

After.



After that he had declared his matter at length, exhortyng the Commons to aide their prince, in tyme of necessitie, he departed out of the cōmon house. The morowe after, sir Thomas More beyng speker, declared all the Cardinales oracion again to the commons, and enforced his demaund strongly, sayyng. that of duetie men ought not to deny to paie, *iii. s.* of the pound. But for all that, it was denied and proued manifestly, that if the fifth part of substaunce of the Realme, were but. *viii. C. M. l.* and if men should paie to the kyng, the fifth part of their goodes, in morrey or plate, it was proued, that there was not so much money, out of the kynges handes, in all the realme, for the fifth part of euery mannes goodes, is not in money nor plate: For although five men wei well monyed, five thousand were not so, the gentleman of landes, hath not the fifth part of the value in coyne. The Merchaunt that is riche of Silke, Wolle, Tynne, Clothe, and suche Merchaundise, hath not the fifth part in money, the husbände man is riche in Corne and cartell, yet he lacketh of that some. Likewise veytellers and all other artificers, be riche in housholde stuffe, and not in money and then consequently, if all the money wer brought to the kynges handes, then men must barter clothe for vitale, and bread for chese, and so one thyng for another then cōsider that after this valuacion, the kyng hath had by the waie of loane. *ii. s.* of the pound, whiche is. *iiii. C. M. l.* and now to haue. *iiii. s.* of the. *l.* whiche amounteth in the whole. *xii. C. M. l.* whiche first and last is. *vi. s.* of the. *l.* whiche is almoste the third part of euery mans good, whiche in coyne cannot be had within his Realme, for the profe whereof was alleged, that if there were in Englande, but. *xv. M.* parishes, and euery parishe should geue a. *C.* marke, that were but. *xv. C. M.* marke, whiche is but. *x. C. M. l.* and how many parishes be in England one with another able to spare a. *C.* markes, out of cities and townes. and where it is written, that in England there bee. *xl. M.* Parishe Churches, it was proued that there wer not. *xiii. M.* parishe churches at this daie. Then accompt the whole some cannot amounte aboue. *x. C. M. l.* and the kyng demaūdeth. *viii. C. M.* and he according to this valuacion, hath had. *iiii. C. M.* ponde, therefore it was thought, the some was impossible to be leued, and if all the coyne wer in the kynges handes, how should men liue. Also the kyng had of the spirituall men the last yere, *iii. s.* of the ponde.

After long reasonyng, there were certain appoynted, to declare the impossibilite of this demaunde to the Cardinal, whiche according to their commission, declared to him substancially the pouertie and skarcenes of the realme all whiche reasons and demonstrations, he litle regarded, and then thesaid persones, moste mekely beseched his grace, to moue the kynges highnes, to bee content with a more easier some, to the whiche he currisshly answered, that he would rather haue his tongue, plucked out of his hedde with a paire of pinsons, then to moue the kyng, to take any lesse some with whiche answere, they almoste dismayed, came and made repoit to the common house, where euery day was reasonyng, but nothyng concluded.

Wherefore the Cardinall came again to the common house, and desired to be reasoned withall, to whom it was answered, that the fasshion of the nether house was, to heare and not to reson, but among themselves. Then he shewed the realme to be of great riches, firste, because the kynges customes were greater now then they were before tyme. also he alleged sumptuous buildynges, plate, riche apparell, of men, women, children, and seruantes, fatte feastes, and delicate dishes, whiche thynges were all tokens of great abundance: with whiche repetyng of mennes substaunce, as though he had repined or disdained, that any man should fare well, or be well clothed, but hymself, the commons greatly grudged. And when he was departed out of the house, it was proued, that honest apparel of the commodities of this Realme, abundance of plate and honest viandes, were profitable to the realme, and not prodigall.

After long debating, the Commons concluded to graunte. *ii. s.* of the pound, of euery mannes landes or goodes, that was worth. *xx.* ponde, or night dispende. *xx.* pound, to be taken for the kyng, and so vpwarde of euery. *xx. s. twoo. s.* and from. *xl. s.* to. *xx.* ponde,

pounde, of euery xx s. xii d. and vnder. xl. s. of euery hed. xvi yerres and vpward iiii d to bee paid in twoo yerres. This graunt was reported to the Cardinall, which therewith was soie discontent, and saied, that the lordes had graunted. iiii s. of the pound, whiche was proued vntrue, for in dede they had graunted nothyng, but harkened all vpon the commons.

Then a knight called sir Ihon Huse of Lincolnshire, saied, to please the Cardinall somewhat, let vs gentlemen of fiftie pound lande and vpwordes, geue to the kyng of our landes. xii d. of the pounde, to be paid in thre yere with whiche mocion diuerse gentlemen wer sore discontent. And when the question was asked, ten or xii. of the gentlemen saied yea, and when the naie should be asked, the commons saied nothyng, for they would not condempne, nor let the gētlemen to charge themselves, and so by x. or. xii. persones the gentlemen wer burdened, with. xii. d. more then other, for the whiche graunt, sir Ihon Huse had muche euill will

After this graunte made the. xxi. daie of Maie, because of Whitsontide, the Parliament was proroged to the tenth daie of Iune Duryng which prorogacion, the common people saied to the Burgesses, sirs, we heare saie you will graunt iiii. s. of the pound, we aduise you to do so that you maie go home, with many euill woordes, and threatenynges.

And in this season, the Cardinall by his power legatyne, dissolved the conuocacion at Paules, called by the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and called hym and all the clergie, to his conuocaciō to Westminster, which was neuer seen before in England, wherof master Skeltō a mery Poet wrote

*Gentle Paule laie doune thy sweard*

*For Peter of Westminster hath shauen thy beard.*

When the parliament was begonne again, the lauded men of fiftie pounde and vpward, seyng that they were charged, with xii. d. of euery pounde of their landes, moued, that all suche as were worth fiftie poude in goodes and vpward, should paie also. xii d. of the pounde, in the iiii yere At the whiche mocion was muche reasonyng, & at the last the xxvii daie of Iune, the question was asked, and doubtfull it was, whether the yea or nay were moste, then was the house diuided, and all the commons seuered themselves, from the knightes of the sheres, so that one yea part remained onely the knightes of the shire, and the cōmons stiffly affirmed that the mocioners of this demaunde, wer enemies to the realme. At the last the Speaker called them all together, and after long perswadyng, and priue laboryng of frendes, it was agreed that xii d. of the pounde should be paid the fourth yere, of fiftie pounde in goodes

After this the parliamēt the xxxi daie of Iuly, was adioined to Westminster, and there continued till the. xiii daie of August, and that daie at. ix. of the clocke in the night dissolved. Duryng the tyme of this Parliament the xxvii daie of Aprill, was sir Arthur Plantagenet, bastarde sonne to kyng Edward the fourth, at Brydewell created viscount Lisle, in the right of his wife, whiche was wife to Edmond Dudley behedded

In this season was true worde brought, that on Christmas daie laste past, the strong toune of the Rhodes was deliuered, to the great Turke called Sultan Soliman, with the whole Islande, to the greate hurt of all Christian nacions: the causes of the losse, was the euill huyng of the brethren or knightes, and negligēce of prouision for the defence, and the enuie and treason einongest themselves, as it is written and reported

This yere Crisuerne Kyng of Denmarke with his wife, which was sister to the Emperor Charles, and his thre children, with. xviii shippes arriued in Flaunders, cleane banished out of his realmes and dominions, by his vnkle Frederick duke of Holst, & his awnc subiectes for his crueltie as is written Whiche Cristierne with his wife, was well entertained of the Duches of Sauoy, and a pencion assigned to hym to lue on, in Brabant and Hollande. Duryng the tyme of his there sojornyng, he made muche suite to come into Englande, to see and speke with the kyng, whiche request was to hym graunted, and so he and



The Kyng  
of Den-  
marke  
commynge  
into Eng-  
lande

his Quene, with foure gentlewomen, and a trayne of fourtie persones, poore and eurl appa-  
reled, landed at Douer the xv. daie of Iune, where he was nobely receued, by the erle  
of Deuonshure, and the bishoppes of Excester, and Rochester, and diuerse knightes and  
Esquiers, and so brought to Gienewiche where the Kyng and the Quene, standyng vnder  
their clothes of estate, receiued in the greate hall of Gienewiche, kyng Cristerne and  
Quene Isabell his wife. And he dined with the kyng, and she with the quene, both set  
vndei the clothe of estate, and were sumptuously serued, of all delicate viandes.

And when he had sojourned there a season, euery daie feasted at the Court, he was con-  
ueighed to Londō, and lodged at Bathe place, where he hearyng of the watche in London,  
on saint Peters euen, desired to se it, and so was accompanied with the duke of Suffolk,  
the Erles of Oxford, Essex, and Kent, and diuerse other lordes and ladies, and brought  
into the Kynges hed in Chepe, where the citee of London made to him and his wife a  
costly banket. And when he had seen the watche, he saied, I would to God I had so  
many Archers, Pikes, and halberders, as I sawe this night, then I trust I would ponishe  
suche, as haue wrōgfully dispossessed me, of my realme and countrey. And after he had  
solaced hymself in London, he resorted to the kyng, of whom he had many great giftes,  
and likewise had his wife of the Quene her aunte, and so tooke their leaue, and were con-  
ueighed to Douer. And when he had been in Englande xxii. daies, he tooke shippyng, and  
sailed again into Flaunders, preisyng muche the kyng of Englande and his Court.

Duryng all this season, and session of the parliament, the warre was fierce, bothe be-  
twene England and Fraunce, and England and Scotlande, in so muche that eche parte, did  
asmuche as in them laie, to huite the other. For on the borders of Scotlande, laye the  
vahaunt Erle of Surrey, greate Admirall of Englande, and the Marques Dorset, and  
his three brethren, sir Wyllyam Comton, and sir Wyllyam Kyngston, with diuerse other  
knightes and Esquiers, sent to them by the kyng, whiche daily inuaded the Realme of  
Scotlande, and threwe doune the Castle of Wedorberne, the castle of West Nesgate, the  
Castle of Blakkater, the tower of Mackewalles, the tower of Est Nesgate, and many other,  
and brent to the nomber of. xxxvii. villages, and haried the countrey from the Este Marches  
to the West, and nener had skirmishe but they oftē times shewed themselves in plumpes,  
waiting their auantage how be it in all this iorney, were fewe Englishemen lost. Wherefore  
the Lorde perceuyng, that the Scottes intended not to make any armie into Englande,  
foitified the frontiers on euery parte, with men and all thynges necessary for defence, for  
stealyng, or other small rodes. After all whiche thynges set in a perfectnes, they returned  
toward the kyng, and came to the ende of the Parliament.

A ship  
sonken with  
stone in Cal-  
lice haven.

In this season, the Frenchemen hauyng a greate desire, to haue the kynges toune of  
Calice, deuised first to destroy the haven, by the which they supposed, that Calice might  
haue been lightly gotten, for faulte of reskewe. Whereupon they laded an old ship of  
iii. C. tonne, with great Cane stone, in the port of Depe, whiche ship had no mast, but  
came with a foisaile, as though the mast had been cut, and cast ouer the bord in the  
sea in a tempest. And when she came before Caliche, euery man that sawe her thought she  
had been wether driuen, and lost her mast by tēpest, and so aboute. x. of the clocke at  
night the xxiiii. daie of Maie, thesaid shippe came before Calice hauē, as though she  
would entre for harborow, and so was enteyng and missed the chanell, & turned to the  
sandes, towarde Rise banke, and the Frēchemen supposyng, that they had been in the very  
chanell, launched out their boate, and sodainly set the shippe on fire, and lepte into their  
boate, and so skaped by the shore. When they of Calice sawe the fire, they were sore  
troubled, and at the last when the water was gone they perceiued the ship consumed, and  
the goodly Cane stone lyng whole.

Wherefore the lorde Barnes deputie of Calice, the lorde Barkley leutenaut of the castle,  
the lorde Sandes thesorer of Calice, and other commaunded all the laborers that might be  
gotten, to breake the remnaunt of the ship, and to cary awaye the stone, and so thesaid  
stone was brought to Calice: wherupon thesaid capitaines sent a letter, to the capitaine of

Bulleine,

Bulleine, by Calice puisuant at armes, desiring him to geue thanks, to Monsire Lodo- wyke capitain of Depe, for the sendyng of so faire a ship, and goodly stone to Calice, whiche stone thesaied lordes sent worde, they had receiued into the toune of Calice, and that it did the muche profite, for the fortification of thesaied Toune, desirynge hym to sende more, and they would receiue it on thesame price To the whiche lettel, the capitain of Bulleine answered, I haue nothyng lost, nor they haue nothyng gotten of me, tell hym that hath lost, with whiche answeere the puisuant departed. Whereupon the Englishemen beyng greued, there issued out of Calice an. C. light men of warre, called auenturers, and came nere Bulleine, and obtained a greate boue, wherof the garrison of Bullein beyng aduertised, issued out and folowed the Englishmen, and sharply them encountered. The Englishemen shot so, that the French men whiche were five hundred, lighted and fought sore, so that as it appered euidently, that there wer dedde on the ground xlvi. Frenchemen, and xxii Englishemen, and the Frenchemen toke. xx. Englishemen prisoners, the residue of the Englishemen kept them to gether, and so came to Calice, the capitain of this enterpryse was one Lathebery.

The lorde Sandes thresorer of Calice, entending to be reuenged on the Frenchemen called the counsaill of Calice to hym, and declared to them how that the Frenchemen, and in especiall Monsire de Bees capitain of Bullein, daily imaged to destroye the Englishe pale, and that they on the Englishe part had nothyng done yet against them wherefore he aduised them all to do some act, and he hymself would be present, and formoste man, and their leder and capitain. Whereupon it was concluded and cominaunded, that every man should be in a readines, at the soundyng of a trompet, vpon whiche warnyng, the saied lorde Sandes the ix. daie of Iuly early in the mornyng, sent furth twoo hundred light horses, through the Englishe pale, to stoppe the people from goyng, the one towarde the other, least his enterpryse should bee askried, and so the people wer kept in all that daie, and in the euenyng aboute seuen of the clocke, he hymself with a capitain called Guiot, Thomas Palmer, Ripton, Raufe Broke and other, set forward with light ordinaunce and vitaille, and embattailed themselves in good arraie, and marched towarde Sandifelde by a xi of the clocke, and there refreshed themselves and in good ordre, thei came to the Water of Schlaukes, not farre from Bullein, whiche was the tenth daie of Iuly.

When thei were askried *Alarme* was rong all the countrey, and the capitain of Bullein sent furth lxx. menne of Armes, and foure hundred footemen with morrice pikes, crosse-bowes, and hande gunnes, wheretore capitain Guyot was sent with his bend of horsemen, to aide thenglishe footemen, whiche were farre behynde, and Capitain Ripton, was appoynted to fight with the Frenchemen, and sir Thomas Palmer, and Raufe Broke, with the remnaüt of the horsemen, stode for a stale. Then capitain Ripton profered forwarde with the Speres of Calice, and the Frenchmen came on valiauntly, then began a sore skirmishe, the Frêche men bothe horsemen and footemen, defended the passage at the water of Schlaukes, whiche is but a gut made by force of lande water, but after long fight the Englishemen gat ouer the water by pure force, and toke the Frenchemens standerd, and a gentleman, whiche was a man of Armes of Bullein, called Charles de Maruel, and euer sir Thomas Palmer and Raufe Broke, stode, & aided where necessitie was moste Thus this skirmishe continued, from foure of the Clocke in the mornyng, till. ix. of the clocke, before None, and euer the Frenchemen encreased, but at the last they retreated themselves toward Bullein, in whiche retorne diuerse of thei wer slain. On the skirmishe was ended, came the lorde Sandes with the fotemen, with his spere on his thigh, and his helme on his hed, and greatly encoraged his compaignie: duryng whiche conflict, diuerse of Picardy had gathered them together, and had taken the church of Odirsacell, whiche was wel fortified, and a strong place: whereof the Lorde Sandes beyng aduertised, he marched thether waid, and in the waie burned all that might be brent, and sent an officer of Armes, to the that kept the churche of Odirsacell, to yeld the churche to hym, whiche to hym aunswered, that they would stande at defence: then he commaunded an assaut, which quickly was done, and the Frenchemen defended thei selves,



with hand gonnes, crosebowes, and pikes, so that the Englishmē could not entre. Then the lorde Sandes commaunded a cuttall, whiche he had with hym, to be shotte to the churche, and perced it through then they within sawe that their defence could not hold, yelded themselves body and goodes. Out of the Churche came lxxii Frenchemen, whiche were taken as prisoners, and all the goodes whiche they had caried into the churche were taken for a botie. Thus by one of the clocke, the said tenth daie of Iuly, was the churche of Odirsaell taken.

In this while also, had the Frenchemen manned the steeple of Odyngham, whiche was a very strong tower, muche like a castle, to whom the lorde Sandes sent an officer of armes, to commaunde them to yelde the fortiesse, to whom they answered, that they wer Frenchemen, and to hym they would none yeld, and if he came thether, they would withstand him. wherupon he and his armie marched thether ward, and aboute foure of the clocke at after none, he assaulted the steeple, and the Frenchmen them selves valiauntly defended, but sodainly by a chaute vnknown the steeple was a fire, and the Frenchemen fled doune to the quire, then the Englishmen lightly entered the body of the churche, & assaulted the Frēch menne, whiche cried mercie and yelded them selves, and at twelue of the Clocke at midnight the assault ended, and there were yelded out of the churche fortie prisoners.

After whiche tyme, the Lorde Sandes encamped hymself, and made good watche for feare of enemies, & in the mornynge called to hym all the priestes, whiche were in bothe the churches, and stode at defence, and said to thē, that they ought not to be men of warre, and notwithstanding he had them as prisoners, yet for Gods sake he released thē, admonishyng thē, that if ener after they wer taken at defence, they should be hanged on the nexte galowes after whiche monicion done, he deliuered them frely.

About. viii. of the clocke in the morning, he marched forward in good ordre of battaill, and came to the Castle of Hardyngham, the whiche he brent and spoyled, and so the xi. day of Iuly, he and his cōpaignie whiche passed not xii C men, of whiche he had lost but onely xii. returned to Calice with greate store of bestiall and pillage.

This same season, the Frenche kyng sent an armie of. xviii M. men, towardes the parties of Flaunders, whiche secretly enterprised to take a place called Newdike, which is a strong passage, betwene Fiaunce and Flaunders, kept by the Flemynges, whereof they beyng aduertised, ariused a great power of. xiii. M. and came to the passage, and slewe of the Frenchemen vi C then the Frenchemen recoiled, and scoured themselves some went to Mount Orry, and some to saint Omeis and some brent the subbarbes, they within Mount Orry defended themselves, and hurte the captain of Buleine, called Monsie de Bees, and slew his horse: wherfore the Frenchmen wente thence, and brent a village called Arkus: thus was all the frontiers full of Frenchemen, insomuche that in the monethe of August, they bette into the toune of Guisnes, the scourers and the scout watche, whereof began *Alarme*, and the Frenchmen whiche were many in nōbre, alighted as though they would geue assaut maintenant, and fiersly proffered toward the diches, but when the ordinaunce began once to shote, it was no nede to bid them go. Then the Englishmen, coragiously folowed the chace, but sodainly out came an embusment of Frenchemen, and toke twoo Englishmen and thus all the armie of Fiaunce, reinoued to Gyngate beside Tyrwyn.

The Frenche kyng seyng the kyng of England, daily more and more encouraged to make war on him and his dominions, and that the Scottes did nothyng to his pleasure, for lacke of the Duke Ihon of Albany whom the Scottes called their gouernor. He therefore caused great preparaciō to be made, on all parties for men, shippes, harnes, and artulery for the sendyng the Duke Ihon of Albany into Scotlande, which Duke of a great presumption promised to the Frenche kyng to diuine the kyng of Englande, out of his realme, whiche promise was not kept.

The kyng of Englande, hearyng that the Duke of Albany should passe into Englande, to make warre on his realme, thought to haue him met on the seas, and therefore he prepared a flete of tal and strōg shippes mete to encounter with the sared Duke and his power, and made Admirall of that iorney, sir Willyam Fitzwillyam, and with hym sir Fraunces Brian, sir Antony Pounes, Seriant Rot, Ihon Hopton, Willyam Gonstone, Anthony Kniuet,  
Thomas

Thomas West & other, whiche with great diligence, laie in waite to mete with the said duke of Albany, and as they sailed on the Frenche coast, they determined to lande, to doo some haine to Tray Port and as they howered there, thei were espied then the capitaine of the toune fired the beakēs, sent for aide of al the foitresses about and strengthened and manned the toune very warlike. This notwithstanding, sir William Fitz William and other capitaines left not their enterprize, and so the xxiii. daie of August beyng Sondaie, at seven of the clocke in the mornynge, they toke lande in the haven of Treypport, at whō the Frenchemen shot out ordinaunce, quarells and stones, the English men in the botes shot likewise, and encouraged by their capitaines, assauted the Frenchemen in their bulwerkes, the Frenchemen them valiantly defended, and thenglishe capitaines as men without feie, them assailed and yet the nombei was nothyng egall, for the Englishemen were but. vii. C. men, & the Frenchmen. vi. M. For the well fighting of the Frēch men, their bulwerkes wer taken, and their ordinaunce sezed, and all that wer about, fled to the toune of Treypport, and euer thenglishmen folowed shotyng arowes at them, and sleying them, in whiche skirmishe Seriant Rotte had hys bowe in his hande stricken with a Gonne. Then the capitaines cried saint George, to the gates of Treypport, then euery manne auanced forward, and as they were goyng, Christopher Morres master Gonner, espied a pece of a Maste, whiche he caused to bee taken vp, and then Anthony Kneuet, and Fraunces Neudigate with ther men, ranne with the said maste to the gate, but the gate was so strong, that it could not be broken. and also at euery loupe laie a pece, of ordinaunce, whiche continually shot at the Englishemen, whiche caused them to leaue the gate, and then they sette fire in the subbarbes, whiche was a faire strete, and all was brent, and while the subbarbes brent, the Englishemen wēt to the haven, and would haue had out the shippes, but water lacked, wherefore they set fire on them, and brent there seven faire shippes beside other. All this while was there skirmishyng at the gates, and much murder on bothe sides, for the Frenchemen in flyng from their bulwerkes to the toune, lost lxxx. persones, and many wer hurte with arowes. The men of the countrey came thether still, insomuche as the nombei became very great, whiche sir William Fitz Willyam perceuyng, caused his trompet to blowe a retere, and with suche prisoners, pilage, and ordinaunce as they had gotten they returned to their boates and the capitaines sent their souldiers before, the Frenchemen perceuyng the Englishemen returned, issued out and founde on lande, Fraunces Neudigate, Thomas Waghams, Seriant Rotte, and other Capitaines to the number of twelue, and ran hastily toward them in greute nombei, whiche perceuyng that, bended themselves to sell then liues dere. Sir Willyam Fitz Willyam perceuyng the greute ieoperdy that they wer in, turned his boate toward the lande, and discharged his ordinaunce, & with much pain saued these gentlemen, and them toke into boates, notwithstanding a great nombei of Frenchemen, whiche wer in the water to let him. and thus the whole armie returned to their shippes, after they had been v. houres on land, and brought with them. xxvii. peces of faire ordinaunce, which wer in the bulwarkes & lost of their men not fully xx. peisones, and then euery capitaine toke his awne ship, and coasted the seas, euer lokyng for the duke of Albany, but thei hard no tidynges of hym.

In the Parliamēt (as you haue hard) it was cōcluded, that the kyng of necessitie, muste nedes make strong wa're on the realme of Fraunce, wherefore the noble Charles duke of Suffolk, was appoynted as Capitaine generall, to passe with an armie royall into Fraunce, in thende of August, whiche with all diligence, prepared all thynges necessary, for suche a royall enterprize and for the furniture of this armie, there were appoynted to geue their attendaunce on hym, the lorde Montacute, and sir Arthur Pole his brother, the lorde Herbert sonne to the erle of Worcester, the lorde Ferreis, the lorde Marney, the lorde Sandes, the lorde Bakeley, the lorde Powes, and Baron Cuisson, and of knightes, sir Richarde Wyngfelde, Chaunceller of the Duchie of Lancaster, sir Ihon Veer, sir Edward Neuell, sir Willyam Kyngston, sir Richard Weston, sir Andrew Wynsore, sir Robert Wyngfeld, sir Anthony Wyngfeld, sir Edward Guyldfoild, sir Edward Gryuell, sir Edward Chamberlein, sir Thomas Luce, sir Euerard Dighby, sir Adrian Foscew, sir Willyam Skeuyngtō Master of

Jorney of  
the duke of  
Suffolke.

the



the ordinance, sir Thomas Cheney, sir Richard Cornwall, sir William Cortney, sir Willyam Sidney, sir Henry Owen all these loides and knightes, with many other knightes and coragious Esquiers, & actiue Gentlemen, came accordyng to the kynges commaundemēt at last, with all their people and retinue to Douer, where thei mustered at severall times, as thei passed to the sea, and so the nombre take, that is to saie, of dimy Lances. vi C of archers on horsebacke twoo. C. of Archeis on foote three. M. of bill men five. M. of pioners and laborers. ii M. vi C and when the viewe was taken on the other side of the sea, there were adioyned to this nombre. xvii. C. whiche might be spared out of the fortresses, and krewes of Hams, Guysnes, and Calice so that al the army wer. xiii M. and an. C. well harnessed, and appareled for the warre, the pioners onely excepte but the duke hymself arrived at Calice the. xxiii. of August, with his retinue and counsaill, abiding the armie, and caused all thynges, as vitail and other to be prepared for the same.

Muche commonyng was in Englande whethei this army should go because that no man, except a fewe, knew the secretnes: some said to Bullein, some to Paris, and so euery man iudged, accordyng to his awne opinion, as the common vse is.

In this season, because the mortalitie was greate in Calice, the duke of Suffolk caused his armie to be lodged in tentes and paulions, vpō the faire grene beside saint Peters Church, for their more healthe, and he accompaigned with diuerse noble men, the. viii. daie of September rode to Grauelyng, & thether came to hym Cisterne kyng of Denmark and the lorde Isilsten, capitain generall of Flaunders, whiche amiably enterteigned the saied duke, and after they had secretly commoned of diuerse matters, conceynyng diuerse armies to invade Fraunce, in sondry places, the duke toke leaue of the kyng and other, and came to Calice

A riot at  
Calice.

While the armie laie without Calice, they daily came into the toune, and so it happened that a symple felowe cut a purse, as he made to bye apples, whiche incōtinent was taken, and brought to the Maiors house to ward, whiche thyng diuerse Welshemen perceuyng, and not knowyng what apperteigned to Iustice, ranne in great compaignies to the Maiors house, and would haue broken the house, the Officers of the toune entreated, and Welshemen more and more approched, the nombre of the Welshemen were so greate, that the watche of Calice strake *Alarme*. Then the Lorde deputie and the lorde Sandes, did all that in them laye to hyng them to conformitie, but they were so rude that thei nothyng them regarded, the priestes brought furthe the blessed Sacrament, whiche also was not regarded. Wherefore the Lorde Ferreis was straightly commaūded tō appease their rage, for with hym thei came thether, whiche with greate pain and entreatie them appesed and then all the Welshemen were comaūded to the felde, and to depart the toune and so wer al other capitaines, & after diuerse of f hed rioters wer apprehēded & sore punished for exāple. And when al thynges necessary were prepared, the duke issued out of Calice & toke the feld, & ordeined his Marshal, & capitain, of the vanguard the lord Sandes, capitain of his right wyng sir Williā Kyngston, and capitain of his lefte wyng, sir Euerard Dighby, sir Edward Guyldford Marshal of Calice, was capitain of al the horsemē, sir Richard Wingfeld, capitain of f rereward then the duke with al his army, as capitain of f middle ward, with standerdes, banners and penons, displayed, marched forward in good ordre of battail, & came to a place called Kalkewell, and their lodged the. xix. day of September. In whiche place diuerse souldiers, of Caries and vp lande men, whiche wer vnmeter for the warre, (for euery thyng to them was pain) fell sicke and disseased, wherefore the duke gaue them leaue by passport to returne

The Sacra-  
ment.

And on the. xxii. daie of September, he toke vp his campe and came to Hamswell, and there pitched his felde, he thus lyng in abode for the armie of Flaunders, which promised to ioine with hym, whiche as then were not come to. S. Omers. He entending not to be still idly, sent Clarenceux kyng of Armes, to somon the castle called Bell castle, to yelde to him or els he would destroy it with fire and sword, the officer of armes did his message accordingly, to whom the Capitain answered, that he would deliuer no castle to the duke, &

if

if the duke came thether, he should nothyng get, for he said he was sure of suche rescues, y<sup>e</sup> should not be to the dukes auantage. whichewith this answer returned toward the duke and the waie he met the lorde Sandes, & the lord Ferreis in array of battail, with. v. C. horsmen, &. i. M. footemen, to whō he rehersed the answer, then said y<sup>e</sup> lordes we must cōpel him, if otherwise he wil not. Then the master of thordinance was cōmaūded to prepare for a batne, which was done, & thether came. v. c. horsemen of Burgoniōs, &. v. C. fotemen, then thordinance with great difficultie was brought nere the castle, & al though it wer night, the gonnes cesed not & bet the place sore, they within defended the best that they might, & when the day begā to spring, the lordes caused to blow to thassault, which hearyng the capitain of the castle said to his cōpanions, y<sup>e</sup> they wer not able to abide thassault, & that their succors failed them, wherefore of necessitie they muste deliuer the castle, whereto they agreed, and so he yelded the castle, his life onely saued and all other at the mercie of the duke, whiche pardoned them, and toke thē as prisoners, and deliuered the castle to sir Willyam Skeuyngtō, whiche was shortly rased doune to the ground, the. xxvii. daie of Septēber.

Mondae beyng the. xxviii. daie of Septēber, there was a proclamacion made in tharmy, how that Fraunces duke of Burbon, & Constable of Fraunce, was become frend to the kyng of Englande, & eneny to the Frēch kyng, & was sworne to the kyng of England, & had in his wages for the kyng of England x M. Almaines to invade Fraūce, or to let the French kynges purposes, & for this intent to him was sent money in no litle some, but the common peple said, y<sup>e</sup> neuer was Frenchman true to England, how be it he was true as long as he liued.

To make this proclamacion more apparant, you must vnderstande that in this season the Frenche king was ruled by his mother the Cōtēsse of Angulesme and the Admyrall of Fraunce called Lord Bonyuet whiche as was reported and sayd, loued the sayd lady as his paramor, of whiche all the court of Fraunce spake muche. These two persones so ruled the kyng, that what thei sayd was done and no iudgement nor sētence passed in the Parliament at Parys without their assent, so that nothing was done without them, at whiche thing the nobles of Fraūce sore disdained and especially the lorde Fraunces duke of Burbon and Constable of Fraunce whiche hauing a suite for therledome of Moutpelyer could not be heard speake nor his counsaill neither. At the last he beyng sore displeased with this vnkynd and vnjust handling, came to the French kyng besechyng him of iustice & fauor, whiche flateryng him sayd that al that was in his power to do he would gladly accomplish, & other answer had he none, & to encrease his grudge y<sup>e</sup> more, the Fienche kinges mother made a title to the whole Duchy of Burbon & Auerne, and the Admyral & she so entised the kyng that he sayd opōly that the Duke of Burbon shortly should be as poore as the meanest gentleman in Fraunce, whiche wordes reported to him caused him to hate mortally the Frenche kyng and his mother, and so in displeasure departed into his owne countrey. The kyng of England heyng hereof aduertised, sent to the duke of Burbon a knight of his Chamber called sir Ihon Russell a man well languaged, whiche wisely and couertly so behaued himself, that he came to the duke to Molyns and knew all his entent how he would forsake his kyng and serue the king of Englād & the Emperour against the Frenche kyng, and therevpon tooke his othe. The Frenche kyng not mistrusting the alleageaunce of the duke of Burbon sent to the Duke to prepare him to go into Italye, for he had prepared a great army to passe the mountaines against the duke of Myllaine, in which army he had vi M. men of armes, and xxv M. fotemen. The duke hearyng hereof fained himselfe sicke, and the Frenche kyng passyng by Molyns visited & cōforted him. to whō the duke promised to come shortly after to Lyons with all his power, and caused an horselitter to be caried emptie, iii. dayes amoungest a certun of his souldiers as though he were there, but he himselfe fled secretly into the Countye of Burgoyne pertaignyng to the Emperour, where he retained. x. M. Almaines to invade Fraunce assone as the Frenche kyng was passed the mountaines.

When the Frenche kyng heard of this, he sent the Admyrall into Italy with his army, &  
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sent



sent his great Master to seaze al the dukes lades Of all these doynges sir Ihon Russell brought true worde, for he was present with the Duke, and also sawe the Frenche armye, and returned vnespied, wherfore he deserued & had of the king and his counsaile great thanks. Wherevpon the kyng caused the proclamacion to be made in the army, that they might knowe that all the power of Fraunce should not trouble them. For what with the warres of Italy and for the duke of Burbons power they might do what they lust & be vnfought withal which so proued after. Whiche tidynges muche encouraged thenglishe souldiers.

After this proclamacion, there were tidynges brought to the army for a tieweth, that one Hierome Vicount, a great familiar frende w the duke of Myllayne entised by the French kyng, had almost slaine Fraunces duke of Myllaine with a dagger behynd at his back, with the whiche doyng the Frenche kyng aboue all persones fained himselfe to be most displeased. The morowe being the xxix day of September the duke with his whole army remoued to Arde and there lodged, & the last day of September he remoued to a village called Alrke, and from thence the fyrst day of October he came to a village betwene Tywyn and saint Omeis called Esquerdes or Cordes, where the duke lay and encaped himselfe abiding his enemies

Nowe must I returne to tell you what was done betwene England and Scotland this same season. Whyle the duke of Suffolke was thus inuadyng the realme of Fraunce. The Scottes thinking the war turned into Fraunce, and that nothing should be attempted against them, began to robbe and spoile on the Marches of England, wherof the kyng hearyng sent agayne thither the valiant erle of Surray treasurer and Admyrall of England, whiche in all hast sped him to the west Marches and sent for an army of vi. M. men, & with banner displayed entred by the dry Marches betyng doune castles & fortresses on euery side. And although the Scottes be men of high corage, yet they seying the wise conduct of the noble erle of Surray and his chosen company, durst not once encoüter with him, and so he passed quietly through the dales, tyll he came to the strong tounce of Iedworthe, in whiche lay a great garrison of Scottishmen whiche did all the hurt they could to the Englishmen, and hardly in great number skyrmshe with thenglishmen, so that on both partes diuers wer slaine, but in the end the Abbay, Castle, and tounce of Iedworth were brent and all rased a sonde in the open sight of the Scottes. And after this he would not returne but encamped himself in the Scottishe ground abiding battail, and lay there from the xxii day of September to the xxv. day. Duryng whiche tyme he sent f loide Daker of Gylderslaid to a strong hold of Don-car called Peinhurst, the whiche castle stode very eunl to come to, for the wayes wer hylly, stony, and full of marishes, and the Scottes had bent their ordinaunce that way yet for all that the Englishmen so fierly set on that they gat the Castle, notwithstanding that the Scottes fought valiantly, and many of them were taken, as Dan Car the lorde, the lorde of Graddon and diuers other whiche was there taken, and so the lorde Daker retuined with his prisoners, and then he was ordained to kepe the watche that night whiche set his watches & his wardes surely. In the night sodainly CCC. good geldynges brake out of a pasture, whiche were in custodie of the sayd lord Dacres campe, and as beastes wodde and sauage ranne enraged and notwithstanding that men did as muche as they might to stoppe them, yet they ranne as though they were in array of battail, whereof the noyse in the night was so great, that the armye sounded *alarme*, the hoise styll in array ranne to the cape, where the erle lay and bare doune many persones in their waye, and so sodainly ranne away whether it was vnknown the lorde Dacres men sayd that the deuill was sene amongst them: and after the third day the Erle returned into England.

When the Erle of Surray departed from the borders in August as you haue heard heretofore The Scottes wrote to the duke of Albany of all their Affaires, whiche was commyng into Scotland. But when he heard that the Navy of England lay in wayte to fight with him, he durst not auenture, but sate styll. And when he heard there was no capitaines of name on the borders of England toward Scotland, he deuised by policie that all his shippes should be remoued to the hauen of Brest, and sayd himselfe and caused it to be noysed that he would

would not saile into Scottlād that yere. So rāne the voice al the coastes of Normandy and Britaigne, and so passed tyll the ende of Septembre

The kyng of England was enformed by suche as knew none other, that the duke of Albany had broken his iorney, and would not passe that yere into Scotland. Wherefore the kyng of England in the middest of September caused his shippes to be layde vp in hauens tyl the next spryng: The duke of Albany beyng therof aduertused boldly then tooke his shippes and shipped his people, and with lxxi saile in sight passed by the West partes of England and coasted Wales, & so with great labor landed at Kyrrowbie in the West parte of Scotland with all his people the xxi. day of Septēber whiche wer in number. iii.M. or there about, and with him was the traytor Richard Delapole

When it was knowen in Scotland that the lorde Gouvernor was landed, muche gladnes there was amongest the people. Then the duke was highly receiued and his people wel cherished, and then beganne a Parliament. The kyng of England hearyng that the duke of Albany was landed in Scotlande and was vnfought withall, was not a litle displeased, and suspected that suche as enformed him that the Duke would not passe that yere, had deceiued him, but there was no remedye. Wherefore he made prouisions and put all thynges in a readynes, if he would attempt any thing against him and his realme.

The Duke of Albany Gouvernor of Scotland beyng in the Parliament of the realme, with great eloquence declared to them the loue and fauor that Fraūces the Frenche kyng bare to the realme of Scotland, insomuch that he beyng aduertused of the great murders, slaughters, & burnynges done by the Englishemen, thought that he suffered no lesse hurt and damage then they did, accountyng him self one of their membres, and them likewise the membres of him and his realme, and for the reuenging of thesame, he to be partener as then member, & for the more credite he shewed the Frenche kynges fauorable letter, affirming his declaration. When the letters wer red, there start vp a Baron of Scotland called the lorde Forbos, whiche sayd: the realme of Scotland for the loue of Fraunce suffereth great paine as daily doeth appere, for our nobles be slain or taken, our cominaltie murdered, our lādes ouer-rūne, our houses & fortresses brent & rased, the profites of our owne lādes we lese which mischief we nede not to haue had, but for the loue of Fraūce, & what helpeth Fraunce? A faire friend is not sone fet? A mightie neighbor may be a cruel enemy I affirme this, if we would kepe amitie with the realme of England we were out of all these daungers. God forbyd sayd the duke of Albany that Scotland euer should seke a new frende or profier their amtie, to the destroyers of their couētre and nacion, but you my lordes of Scottlād are sufficient of your selfe to maintain your lādes, libertie, & fredome against your comon enemies the Englishemen. And therefore now let vs together reuenge the hurtes done to vs & our countrey. And I on myre honor shal go with you, and therefore I haue brought with me bothe treasure, men, and artillerie into this realme. I thinke not but we shall so do that all Christendome shall speake of our noble cōquest. To the dukes request all ŷ court of Parliament agreed and then wer cōmissions sent through Scotland & cryes made that all men shuld assemble at Doglās dale with vitale for xxviii dayes. The Scotcs in al hast prepared, so that the lordes wer come to the place appointed the xviii day of October, with vitale, gunnes, & all othei artillerie, and so came by easy iorneyes to the riuier of Twede on a ground beside Hume-castle, & fiō thence came to Cawdestrene & there lodged.

All this doyng the kyng of England knewe well, wherefore with all diligēce he caused to be assembled the people of the North part beyond Trent, wherof there were. iii.M. beryng cotes of armes w̄ their power and strength, whiche all were cōmaunded to resort to the erle of Surray with spede. The noble Marques Dorset Thomas was appointed to kepe Berwicke with. vi.M. men, lest ŷ Scoties therto would lay siege.

The duke of Albany whiche lay on the frontiers hearing of the Erle of Surreyes prepyaryng sent to him an Herauld promisyng him of his honor to geue him battail, and if he tooke him in battail he would put him to curteous raunsome & his body to be safe: To whom the erle answered, that muche he thanked the duke of his offer, and that he would abide bat-



tail, promisyng hīm that he would geue him battail if he durst abide: and if that ꝑ sayd duke wer taken prisoner by him or his menne he would strike of his head & send it to the kyng of England his Master, and bad that he should trust to none other, at whiche answere the duke of Albany & the Scottes toke great dispite.

The erle of Surriay beyng at Alnwyke, to him came therles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lorde Clyfford, the lorde Dacres, the lorde Lumley, the lorde Ogle, the lorde Darcy, and many noble Knightes, Squiers and yomen, to the number of. xl.M. And from the kyngescourt was sent to be at the batail sir Nicholas Carew Master of the horse, sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Edward Baynton and diuers other. All this armye laye on the borders abidyng the Scottes cōmyng into England, whiche lay styll in Scotland and did nothyng till the last day of October beyng Saterday. The night before the Scottes had sent ouer the water into England. iii. or. iiii. M. men to lay siege to a lytle castle called ꝑ Castle of Warke, whiche stādeth nere the border the great ordinaunce of Scotland sore bet the castle, and Dan Car and the Frenchemen whiche came out of Fraunce with the duke of Albany gaue to the castle a strong assault within the castle was sir Williā Lyle with a. C. persones, but the Scottes were so many in nomber, that they got the vtermoste warde called the Barnkyns where the beastes and barnes were, whiche seyng, the capitaine sent in all hast to the Erle of Surrey aduertisyng him of their distres, whiche in all hast assembled his capitaines to reskue the castle, therby hopyng that Duke Ihon of Albany would enter into England. The Frenchmen and Scottes lay styll about the castle cōtinually shotyng ordinaunce Sonday & Monday the fyrst and second day of Nouember, and then the Scottes thynkyng the place assailable, coragiously set on the castle and by strength entred the second warde. Sir Willyā Lyle perceuyng that ꝑ Scottes had gotten the false brayes and that nothing remained but only the inner warde or dōgeon, sayd to his company, sirs for our honor & māhod let vs issue and fight with the proude Scottes and stately Frenchmen, for more shall our honor be to dye in fight, then to be murdered with gunnes, to the whiche his company that were left agreed, for of his. C. men he had lost almost xl at the other assautes. Then they issued out boldly and shot coragiously as men that shot for a vauntage, and with shotyng and fightyng they draue their enemies clene out of the place & slew of them & chiefly of the Frenchmen CCC whiche lay there dead in sight when the Erle came thither, beside suche as dyed of woundes & were drowned. Then the Scottes remoued their ordinaunce, in great hast ouer the water, and by that tyme was the Erle of Surrey come w. v. M. men on horsebacke & all his great army folowed & was very soyr that his enemies were gone, & muche praised sir Willyam Lyle for his valauntnes.

When the duke of Albany & the lordes of Scotland knew that the erle of Surrey approched with his puissant army, they thought it not conuenient to ieorparde all the nobilitie of Scotlande in one felde, considering their chaunce x. yeres before, and therefore they cōcluded to returne, and so on the sayd secōd day of Nouember in the night the duke with all his armye retreated more for his suetie then honor.

The horsemen of Scotland kept the fordes that no mī should passe to grieue the fotemen as they returned, and when all the baggages wer gone they cast them selves in a plumpe and returned.

When the day appeared, then the Englishmen might plainly see the Scottes how they fled fiffe mennes thickenes, many a lusty Englishman would faine haue folowed them on horsebacke, and so would therle of Surriay with all his heart, but his cōmission was only to defend the realme and not to invade Scotland, whiche thing him sore displeased. Thus brake vp the great army of Scotland to the great rebake of the duke of Albany & the nobles of Scotland whiche ii. yere together had made magges & assembles and durst not abide battaile. The Scottes made much bragges that they had beaten doune the walles of Warke castle, but they spake nothing of them men that they left there, nor how cowardly they returned & would not abide. After this returne quene Margaret of Scotlād & mother to the yong kyng, sent to her brother the kyng of England 'or an abstinance of waire to be taken betwene ꝑ realme

realme of England and Scotland, to thentent that some way might be taken, that an amitie might be had betwene them: whiche request to her was graunted, and so the great armye of England was dissolued and the Erle of Surrey returned to the coast

In this season the Emperor Charles sent to the kyng of Englad. ii. Mules trapped in cri-<sup>A present sent by the Emperor to the kyng</sup> mosyn veluet curiously embrodered, al f bukles, stirroppes & all suche other garnishynges were siluer & gilt of meiuailous cōnyng worke He sēt also. xi. Genettes ful goodly to be- hold trapped with russett veluet richely wrought, and. iii. speres, &. ii. lanelynes of straunge tymber & worke richely garnished, and v. brace of greyhōudes: and to the quene he sent two Mules with riche trappers and high chayers after the Spanishe fashion, all these presētes wer thankfully receiued both of the kyng and quene

Now let vs returne to the Duke of Suffolke whiche lay at Cordes or Esqwerdes the xx. day of September & thither came to him f army of Flaunders, wherof was capitaine the lorde of Isalsteyne which had with him of Spaniards, Almaines, Cleues and other. iii. M. fote men and v. C. horsemen well apparelled for the warres in all pointes.

The duke of Suffolke beyng thus furnished passed forwaide in wete wether makyng bridges & wayes, euer loking for battel, & on the xvii. day of October he sent the lorde Sandes Marshall of his armye, and with him. iii. M. men to a good toune called Anker whiche accompanied with diuers knightes & gentlemen in good order of battail marched toward the toune. The Frenchmen perceuyng the Englishmen cōnyng toward their toune, fled out as fast as they might, and left the toune desolate: then entred the Englishmen and had there a great botie and toke the castle called Bone gard and therein put a garrison of Englishmen, whereof was capitaine the lorde Leonard Gray brother to the Marques Dorset to conduict vitailers to the armye, whiche nowe was farre from any succours of the Englishe part In this toune was an abbay of Monkes whiche receiued humbly the lordes and nobles of England, whiche to them did no hurt nor damage, and then they returned to the duke.

After this, the xix day, the Duke with his armye passed to a village called Qwede: and there, after long cōsailyng it was determined that the whole army should passe to a strong toune and well fortified called Bray, whiche toune was well ordinaunced and had to it xvi. C. men of waire, the capitaine therof was called Adrian, and for succours to the tonne were come Mounsire Pontdormy, the Vicount Larnerdam, the Vicount Turraine, Mōsire Ap- plyngcort, & Mounsire Dāpney, with v. C. horsmen, so that in the toune beside the inhabi- tantes wer ii. M. good men. This toune standeth on the riuier of Some. xxiiii. Englishe myle from Arras, and xiiii. myles aboute Amyas This toune was well ditched and strength- ened on every side.

The xx. day of this moneth the Duke cōmaunded al his great ordinaūce to be brought by. iii. of the clocke in the moing before f toune of Bray, they that had the charge ther- of so manfully acquited thē that notwithstanding all f damage that their enemies could do, brought the oidinaunce before the toune at f houre appointed: Then eche part shot died- fully at other, but the Englishe gūners shot so wel, that the walles of the toune were beaten doune & rased with the ordinaunce, insomuche that by. ix. of the clocke the toune was made assailable. Then the duke caused to blow to thassaut. Then the Englishmen & Flemynges & Burgonions lept furth quickly, and notwithstanding that the diches wer depe, yet they so coragiously entered by the good comfort of the lorde Sades & other noble men. that they gat f diches. The Frenchmen perceuyng that the toune should be gotten, hastily made traynes of gunpouder from strete to strete & house to house, sayng that the English- men after their entry into f toune would fal to pillage, & then sodainly sodain fyer should- destroy them. This was the prouision of the Frēchmen by this tyme the Englishmen wer enteryng on the walles, and the Frenchmen stode yet at defence with pikes, crosbowes, handgunnes. & halberdes, but they were to weke, for on all partes entred thenghlishmen and sodainly the Frenchmen fiedde and the Englishmen folowed and killed and slew in every part.

Nowe you must vnderstand that this toune of Bray standeth on the riuier of Some which is there deuided in diuers blaunches & betwene euery braūche is a marishe ground, where



on the farside of y<sup>e</sup> toune was fortified a Bulwarke ful of ordinaunce to képe the passage ouer y<sup>e</sup> water, & the Frenchmen had losed the planks of the bridge nere a myle<sup>aboue</sup> Bray, & the horsmen of Fraunce passed by a myle which was to the Frēchfotemen a great ayd, for thei stode & kept the passage till y<sup>e</sup> fotemē wer come ouer the bridge, & then they plucked away the plākes of the bridge, so that nomā shuld folow, but ever thenglishmen folowed & cast plākes on the bridge & passed ouer the bridge, in which passyng diuers wer drowned, but w<sup>th</sup> great traual all men passed, horsmen & fotemen, & fiersly assauted the Bulwarke and toke it with all the ordinaunce, & in it was taken capitaine Adrian and capitaine Viterlew. The Englishe horsemen folowed the Frenchmen & diuers of them wer slaine and takē, sir Robert Iernyngham brake a spere on the lorde Pountdormy. The lorde Leonard Gray did valiaūtly that day. You must remember that when the Frenchmen issued out of the toune, they forgatte not to lay a matche to the traue of gunnepowder whiche they had made, whiche in shoit space set the toune al on fyre, so that when thenglishmen returned again, al was on fyre, so that there they had litle profite but wyne, whiche to them did great pleasure. This was the toune of Bray taken and destroyed the xx. day of October.

The duke consideryng that litle succours were for him and his souldiers in the toune of Bray because the sayd toune was consumed with fyre, he therefore cōmaunded the bridges to be wel repayed for to passe ouer the great riuier of Some into the realme of Fraunce and when the passage was sure, the lord Sandes the. xxi. day of October in the meryng was prest to passe ouer with the vaward. Then some gentlemen sayd that they would passe nō farther forward, & diuers souldiers were on thesame opinion. It was asked why they should feare, and they answered that if they were past ouer the riuier, they were past all succours and vital, none could be brought to them. By reason of this noyse the souldiers stayed, whiche y<sup>e</sup> lord Sades perceiuyng, sayd to the Welshmen which wer euil willyng to passe y<sup>e</sup> riuier: sirs sayd he, behold what I do, and with that he toke a banner of saint George & sayd, as many as loue the kyng of England & be true to him and to the crowne, folow me, and then he and sir Wylliam Kyngston set forward and passed the water, whiche there runneth in three streames, then all other persones coragiously folowed, and the ordinaunce and vitales

After the foreward folowed the duke and al his battail At this tyme the army was sore minished by reason many wer diseased and from the host departed, so the host was net of that strength that it was at the setting out of Calayce When thenglishmen were passed, then folowed the Burgonions in good order, and so that night this army came to a toune called Kappe and there encamped themselves, all the inhabitautes were fled bothe out of the toune and Castile: there thenglishmen found C tonne of wine, & other good pillage. The garrison that lay at Anker knowing that y<sup>e</sup> duke was passed the riuier of Some, rased the toune & castle, and came & ioyned with y<sup>e</sup> dukes army at Kappe

There the duke caused proclamacions to be made in the armye that all the people of Fraunce that would vitale the armye of Englande should be well entreated & haue their vitales well payed for, and safe goyng and cōmyng, by the whiche proclamacion the host was well vitaled, for the people of y<sup>e</sup> countrey resorted with all thynges necessarie.

The Duke thus lyng at Cap sent to the toune of Roy to yeld them to the kyng of England. The toune perceiuyng that their power was not able to withstand the great armye of the Duke, assented to deliuer the toune to the Duke. This was a strong toune well walled, dyched, and ordinaunced but not manned, the Duke sent thither sir Richard Cornwall and other with. iiii. C. men to receiue the toune, whiche went thither in good aray and had the toune to them deliuered and then they sette the banner of saint George in the highest part of the toune, and full well this garrison kept the toune of Roy til the duke came thither with his whole armye.

The Duke & his armye the xxv. day of the sayd moneth remoued to a village called Lyhome, & had there great pillage: for this toune was muche haunted of marchautes and there

there kept great markettes. The next day he remoued to Dauenker, and the. xxvii. day he remoued and came before ſ strong toune of Mountdedier, where for defēce of warre lacked neither diches, walles, nor bulwarkes: The horsmen of the Englishe army rode about the toune to vew it, at whō the capitaines caused diuers pieces to be losed whiche shewed well their strength. The duke sent an officer of armes to somon the captain to deliuer ſ toune: the officer departed, & with him a trumpet whiche blew before the gate, but no person would answere, because they would haue no Sommons made to them: the officer of armes returned and made report. Then the Dukes skyriers made profer afore the toune, out of the whiche issued a great compaignie of horsmen and skyrnished with the Dukes horsmen and fought valantly, but at the last. xl. of the horsmen were taken, with whiche the lorde Roche Baron capitaine of the toune was sore displeased, yet he thought him able to maintaine the toune against the whole armye. Then the Duke of Suffolke pyched his felde and layd his siege rounde about the toune of Mountdedier and kept good watche and warde on euery side. whiche thing the lorde Roche Baron perceiuyng comforted his menne of warre and bad them not be afraide but to be of good corage, and sayd that the Duke there should get nothyng. When the Duke had thus planted his siege, he considered that he was faire from reskew, and that lyng still and nothyng doying was not profitable, he knewe also by report of the prisoners that in the toune of Moundedier were two thousand footemen, and one thousand horsmen, wherefore he sent for all the lordes and capitaines of his army and muche praised their hardynes and sayd that the noble corage that he sawe in them did muche auance him to sette forwarde in all thynges, the praise wherof should be to them and not to him, and therfore now he encoraged them againe to continue still in their valiaunt doying, for with Goddes grace he entended to bend his ordinaunce the next mornynge before the toune, to the whiche all the lordes agreed and praised muche the dukes corage and forwardnes.

. Then was sir Willyam Skeuyngton knight, Maister of the ordinaunce cōmaunded to prepare for the battery, whiche with all diligēce made trenches, and prepared all thinges mete for the purpose. In this season sir Ihon Walop knight had with him almost a M. proper men and hardy, hauyng litle wages or none whiche liued alonely on their auenture, wherefore of some they were called aduenturers, of some they were called kreekars. These men wer light, hardy, and politike, and by their manhod and hardiues had robbed many townes, taken many prisoners, with great boties, & daily brought to the army Horses, Mares, vitaille, cloth, corne, & other necessaries whiche might not be mysed. Of this company the Frenchemen and especially they of villages & passēgers wer sore afrayde, for they were neuer idle but doying some thyng in one part or other. The lorde Pountdormy, or Pountreny hearyng Mountdedyer was besieged, called to him diuers great lordes & capitaines to the number of. v. C. menne of armes and dimy launces, and a great number of fotemen, entending to bryng gunnepowder and other necessaries to the toune of Mōūtdedier & as they wer thither cōmyng by night, Thomas Palmer, captain of the skout watche of the Englishe army them askied and skyrnished with them although they wer more in nombrr. manfully fought the Frenchemen, but for all that they were compelled to flee backe, and then Englishemen them folowed and slewe diuers, and two speres were broken on the brother of the lorde Pountdormy, but by the swyftnes of his horse he saued himselfe, and in this chase were C. prisoners taken whiche muche reioysed the Englishmen.

When the Master of the ordinaunce had all thinges ready, at the houre of. iii. of the clocke in the mornynge he discharged the ordinaunce continually in suche fashion, that by. viii. of the clocke the. xxviii. day of October the walles were made lowe & the toune assautable. All whiche while, the great ordinaunce shot still out of the toune tyll the walles & toune were beaten doune. The capitaine of the toune perceiuyng this, called to him al the capitaines, declaryng to them that their toune was in. iii. houres made assautable, and that surely the Englishmen would assaute the toune whiche should be to their cōfusion, wherefore he asked their aduise what was best to be done, al they answered, do as you will.

Then



Then he went into a tower & caused a trompet to blowe and set furth a banner of truce. Then the duke cōmaunded the ordinaunce to cease. Then sir Willyā Skeuynghon came to the walles & demanded what they would, & the lord Roche Baron sayd, that if it pleased the duke for the loue of the kyng of England & his honoi, to graūt to him & thother gentlemen that wer there, licence to depart with life, bagge & baggage, they would deliuer the toune of Mountdedier. Then sir Willyā Skeuynghon made report to the duke, whiche therto cōsented, sayng: they be men of waite, their riches is not great. Then the lorde Sandes and diuers other were appointed to receiue the toune, & so they entred & set their stādardes on the top of the gates, & toke the keys of all the strong houses, towers, and Bulwarkes. The Frenchemen were readye to depart with trussages and cariages, with Crosbowes, Pykes, & Handgunnes, with whiche doying the lorde Sandes and the Englishemen which wer within the toune wer not cōtent, & sayd that the Frenchmen should passe without weapon: on this point was muche alteraciō and the Frenchemen were stayed, but the lorde Roche Baron gaue many fayre wordes and passed forward with a red standaid, with a white crosse before him, that seying sir Thomas Palmer, ranne to the stādard and plucked it in peces. Then sayd the Lorde Roche Baron that it was vngently done. To whom he answered that he should beare no standard there like a conqueror. Then after long disputacion the Frenchemen sayd, that it was promised them that they should haue their weapons and baggage, and so vpon that they were suffered to depart. The fotemen likewise had a standaid before them whiche was rent by sir Robert Iernyngham. The nombre whiche departed truely accompted, were two thousand footemen, fūe hūndrieth horsemen and odde wel and warlike appointed, and they left muche baggage behynd them, because they sawe the Englishemen so fast come into the toune, they were in feare of losse of all.

When the Frenchmen wer departed, the duke with his whole army entred the toune and there the Englishemen founde fine fetherbeddes, napery, coveringes, and muche household stuffe, and especially of wyne great plentie, and there the armye rested till the last day of October, and then were all the gates of the toune rased and throwen doune, and all the Bulwarkes likewise. Then the duke caused all the ordinaunce to be taken and so removed to the toune of Roie, where he and all his armye rested for a while: wherof they were glad, for they had trauailed sore, and the wether was wette and colde. On the feast of all saintes called Allhalon daye, the Duke in the chiefe Churche of Roie made knightes, the lorde Halbert, the lorde Powes, Olyuer Manners, Arthūr Pole, Richard Sandes, Robert Iernyngham, Robert Saishbury, Edmond Benynghfelde, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworthe, Wylliam Storton, Water Mantell, George Wairan, Edward Seymoui after eile of Hattford, and now Duke of Sommerset, and moste worthy Gouvernor of the kynges maiesties persone and Protector of all his realmes, dominions and subiectes.

The morowe after, the armye removed to a place called Neele, there the Burgonions beganne to waxe wery, and so did the Englishemen, for euery day was foule wether and raine bothe day and night. Wherfore dyuers companies fell to grudging sayng, now you may see that by our remouyng we shall be ledde from place to place all this wynter, whiche is to the vtter losse of our lyues: for dayly we see that of our company dyeth no smal nombre (and trueth it was that some dyed but not many) they sayd farther, the Burgomons haue the great gaine and do least for it, for they haue wagons and carye their boties to their countrey, whiche is nere hand, and we go before and fight, and we haue no meanes to conuey any thing into our cōtrey for lacke of carryage, and so we bete the bushe and they take the bydes. This grudge was seassed by gentle wordes for a tyme.

In these iorneyes was cōmonly spoken that the duke of Bourbon with his x. M. Almaynes would haue invaded Fraunce and so ioyned with this army, but y<sup>e</sup> truth was cōtrary, for he turned his host another way and went into prouince and layde siege to Marcelles, wherof the duke beyng aduertised, not a litle mused, and also seying his menne daily fall sicke, was sorry, and yet he so comforted them that euery man was glad to folowe his will and entent.

On the. vi. day of Nouember the lorde Sandes beyng capitaine of the foreward, and the duke of the middle ward, and sir Richard Wyngteld capitaine of the rereward came in order of battail prest to fight, to a village called Veane and there rested for that night, and the morow after the whole army returned againe ouer the water of Some, & came to a place called Beauford: At this passage the duke made knyghtes Ihon Dudley, and Robert Vireyght esquiers.

The viii. day ꝑ duke remoued to a place called Mount saint Martyne a very mete place for an armye, and then was the dukes instruccions loked vpō by the capitaines, and they perceuyng that they hard nothyng of the duke of Burbons comyng, ayde nor counsail, all they thought and determined to send the lorde Sandes in post to the kyng, to declare all the case as it stode & then necessitie according as he himselfe knew and saw in all pointes whiche lorde Sandes tooke great paine and made good diligence toward the kyng, and while he was rydyng, the duke remoued his armye to a place called Permount & there lodged for a tyme to rest, and the army was well vitailed, but euer the Welshemen muttered and grudged more and more.

After the great raynes and wyndes that had fallen, came a feruent frost, so sore that many <sup>A great frost.</sup> a souldier dyed for colde, some lost fyngers and some toes, but many lost their nailes of their handes, whiche was to thē a great grefe. The duke all this notwithstanding remembryng that he came not thither to lye styl, the xiii. day remoued to a place two myle from the castle of Bowhen and still it fised, insomuche that the master of the Ordinaunce was compelled of necessitie to set the wheles of his ordinaunce on haydels for sinkyng. In the mornyng the Welshemen set out a shout and cryed, home, home, the krekens hearyng that, cryed hang, hang For whiche matter deuision was like to haue fallen, but by policie it was ceased. Sir Edward Gyldford capitaine of the horsmen vewed the castle of Bowhen or Boghan, whiche euer was thought to be impregnable, but he iudged it might be wonne, for the castle was inuironed with Maryses, so that to no mans iudgement it was possible to wyne it: But now he perceued that the frost was so great and strong that it might be beseaged, & all that night it fised againe wherfore he desired the Duke to geue him leaue to assaute it whiche thereto agreed. Then he caused the ordinaunce to be set furth ouer the marrish. When they within the castle perceued that the marrishe fayled them, they were sore dismayed. Then sir Edward Guldeford shot thie great pieces at the castle, and the castilian shot thre pieces againe Then as the Englishe gunners wer preparing to the hattery, the capitain seyng his castle could not hold, by reason that the marrishe failed, and that he could defeude none assault, deliuered the castle to him to the behofe of the Emperor and the kyng of England, and after a small communication had betwene the sayd sir Edward Guyldforde and the capitaine, the capitaine with all his retinue departed leuyng behynd the ordinaunce of bombardes, curtawes, & demy cutaux, slinges, canons, volgers, and other ordinaunce, there were lxxvi. pieces, plentie of pelletes & powder. The duke of Suffolke perceuyng that this castle stode on the border of Henaude. Wherfore the more to please the Henawers he made capitaine of thesame castle of Boghan the Seneschal of Henaude, to the behofe of the Emperor and the kyng of England. In this place the army was euil vitailed, because the Frenchemen had stopped the water of Some, that no vitails should passe ouer the riuier: wherfore the Duke sent to them of Henaude & specially to them of Valencien, to haue ayde of vitails, which of their lide sent to the army a litle, but yet it did them some seruice, and all this while the feruent frost with bitter windes cōtinued, which caused many people to dye: yet still lay the army abidyng the answer of the lord Sandes, whiche as you haue heard rode in post & somuche trauailed that he came to the kyng of England to his castle of Wyndsoire and there declared to the kyng his message, whiche was that his people which wer in the Fienche ground abode muche misery, for the wether was wet, the wayes depe, long nightes and short dayes, great iorneyes and litle vitaille, which caused the souldiers daily to dye Also they trusted when they passed the seas accordyng to theu instruccions to haue had ayde of the Duke of Burbon (of whom sith their



their departyng they neuer heard worde) wherfore the Duke of Suffolke and other nobles of your army haue sēt me to your highnes to declare their state and condicion, their good will to tary, & the eul chaunces which daily happeneth to them by God and not by their enemies. Well sayd the kyng all this we knewe before your cōmyng: wherfore we haue appointed the lorde Mountioy with. vi. M. men to passe the seas for the relefe of our army, whiche lorde Mountioy is almost in a redynes: For we will in no wise that the army shall breake.

Then the kyng came to Westminster to the Cardinals place & there receiued letters from the duke of Suffolke by sir Robert Iernyngham of the getting of the castle of Boghan or Bowen wherfore incōtinent it was by the kyng and his counsaile determined that the lord Mouioy should make spede, whiche did suche diligence that many of his souldiers were come to Lōdon wel harnissed and weponed redy to passe the seas. Wherfore the kyng sent in all hast sir Robert Iernyngham again to declare to the duke the kynges pleasure and what ayde was cōmyng towardes him. But or sir Robert Iernyngham could come to the duke the armye was removed from Bohan and brent the toun, and so came to the cite of Valencine in Henaude, & there layde vp their ordinaunce and from thence came to the cite of Turnay (whiche then was vnder the Emperour and out of the Frenche kynges handes) and so toke their iornay homewarde thorow Flaunders and the army there broken and dispatched. But when the duke mette with sir Robert Iernyngham at Bridges in Flaunders and knewe the kynges mynde and entent, he did what he might to retreate the souldiers, which could not be, for many Englishemen shipped at Antwarpe, and many at Sluyes, and at Newport and other hauens, and they that were at Calayce were steyed for a tyme, but when the Duke sawe that he could not bryng all his army together scacely the iii. part, he then licensed the remnaunt to depart. Of this breakyng vp of the armye were letters sent to the kyng, which incontinent stopped the lorde Mountioy and sent his men into the countrey againe. The Duke and other capitaines hearyng of the Kynges displeasure, were sore abashed, and did write to their frendes that they had perfitte knowlege that the Duke of Burbon had broken vpp his campe for the extremitie of the Wynter, and also shewed that their souldiers dyed, and vitall failed, whiche caused them to breake the army, for of truthe the souldiers would not abide. with which reasons the kyng was somewhat appeased and so on good hope the duke came to Calayce the. xii. day of December, & there abode long, till their frendes had sued to the kyng for their returne. And when it was graunted and that they were returned, the Duke and the capitaines came not to the kynges presence in a long season, to their great heauynes and displeasure. But at the last all thinges were taken in good part and they well receiued and in great loue, fauor, and familiaritie with the kyng.

Whyle the Duke of Suffolke was in Fraunce and the Erle of Surrey on the Marches of Scotland, the Cardinall sent out cōmissions in the moneth of October through the realme, that every man that was worth xl. l. should pay the whole subsidie before graunted out of hand & before the dayes of payment. This payment was called an Anticipation, which is to say, a thing taken or a thing cōmyng before his tyme or season: This terme was new to y<sup>e</sup> cominaltie, but they payd wel for their learnyng, for their money was paid out of hand w<sup>th</sup>out delay

The kyng this yere kept his Christmas solempnely at his castle of Wyndesore and thither came to him the third day of Ianuarye the erle Pountiuer of the royal bloud of Brytaine and pretēdyng to be duke of the same, whiche was nere cosyn to the duke of Burbon & banished Fraunce. This erle came hastily from the duke of Burbon & was well entertained and feasted of the kyng, and after answere made to him by the kyng, he went to the Cardinall to Hampton court, and so with great spede returned to the sayd duke into the countrey of Prouince

In the same season was brought to the court a gentleman of Scotland called Andrew Stewart taken on the sea with diuerse letters by one Water Iago a yoman of the kynges,

with

with diuers letters from the duke of Albany to the Frenche kyng, by reason wherof the kyng knewe muche of their counsaile. This gentleman payed ransome and was very sone redemed.

The. xix. day of Ianuary vi. fayre shippes of Fraunce well appointed, mette with a shippe of the kynges of England called the Kateryne Galley a shippe of. xl. tonne, the capitaine wherof was one Ihon Mariner, with a small company, for many of his company were a land: But he so encouraged his menne that all feare was set aside, and euer as the Frenchemen approached, they bet them of with arrowes, pykes, & fightyng, & styll this continued fro. iii. of the clocke in the mornyng till. ix. of the clocke, & euer on the cost of Englad, and the Englishmen did the best they could to saue themselves. For by that tyme she had spent her poudre, arrowes with shotyng, & her bylles with hewyng, & her pykes with keypyng them of from comyng aborde, and all the company almost sore hurte, and the capitaine wounded to the death, so that they had no other remedy but to sayle. This chace was perceiued by one called captain Markham, captain of the barke of Sandwyche, which niafully called his men together out of Sandwyche hauen & with good wynde came to reskue the Kateryne Galley. The. vi. shippes perceiuyng that, left their chace & made with the Barke of Sandwyche. The capitaine coragiously comforted his men and made the quarters of his ship defensable. The Frenchmen sette on fiersly, and their toppes were higher then the toppe of the Englishe ship. Out went the ordinaunce, quarels and dartes of the Frenche shippes: the Englishmen shot fiersly againe and when the Frenchemen proffered to enter, the Englishmen bet them of with bylles. The Frenchemen at last with a great gunne bet doune the toppe of the barke & slewe the men in thesame, and lastly they strake doune his Mast. This conflict continued from. x. of the clocke tyll two at after noone. Then he could make no shift, but to saile: and euer the Englishmen shot arrowes, & while the Englishmen had any arrowes the Frenchemen durst not enter. But when their arrowes were spent, the Frenchemen came aborde all at ones & entred the barke. In this fight were slaine of Frenchmen out of hand. xxvii. and. lxxx. sore hurt, and of the Englishe were slaine. xxiii. What should I say, the Englishmen fought valiauntly, but they were to weake for vi. tall shippes. Wherefore they were taken and brought to Depe for a prise, but the Frenchmen sayd they neuer bought prise so dere. After this Ihon Maryner capitaine of the Kateryne galey dyed, and many Frenchemen that wer hurt dyed at Depe, so that neither part wanne greatly.

In the last moneth called December were taken certain traytors in the cite of Couentry, one called Fraunces Philippe scholemaster to the kynges Henxmen, and one Christopher Pykeryng clerke of y Larder, and one Antony Maynule gentleman, which by the persuasion of the sayd Fraunces Philip, entended to haue taken the kynges treasure of his subsidie as the Collectors of thesame came towarde London, and then to haue araised men and taken the castle of Kylingworth, and then to haue made battaile against the kyng wherefore the sayd Fraunces, Christopher and Anthony wer hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne the xi. day of Februarye, the residue that were taken, were sent to the cite of Couentry and there wer executed. One of the kynges Henxmen called Dygby which was one of the conspirators fled the realme, and after had his pardon.

An inscription  
erected at  
Couentry.

The. xvii. day of Ianuary there was a Fayer or market at the toune of Marguyson in the French kynges dominions beside Calayce, and for defence of the people and their marchandise, there were appointed CC. men in harness wel weaponed. The souldiers of Guynes hearyng of this, departed in the night & came nere to the toune of Marguyson and closely kept themselves tyll the Market was fayre & at the best, then the Englishmen whiche wer. lxx. archers and bylles, set sodainly on the Market, that seyng the Frenchemen stode manfully at their defence w handgunnes and pykes, but the Englishmen shotte so wholly together that they draue the Frenchmen out of the toune, and would for succors haue taken the Church, but the Englishmen were betwene theim and the Church, so that they had none other remedy but to flee and many Frenchmen were slaine. Captain Ihon de Pound, and captain



tain Ihō de Babage and diuers other were taken prisoners, and diuers marchauntes that were there to sell their goodes were also taken, and all their goodes brought in Frenche-mennes wagons to Guynes and no Englishman slaine but diuers were sore hurt.

The fyrst day of February the valiant knight sir Robert Iernynghā and with him fifty demylaūces of the garrison of Calayce skoured the countrey to Odysaell & there toke a C. hedde of beastes, by that doying an askry rose through the countrey, whereby the Frenchmen gathered together to the number of xii. score, and or sir Robert and his company came to Houndyngbrige they were beset round about, so that of necessitie they must fight, the Frenchmen set on with hādgunnes, crosbowes and pykes, and for a while there was a strong encountre, but the Englishmen as mēme desperate (because of the number) fought so fierly that they caused the Frenchmen to geue bakke and slewe many of them and toke xiii. prisoners, & in the chace they toke vii. more whiche made vp. xx. Then the sayd sir Robert returned with his botie and prisoners and lost noman, but almoste all were hurt.

The iocopy-  
dy that the  
kyng was in  
at a lutes.

The x. day of Marche the kyng hauyng a newe barnes made of his own deuse and fashion, suche as no armorer before that tyme had seen, thought to assaye thesame at the tilte, and appointed a lutes to serue him. On fote were appointed the lorde Marques Doiset and the Erle of Surrey, the kyng came to the one ende of the tylt, and the Duke of Suffolke to the other: then a gentleman sayd to the Duke, sir the kyng is come to the tyltes ende. I see him not sayd the Duke on my fayth, for my head piece taketh frō me my sight. with these wordes God knoweth by what chaunce, the kyng had his spere deliuered him by the lorde Marques, the visor of his headpece beyng vp and not doune nor fastened, so that his face was clene naked. Then the gentleman sayd to the duke, sir the king commeth, then the duke set forward and charged his spere, and the kyng likewise vnaduisedly set toward ſ duke. the people perceiuyng the kynges face bare, cryed hold, hold, the duke neither saw nor heard, and whether the kyng remembred that his visor was vp or no few could tell. Alas what sorow was it to the people when they saw the spleters of the dukes spere strike on the kynges hedpiece. For of a sуетie the duke strake the kyng on the brow right vnder the defēce of ſ hedpiece on the verye coiffe scull or bassenetpere whereunto the barbet for pōwer and defence is charnelld, to whiche coiffe or bassenet neuer armorer taketh hede, for it is euermore couered with the visor, barbet and volant pece, and so that pece is so defended that it forseth of no charge. But when ſ spere on that place lighted, it was great iopardy of death insomuche that the face was bare, for the Dukes spere brake all to shyuers, and bare the kynges visor or barbet so farre backe by the countre buffe that all the kynges headpece was full of spleters. The Armorers for this matter were muche blamed, and so was the lord Marques for the deluciuyng of the spere when his face was open, but the kyng sayd that none was to blame but himself, for he entended to haue sayed himselfe and his sight. The duke incontinently vnarmed him, and came to the kyng, shewyng him the closenes of his sight, & sware that he would neuer runne against the kyng more. But if the kyng had been a lytle hurt, the kynges seruantes would haue put the Duke in iopardy. Then the kyng called his Armours and put all his pecces together and then tooke a spere and ranne vi. courses very well, by the which all men might perceiue that he had no hurt, whiche was great ioy and comfort to all his subiectes there present.

In the ende of Februarye foure Frenche shippes chased the Fysher botes of Rye to the verye shore, and when the fludde was gone, would haue taken the botes and came a land with pikes, but the fishers threw stones, and one archer shotte and slewe a Frenchman whiche helde vp a basket and bad shote Englishman shote, and the Englishman shot through the basket and slewe him, and so they saued their botes, and when the fludde came, the Frenchmen sette vp their sailes, and as they were passyng, the Englishmen of warre mette with them and tooke two of the sayd shippes, and the other two fled.

In this yere the kyng sent the lorde Morlay sir Wylliam Hosi knight and doctor Lee his Almoner to Done Ferdinando archduke of Austyce and brother to the Emperour Charles.

Charles with the order of the Garter whiche in the toune of Norryngberge receiued the same, where then were all the princes of Germanye assembled at a counsel or Dyet, against the bishop of Rome, against whom the Geimaynes put a C. greues.

The. xiii. day of Aprill one Capitain Breerton one of the capitaines of the auenturers at Guysnes with xvi tall men came to a village called Waste and there toke a bootie of beastes, by whiche takyng an askry rose, and by chaunce certain of the garrison of Bulleyn were then abrode and by the cry of the people came where the Englishmen were, the Frenchemen wer CC horsemen and with great cryes enuironed the Englishmen about, so that the Englishmen could make no defence. Then capitain Breerton called to the capitain of the Frenchemen and sayd, sir I am a gētleman & this enterprize was myne, I haue brought these good felowes to this jeopardy, wherfore we yelde vs al prisoners to you, and so they deliuered their weapons, the capitain was a gentleman and gently them receiued, then to the men of warre drewe all the peisants or choies of the cōtrey nye hand to the number of vii or viii score, whiche desired to bye y Englishmen that wer takē, the Frenchemen were content and toke money, then the Englishmen were deliuered to the vplandishe people, and the men of warre rode away

When the menne of waire were departed the rybaudes with pykes, iauelyns, and knyues, fell on the Englishmen whiche had no weapon and them slewe all xvii and cutte them in pieces the moste shamefully that euer was sene.

Capitaine  
Breerton  
murdered.

When knowlege hereof was brought to the capitain of Guisnes sir Ihon Gage, he sent for the auenturers willyng them to reuenge their capitaines death. So all the aduenturers the xiii. day gathered together to the number of xl archers and pykes, and by good guide the next day in the mornyng they came to the same village of Wast & there toke xxxvii prisoners and moste part were at the murder of Breerton and his company, and of the xxxvii. they slew xxxvi. and so they left one and caried him with them, but or they departed they set the toune on fyre and spared nothyng, their ire was so great the men of warre of Fraunce costed the Englishmen, but they would not medle with them in that rage.

The murder  
reuenged.

When they came to Guysnes they sware the Frencheman that was left on liue to declare their message to the capitaine of Bullein, whiche was that after that day they would saue neither man, woman nor child that came to their handes for the great crueltie that the peysants had done to capitaine Breerton and his company, with whiche message the Frenchemen were discontent & sayd that the villaynes deserued to haue vengeance for their crueltie

In this yere through bookes of Emphymerides and Pronosticacions made and calculate by Astronomers, the people were sore affrayde for the sayd wnters declared that this yere should be suche Eclipses in watery signes, and suche coniuuctions that by waters & fluddes many people should perishe, Insomuche that many persones vitailed them selves and went to high groundes for feare of diounyng, and specially one Bolton which was Prior of saint Bartholomewes in Smythfeld builded him an house vpō Harow of the hill only for feare of this flud, and thether he went and made prouision for all thinges necessarye within him, for the space of two monethes. But the faythfull people put their trust and confidence onely in God. And this raine was by the wyters pronosticate to be in February, wherfore when it began to raine in February the people wer muche afayd, & some sayd now it beginneth, but many wisemen whiche thought that the worlde could not be drowned againe, contrary to Goddes promise, put their trust in him onely, but because they thought that some great raines might fall by enclinacions of the starres, and that water milles might stand styll and not grinde, they prouided for meale, and yet God be thanked there was not a fairer season in many yeres, & at the last the Astronomers for their excuse said that in their computacion they had mistaken and miscounted in their nomber an hundreth yeres.

Bolton prior  
of saint  
Bartholo-  
mewes.

The Emperor charles which also was enemy to the French kyng, seyng the great army that the kyng of England his confederate had in Fraunce, thought it was to him honorable to make warre also on that part of Fraūce that ioyneth to Spain, & in especially he imagined



how to recover the towne of Fountraby, whiche the Frenche men before that tyme had gotten: wherfore he assembled a great puissance and made capitaine the lorde Barnardine de Belasco Constable of Castyle, which with great diligence came before the towne of Fountraby whiche was strongly fortified and the capitaine therof was a Naueroys: but when the capitaine and his compaigny sawe the towne besieged with suche a puissance, and also that the sea was so narrowly kept that they could not have vitail nor succour, they determined to geue vp the towne but yet the capitaine of a high stomacke shotte out his ordinaunce and sent his trompet to the capitaine of the Spanyardes to know what prisoners he had of his, and for the communicacion therof he desired abstinence of warre tyl he had communed with the counsaile of the Spanish host, whiche to him was graunted. Then was communicacion for five dayes and nothing ended, for the Spanyardes were haute on the one syde, and the Frenchmen proude on the other syde, but on the vi. day it was concluded that the towne should be deliuered with ordinaunce and artillery and all the men of war to depart with bagge & baggage and so the xxvii. day of February was the towne of Fountraby brought againe to the handes of the Emperour, & he that was capitaine of Fountraby was afterwarde restored to his landes in Nauer by the Emperour and became his man.

The bishop of Rome called Pope Clement seying the great warres that were this yere on all parties and in especial betwene the Emperour & the kyng of England on the one partie against Fraunces the Frêche kyng and his alyes, sent an archebishop of the realme of Naples fyrst to the Frenche kyng, and after to the Emperour, whiche declared to the Frenche kyng the manyfolde mischiefes that ryse by warre, the great stroke of vengeance that God will strike for vniust warre & specially for the death of innocentes and effusion of christen blood, and shewed farther that the sayd Frenche kyng made daily warre on the Emperour and the kyng of England without cause, but onely because he himselfe would do no right to them nor to their subiectes.

The Frenche kyng after counsaile taken answered, my lord Legate we assure you that we make no waire, but warre is made on vs, and we stande at the defence, notwithstanding our right is kept from vs both the duchy of Myllain and realme of Naples by the Emperour and the vsurped duke, to the whiche we haue good title, and the kyng of England warreth on vs without cause, notwithstanding that we haue geuen him and many lordes of his counsaile diuers fayre pencions, not because we be afrayde of him, but because we would haue his loue and amitie, and when we perceiued that he toke part with the Emperour our mortal enemy, we withdrew our pencions as with right we might, & now with all his power he would conqueere our good will, which is against reason, and we claime nothing of him. Well sayd the ambassador, I will speake fyrst with the Emperour and after with the kyng of England, & then I will declare to you their rightes and demaundes, with whiche the Frenche kyng semed to be content.

Then the sayd ambassadour tooke his leaue and in post came to the Emperour in Spaine, & there exhorted him to peace with many goodly reasons affirmyng that the warre was vniust and without reasonable cause made on the Frenche kyng as the sayd kyng affirmed. Then the Emperour like a noble prince answered, that the warres were neuer of his beginnyng For the Frenche kyng or he yst had taken the towne of Fountraby, and also had sent an army to conqueere the realme of Nauerne, & not with this contented, reteyned the Swyches whiche be the Emperours subiectes and caused them to be enemies to thempyre, and he also withhelde the duchy of haut Burgoyne, and the countie of Arthoys with diuers other countreys and seignories belongyng to him: Wherfore his quarel was alway iust, and because the college of Rome should perceiue the whole cause of his warres, he deliuered to the sayd ambassadour a scedule, with whiche he departed, refusyng all giftes whiche the Emperour offered him, and came againe to the Frenche kyng and rehearsed to him all the Emperours sayyng, but the French kyng him selfe highly excused and sayd that he might not lesse that that his predecessors left him, and so the bishop of Romes ambassador toke his leaue and came into England.

After

After this Legate was departed fō the Emperors court, there came thither an Ambassador from Portyngale, whiche highly behaued him selfe, and when he came to the Emperors speche, he proudly sayd: Sir you that are the greatest prince of Christendome ought aboute all men to do iustice and right, and to do wrong to no man, and where it is well known that by the labor, studye, and learnyng in Cosmography and Astronomy of vs only Portyngales, the trade to the parties of Inde or Indias were fyrst sought and found, and the fyrst labor in that behalfe was ours and the great innumerable riches whiche was spent for the searchyng and findyng of thesame, was employed & spent by the kyng of Portyngale and his progenitors, by whiche trauail we haue wonne straung lādes, wherby all Christendome is greatly enriched w̄ Iuels, stones, and perles and other straung commodities. How can it then be thought iust or righteous that any other persone should take from vs that cōmoditie that we haue so derely bought? Yet most puissant-lorde and mightie Emperor, your subiectes daily trauail thither and wrongfully take away our gayne, whiche neuer labored nor toke pain for the findyng or serching of thesame, wherfore of iustice you must cōmaunde your subiectes not alonely to leue their trade thitherwarde, but also to make to vs Portyngales a sufficient recompence for the harmes that we haue sustened.

The proposition of a Portyngale.

When the Ambassador had sayd, after a lytle deliberacion the Emperor answered: The very pouertie of your countrey of Portyngale is suche, that of your selves you be not able to liue, wherfore of necessitie you were driuen to seke luyng, for landes of princes you were not able to purchase, and lande of lordes you were not able to conquire. Wherfore on the sea you were compelled to seke that which was not found. And where you say that you haue found lādes, I say those landes fōūd you by shipwrikes of the sea beyng cast theron before you thought of any such ground & so sought farther for succours in necessitie, yet they say not that you haue them wōne, but they haue wōne you. And where you would that our subiectes should not repara thither, we ascertain you that no man shall prohibite our subiectes to saile where they lyst for their auauntage. For our subiectes may be warned no place by them w̄ whom I haue peace and amitie: for he is mine enemy and no frend that letteth my libertie. Well sayd the Ambassador, and we wil let your subiectes to passe thither. Nay sayd the Emperor we wil not trye so farre, for I am able to disturbe your doynge neier hand. But for a suertie you Portyngales be enemies to all Christendome, for to the Indyans you cary nothyng but coyne, whiche is hurt to all countreys, wherfore at this tyme you may depart, till you be better aduised. After this answer geuen to the Portyngales, they offered great summes of money to the Emperor to leaue his trade into the Indyans, but he therto in nowyse would agree.

The Emperors answer.

THE. XVI. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this xvi. yere the kyng lay at his maner of Newhall in Essex, and there kept the feast of saint George & hearyng that the bishop of Romes Ambassador was comyng into England remoued to his manor of Grenewyche where the sayd Archbishop and legate came to him & was highly entertained, which declared wisely and eloquently the message & entent of his master, whiche was to make a peace and cōcord betwene ȳ princes of Christendome, & especially betwene the Emperor, the kyng of Englād & the French kyng, & for that cause he had been with the Emperor & also with the French kyng, whiche as he sayd affirmed that without cause the kyng of England made on him warre, considering that he to thentent to haue ȳ more amitie & fauor of you & your nobles hath liberally geuen to you & them honorable pencions, whiche by no dutie as he affirmeth you can nor may clayme, but of his beniuolence and bountie. Also he sayth that you clayme his croune, realme, and possessions, whiche toucheth him highly, and of yours he claymeth nothyng, and therefore he thynketh of right you ought not to make him warre. Wherfore may it please your



your hignes to tell me your mynde and I shall it declare to the whole court of Rome God willyng and forget nothyng.

Then the kyng called to him his cōsail & after diuers cōsultacions had, the Ambassador was sent for, & there was shewed to him many recordes, prouyng the kyng of England to be inheritor to the realme of Fraunce by bloud & also so cōfirmed by diuers Charters in the tyme of kyng Charles the vii. And as cōcernyng þe pencion, to him was shewed diuers Charters, that it was no Pencion of ffriendship but due rent for the duches of Normady & Guyan and the cōtreyes of Aniew & Maine which are the kyng of Englandes very inheritaunce. Furthermore there wer shewed to him diuers bondes of the sayd French kynges for the payment for the cite of Turnay & other duties which he ought to the kyng of England, all whiche articles to fulfill, the Frenche kyng hath oftentimes been requyred by Ambassadors, & yet he neuer dissēbled & would not conforme himselfe to reason: of all these thinges wer notes written & deliuered to the bishop of Romes ambassador, which toke his leue of the kyng & returned in post accompanied but with.iii. persones. By reason of þe cōmyng of this Ambassador men hoped þe peace should ensue, but it succeded not this yere for the third day of May the garrison of Bulleyn with diuers other in the moste secrete wise that could be came to a place within the Englishe pale called Sentricas & sodainly strake vp a drōne or drounslade the people hearyng this in the night were sore abashed, some fled naked & some clothed, the most part fled to the Church, and the Frenchemen them folowed & toke. xxi. prisoners and then set fyer on the Church by this tyme was all the pale raised which thyng the Frenchmen perceiuyng left their botie and returned in all hast with their prisoners to Bulleyn.

In this season the lordes of Flaunders lay at the siege before Tyrwyn and were likely to haue taken it by famyne, wherof the Frenche kyng beyng aduertised assembled an armie of. xxii. M. horsemen and fōtenien vnder the conduite of the Duke of Vandosme and the lorde Pountdormy, and the Frenche kyng himselfe came doune to Amyas and there caused it to be noysed that he would besege the toun of Valencyen in Henaude, where the Duke of Suffolke the last yere had left the kyng of Englandes ordinaunce. The kyng of England hearyng of this, sayd, that if the Frenche kyng beseged Valencyen, he in person would go thither for to reskue his ordinaunce. The lorde Fynes and other lordes of Flaunders whiche lay before Tyrwyn with ix. M. menne were aduertised of the Frenche armie, but because of the fame that the host shuld go to Valencyen, they sent for nomore succors.

When the Frenchmen had all thynges ready, they lefte the waye to Valencyen and tooke the way directly to Tyrwyn. When the lordes of Flaunders perceiued that, they weig sore abashed & then they knew that they were disceiued, and that they were not able to abyde the puissaunce of the Frenche army. Wherefore they raysed their siege, & put the seltes in order of battail on þe Southest side of Tyrwyn. the French armie passed forward the vi. day of May towarde Tyrwyn and made no semblaunce to fight. Howbeit some of them skyrnished with the hoisemen of Flaunders, but they at the last entered the toun, wherunto they were welcome, and the lordes of Flaunders departed sore displeased but there was no remedy. Then ranne a brute that the French army would lay sege to Guynes wherfore the kyng caused men & all other thynges to be put in a readynes for the spedye reskue thereof if it had so chaused. But the Frenchmen toke a better aduice.

In this moneth of May sir Robert Iernyngham capitain of Newnam bridge cōmuned with Christopher Coo, a capitaine of diuers Englishe shippes that kept the sea, whiche then was in Calayce hauen for vitale and sayd, capitain Coo you know how the Bulleners haue visited nere to Calayce the Englishe pale and haue burned Sentrycas. If you will promise to set many of your menne a lande at the hauen of Bulleyn the. xix. day of Maye, I with as many as I can furnishe will mete with you there in basse Bulleyn at the tyme and houre betwene vs appointed, to the whiche the sayd Christopher agreed and faithfully promised, and so prepared accordyngly euerye thyng necessarye and so sayled towarde Bulleyn, sir Robert Iernyngham sent worde of this enterpryse to sir Wallyam Fitzwillyam capitaine of Guynes

to know if he would ayde any part toward this torney, whiche sent worde that he would be at thesame auenture himselfe then all the gentlemen desired him to be capitaine of that enterprise, whiche he thākefully and with heart receiued. then all the men of warre and the aduenturers and the Bayly Marke assembled together, so that when all were come together they wer CCC. hoisemen, and of the couñtrei and Marke. iii C. and of the auenturers. C.lx. and so one and other they were vii C. men. All these persones mette at an houre appointed at Sandyngfelde the night was short so that it was day or they came nere Bullein all set in good order of battail, but they were askied before they came nere Bullein, and so it chaunced that Christopher Coo with his shippes whiche had winde at will was come with his. iiii shippes before Bullein somewhat before day, the Bulleners that kept the watche him espied, & then he manned his boates and with men and ordinaunce stetched toward the land, by that tyme was all basse Bullein in barnes ready to defend the Englishmen from londyng, but capitaine Coo did what he might, and almost all the people of Basse Bullein wer on the shore, that seying the garrison made them ready and bent their ordinaunce. Sir Willyā Fitzwillyam bearyng the gunnes toward the hauenside knew wel that Cristopher Coo was in his busines, and so encouraged every man to do well and marched forward & asmuche spede as might be, insomuche that all the Englishmen were on the hylles before Bullein in sondry plumpes, then issued out the horsmen of Bullein betwene the eastle and Cardons tower, the light horsmen of the Englishe part them encountred, there was a good fight, the Frenchemen shote with Crosbowes, and the Englishmen with long bowes, and the great ordinaunce shot terribly, the Englishmen approched the toun, walles, this skyrmyshe was fiese & euer the archers ayded the horsemen. Whyلة the horsemen were thus skyrmyshyng, the. viii score auenturers whiche were hardy & valiaunt men cast themselves about & came to basse Bullein, and there they were hardly receiued of the Frenchemen, yet notwithstanding they lost their barriers and the Englishmen entred, there was shotyng on all sides, and a strong fight The Frenchmen cried Bullein, and the englishmen sanct George Calyce: but at the last the Frenchmen were driuen backe and many slaine, & xliiii. taken prisoners, and so they returned to their capitaine sir Willyam Fitzwillyam. All this while was Christopher Coo on lond on the sea cost and bet f Frenchmen vp to the toun, and when the tide turned he with all his came againe in safete to their shippes. The Englishe horsemen after long fightyng tooke thre of the Frenchemen of armes and the other reculed to the toun. By this tyme by reason of the *Atayme* was all the countrey of Pycardye raysed and muche people resorted to Bullein on all sydes, whiche doying sir Willyam Fitzwillyam wisely perceiuyng, by the sound of a trumpette brought all his menne together in a plunpe, and then sent them hither and thither to fette his drifes of beastes that were nere in the countrey on euery side, whiche was quickly done, for the aduenturers brought Oxen, Kyne, Horses, and many other pillages, and bient the granges and villages, and so mette together, and with them botie returned in sauctie.

The tewesdare folowyng, beyng the laste date of Maie, sir Willyam Fitz Willyam, with. a C. and fiftie horsemen, and the auenturers, and a hundred other persones mo, came to a place called Samer de Boys, the saied capitain wisely considered; that in that place the Frenchemen had diuerse times lurked, and taken at auantage the Englishmen, wherefore he bared his horsemen, and his archers on horsebacke in a woodde, in a waite if the Frenchemen folowed the stale then he sent furth the auenturers, whiche passed farther then f capitain would that they should haue done, and sodainly they were askied then on came the Frenchemen, the auenturers sware, that they would not flee, but bent themselves to defend their enemies, which wer. iii C. horsemen The Frenchemen knew well their hardines, but yet they called them Crakers, whiche by misoundyng, was commonly called Krekers, for a suetie these men wer hardy, and full of pollecie, and very far would ieoperd, the Frenchemen sent about a valei. i. C. of the best horsemen, and. ii. C. footmen, then were the Krekers betwene two bendes of the Frenchmen sir Willyam Fitz Willyā, beyng assured of the conduite of the Frenchmen, muche doubted the chaunce of the auenturers, wherefore in greate hast sent for his stale of horsemen, that he had left couered and the French-

men:



men that were before the Krekers, came and set on very fast, in hope of their horsemen, that were gone about an hille in the valey. The Englishemen them valiantly defended, then as the horsemen had compassed the hille, the aventurers were come on a plain: then the horsemen that wer come to sir Wilhā Fitz William, set on the French horsemen, there was a hard and a ferce encounter, for the Frenchmen fought sore, but at length they fled, and in the chace wer taken. lvi. horsmen, and. xliii. slain one and other, & many Englishemen sore hurt and diuerse slain, thus the Krekers scaped a narowa hasarde.

In the same season on the second daie of Maie, sir Thomas Palmer one of the Captains of the frontiers, was ridyng to his frende, master Ierome of Burgon, capitain of Turnahan, and with him. xx. Englishe men on light horse, and as he roade, he suddenly espied. xxx. horsemen, of the garrison of Tiwyn and Bullein, thei were nere together or the Englishemen espied them: then there was no remedy, but to encounter, sir Thomas Palmer wel comforted his compaignie, and then the Frenche men set on with great force, and truly they fought long without one hauyng any auauntage of the other, but at last the Frenchemen began to fawnt, and able to withdrawe themselves, that perceiuyng the Englishe men, set to them coragiously and so they slewe thres out of hand, and vi. men of armes taken prisoners, and eight dimy lances, with whiche prisoners the Englishemen returned to Guysnes, and kept not their purpose to Turnahan for all were hurt or wounded.

In Iune sir William Fitz William, capitain of Guysnes, sir Ihon Walop, and sir Ihon Gage, secretly called to them. ix. C. men of warre such as they trusted, and on Midsomer day, passed the lowe cuntry of Picardy, vnto the castle of Hardyngghā, or Rigsam and they caried with them but one pece of ordinaunce, called a Curtall, this gonne they bent against the Castle, which was well furnished with harnes, ordinaunce and all other artillerie, and thynges nedefull, and the capitain also was a valiant and hardie gentleman. The Englishemen euer shot that pece and remoued it from place to place with great pain, and in conclusion made a batery of the walles, so that they might assault it, then the trompet blewe to assault, and the capitain with his compaignie stode at defence. then sir Ihon Wallop, and sir Ihon Gage with the aventurers or kerkers entred the diche, and the archers shot at euery loupe arrowes and the Frenchmen likewise shot quarelles: the Englishemen set vp laders to the walles, but the Frenchmen threw thē doune, at this assault was slain a gentleman called Butler, and. xv. other Englishmen, but for all that, the assault was not lefte, for some clymed by pikes, and some amended the ladders, and cried again to the assault: but sir William Fitz William chief capitain of this enterprise, perceued that they lacked engynes and other thynges, for the spedy assault of the castle, and not willing to lose his men without cause, caused them to staye, while he and other capitaines counsailed together, and as they were concluded once again to attempt the assault, they hard newes that two thousande horsemen, and two thousande footmen, wer at hande to fight with thē, thei then perceiuyng that. ix. C. men beyng wery, wer no power to encounter with foure thousande Frenchmen, they in good ordre returned to the Englishe fortresses.

Monsire de Bees Capitain of Bullein, well considered all the enterprises, that the Englishmen had done in Picardy and Fraunce, now of late: he determined to requite them, to his honor and fame, and for that purpose sent for the erle of Dammartynē, the lord Pontremie, and the lorde Chastillon, whiche concluded to entre into the Englishe pale and to shewe themselves before Calice. Wherefore they assembled all the men of armes and souldiers, of the garrisons aboute, and so they wer. viii. C. good horsemen, and with pikes, gonnēs, and crossebowes viii. C. footmen: and when all this compaignie was assembled Monsire de Bees as capitain of thisorney, with the other lordes, the fourth day of August with banner displayed, came toward Calice in the euenyng: and the next day in the mornyng by sixe of the Clocke, they came to a village within the Englishe pale, called Bonynghes. Then the alarme rose through all the Englishe pale, and so came to Calice. These lordes of Fraunce sent out

out their foreriders, to serche and ouer se the couñtre, and then they laied an embusshement of iii. C. horsemen, at the said toune of Bonynge, and with that bend abode Monsire Pontremie, and Monsire de Bees rode to Kalkewell with. iii. C. horsemen, and there taried with them, the erle of Dammartine with iii. C. freshe horsemen, and all the footemen with biner displayed, roade and forraged all the Countrey, of whiche three hundred speres, thei let one. C. go at large, and kept the residue with them.

When the *Alarme* came to Calice, euery man made to horse and harness. Then sir Robert Iernyngham, with. lxxx. horsemen with all speede, rode out of Calice to behold the compaignie of the Frenchmen. And he sent furth his light horsemen, whiche met with the skourers, of the Frēch men, and because the Frenchmen semed a few in nombre, the Englishe foreriders profered toward them, whiche fled toward Sandliffeld, and the Englishmen chased after, not beeyng of knowlege of the embusshementes, that laye at Bouynges and Kalkewell.

When sir Robert Iernyngham sawe his light horsemen chace, he folowed after softly, to kepe his horse in brethe. Then sodainly the French men that were in chace returned, for some of there aide was nere them. When the Englishmen which passed not xvi horse, sawe the Frenchmen returne, thei encountered with them manfully, but to the Frenchmen came still mo and mo, so that the Englishmen were constrained to fle another waie, to the hye lande in greate ieoperdy, for the Frenchmen them pursued, but by the helpe of the light geldynges, the Englishmen gat the sea side, or sea sandes beyond Skales. then wer the Englishmen glad and returned, and fought with the Frenchmen hand to hand for the Frenchmen behynde folowed not the chace, but only twenty horse men, and with pure fighting the Englishmen toke one of the Frenche horsemen, and came with him to Calice, and so wer saued.

When sir Robert Iernyngham sawe his men in chace (as you haue hard) and saw that thei were in greate ieoperdy, he auauised for their rescue all that he might, whiche was the sauynge of the light horsemen, for the Frenchmen lefte them, to encounter with sir Robert Iernyngham, and so it was that he went so farre forward, that the Frenchmen were betwene hym and Calice. And when he saw al the bendes, and embusshementes breake out he said to his compaignie sirs, saint George to borowe, lette these Frenche gafantes knowe what we Englisshemen be. Sir saied his compaignie, they shall bye vs dere. Then he marched toward the highlande. Then approached a great nombre of horsemen of Fraunce, the Englishmen them valiauntly receiued, and manfully defended, but euer the Frēchmen came freshe and freshe, so that the Englishmen beyng wery, and oppressed with multitude, were faine to fle. and in this chace was taken Thomas Cheiney an Archer, whose horse was tiered, and two other archers on horsebacke, one called George Kar and the other Rowlande Atkynson, and thre other of the English pale, sir Robert and the remnaunt, saued themselves the best that thei could.

When sir Robert was returned, the Frenchmen souned their trompet, and reculed to Bullein, and sent wooide to Calice, that they would visite thē oftener. Sir Robert Iernyngham remembryng this chaunce, thought to be reuenged of the same, & so aduysynge himself, to what place he should repare, he remembered that whensoever the Englishmen made any iorney to Margyson, the Frenchmen would fle ouer the water or creke, to a high ground by boates, and there as it wer in an island saue themselves, because on that side thei might euer haue succors, for the creke or water is beyond the toune from Calice. Therefore the said sir Robert caused fve great boates to be caried in wagons, and so he with other capitaines, of Calice and Guysnes, to the nombre of. iii. C. fotemen with the brekers &c. lx. horsemen the. xii. daie of August, with baners displayed, toke their way to the toune of Margyson, and in the night the light horsemen gaue *Alarme* to the toune of Bullein, and toke two souldiers prisoners, and brought with them certain cattail to their compaignie. Then the Englishmen marched forward, toward Margyson, that seying the Frenchmen, toke their boates in trust of the water, and passed ouer, the Englishmen perceived that, and lanced their Boates,



and so like auenturers entered, and by force passed, and so mo and mo, till. C. ix. wer passed ouer: the countrey began to gather, so that the Frenchmen were thre hundred, which fought with the Englishmen, and would haue letted the boates to land, but the archers on the other side draue the back, and the Englisheinen slew at the first encounter. lx. men, and toke fortie prisoners, yet the Frenchmen that fled met with newe succors, and then began a new battail, and the Frenchmen fought hardely but at thende they fled, the most porest of the people, on the other side of the water, fled to the Church and abode at their defence, then was there fire set in the church, then the Frenchmen lept out of the church, to their destruccion, for of three hundred there was saued but sixtie on lue.

The whole power of Bullein was come doune, nere to the place: but when they perceiued that it was to late, and that the Englishmen were returned they came no farther. Thus was sir Robert Iernyngham euen with the Frenchmen, and brought a good botie, and many prisoners to Calice, which sore greued the captain of Bullein

The Frenchemen perceiuyng, that they gat litle at the Englishemannes handes, thought to take their auauntage of the Flemmynges, wherfore they assembled of the garrisons, of Bullein and Tirwyn. v. C. fotemen, and three hundred horsemen, and so in good ordre marched toward saint Omers, and ther sent to go aforragyng. i. C. footmen, and as many horsemen, and the rest kepte themselves in a stale. These Frenchemen came by Arkus, nigh to saint Omers, and foraged all the countrey, the *Alarme* sprang all the countrey, to Turnahan, the capitain of Turnahā sent woorde to sir William Fitzwilliam, Capitain of Guysnes, that the Frenchmen were abrode, which made answere, that if the Frenchmen came nere to hym, surely he would speke with them, with which answer the capitain of Turnahan beyng encoraged, sent furth CC. Flemmynges on foote, still the Frenchemen marched toward Turnahā, the Flemmynges that wer sent from Turnahan marched toward the waie, where the Frenchmen should come, thinking that when the capitain of Guysnes had set on them, that then they would haue lien in the chace at the receipt.

The saied capitain of Guisnes valiantly marched forward with a C. horsemen and iiii. C. footmen, entending to mete with the Frenchmen, and sodainly as he was passing forward, word was brought him that the erle of Damarten, with the garrisons of Mustrel and Abouile, to the number of vi. C. horsemen, were commyng forward towarde Guysnes. This hearyng sir William Fitzwillyam, sware that the erle should not take pain to come to Guisnes, for he would mete hym on the way: by this meane he left his first enterpryce, & marched toward therle of Damartin.

The Frenchemen of Tirwyn, beyng therof aduertised by a spy, called all the people together, and with their botie came on forward toward Turnahan, and sodainly they asked the poore Flemmynges, whiche wer sent out of the Castle of Turnahan, and when they perceiued the French men commyng toward the, ther turned their backes and fled like sheper: the Frenchmen folowed a pace, and slewe the moste parte of them, for fewe escaped.

The capitain of Guysnes came to a faire grene, siue myle from Guisnes, and there in good ordre of battaill, taried for the Erles commyng, whiche hearing that the capitain of Guysnes, was ready to receiue him, made his returne backward, without any thing doying: when the capitain knew the truthe of the erles returne, he then with all hast, sped hym to mete with the Frenchmen, that were commyng to Turnahan, and in the meane waie, he hard tidynges of the chaunce of the Flemvnges, and how the Frenchmen wer reculed toward Tirwyn, whiche aventure sore him displeased, but there was no remedy, wherfore he returned to Guisnes again, very sory that the Frenchmen, went away vnfought withall. The Frenchmen litle medled after this time, wherfore let vs now returne and shew

shewe what warres wer kept on the frontiers, betwene Englande and Scotlande, in this ceason.

The. xxi. day of May beyng Trinite Sondaie. v. C. Scottes in the morning by seuerall fordes, entered into Englande, and laye couertly by the high wae, to distresse meichauntes and merket men that should passe to Berwike, that day to the faire for every Trinite Sondaie, ther is kept a great faire, whiche the Scottes knewe well, and as they laye thus loking, thei robbed many merchauntes, and toke rich prisoners, but at the last they were perceued, then the *Alarme* rose, and people begā to gather, the Scottes drew together toward Braxston, & thenghslimen them assailed, which so manfully them defended, that if the yong lorde of Fulbery, had not come with one. C. light horsmen, the Scottes had gone away with their botie, but then began a sore fight, many were hurt on both sides, and some slain, and at the last the Scottes fled, and in the chace there were two hundred Scottes taken prisoners, and the residue fled and saued themselves.

After this the. v. daie of Iuly, sir Ihon a Fenwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and bastard Heron, and diuerse other, gathered together. ix. C. mē and entred into Scotland, in the countrey called the Marche, & robbed and spoyled all the countrey, and by chaunce the same season the Scottes had assembled two thousande men, to invade England, and none of these knew of other, till they by auenture met together. Then began a strong medley, for the Scottes fought valiauntly a great while, and the Englishemen them hardeli assailed, and at the last by fine force, caused them to leaue the grounde and fle, and in the flight wer taken. CC Scottes, and many slain of the which prisoners diuersewei gentlemē sir Raufe of Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and bastarde Heron with. xxx. other Englishemen wel horsed, folowed so farre the chace, that they were paste rescue of their compaignie, which perceiuyng the Scottes sodainly returned, and set on the Englishemen, whiche oppressed with multitude, were sone ouercome, and there was taken sir Raufe a Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and sixe other, and bastarde Heron, and seuen other slain, the remnant by chaunce escaped the other Englishmen with their two hundred prisoners, returned sauely into Englande: the slaying of the Bastard Heron, was more pleasure to the Scottes, then the takyng of the two hundred was displeasure, thei hated hym so.

The. vii. daie of Iuly the lorde Maxwell of Scotlande, and sir Alexander Iorden with banners displayed, and Scottes to the nombre of foure thousand, entered into England at the West Marches by Caillele, and began to burne on euery side then the Englishemen assembled on euery side, and so they were in nombre. ii. M. men, and fiercely set on the Scottes, there was a great fighte, for the space of an houre, at the last the Englishmen brake the array of the Scottes, and them discomfited, and toke. CCC. Scottes prisoners, the Englishmen that had taken prisoners, went away with then prisoners For sir Alexander Iorden and his sonne and diuerse other were taken prisoners, and by their departyng, the compaignie of the Englishemen was muche minished. The lorde Maxwell beyng a politique man, perceued that & sodainly called his people together, and them encouraged, and began a new skirmishe, and recovered all the prisoners almost, and toke diuerse English men prisoners, thus was the chaunce of warre.

After this iorney, in the Court of Parliament of Scotlande, was much commonyng of the warres, whiche were betwene England and Scotland. some of the nobles saied, that Fraunce neuer did so muche good to Scotlande in. xx. yeres, as Scotlande had lost by Englande, i one yere, for ſ loue & cause of Fraunce. wherefore they thought it cōueniēt to make a perpetual league of amitie, with ſ kyng of Englande, and to leaue the French lynes parte. Other nobles whiche had pencions in Fraunce declared the old amitie betwene Fraunce and Scotland, and how the French kyng, brought vp many gentlemen of Scotlande in his Courte geuyng them greate luynges, whiche the kyng of England would not do: thei also alleged the franchises, and priuileges that the Scottes haue in Fraunce, and



specially they shewed, that if the kyng of Scottes should breake with Fraunce, & then if it happened the kyng of Englande, to invade Scotlande, whiche beeyng without aide of any frend might well by the power of Englande be conquered. After many long reasons it was thought expedient, to sue to the king of England for a truce, which was done, & a truce graunted til S. Andrewes daie.

This yere the first day of September, was doctor Thomas Hambal Master of the Rolles, receiued into London, with eilles, and bishoppes, and diuerse other nobles and gentlemen as Ambassadors from Clement bishop of Rome, whiche brought with him a rose of gold, for a token to the kyng: the people as he passed, thought to haue seen the Rose, but it was not shewed, till he came to the kyng to Wynsore, on the day of the Natiuite of our Lady, on which daie after a solempne Masse song by the Cardinall of Yorke, the said present was deliuered to the kyng, whiche was a tree forged of fine golde, and wrought with branches, leaues and flowers, resembling Roses: this tree was set in a pot of gold, which pot had thre fete of antike fashion. the pot was of measure halfe a pinte, in the vppermost Rose, was a faire Saphier loupe perced, the bignes of an Acorpe; the tree was of beight halfe an English yard, and in bredth it was a foote. The said Ambassador in deueryng the same rose, made an oracion, declaryng the good mind, loue, and fauor, that the bishop of Rome bare to the kyng, in token whereof he sent hym that present, which the kyng thankfully receiued, and deliuered it to him again, and so he bare it open before the kyng, from the College to the great chamber, and there deliuered it to the Master of the Inuell house, and so there ended his Legacion.

A Rose  
brought  
from Rome.

Before this time in the moneth of Iuly, Lorde Archebalde Douglas erle of Anguise, whiche had married the Quene of Scottes, sister to the kyng of Englande, and was sent into Fraunce by the Duke of Albany, and there kept, contrary to his will and pleasure, and from thence hardely escaped, and came to the kyng of England, to his maner of Grenewache, and there besought him of his aide & comfort, to whom the king made a gentle answer. This erle was not in the fauor of his wife the Quene of Scottes, wherefore she caused hym to be sent into Fraunce: some saied that she loued the duke of Albany, better then hym, but what soeuer the matter was, she wrote to the Frenche king, that if therle euer came again into Scotlande, that the French kyng should haue no pleasure in Scotlande, that she might let, so that the erle beyng in Fraunce, was in reoperdie of his life. Wherefore secretly he fled and came into Englande, as you haue hard, and one day at the Castle of Wynsore he declared, that in the counsaill of Fraunce, when he was there, they happened in communication, to talke of f warres that were then, betwene the Emperor and the French king, and betwene the kyng of England and the French kyng: there was a lorde of the counsaill, that stode vp and saied, it were better that one person suffered, rather then all the Realme should be daily in this mischief. Then was it asked, what he meant by that one persone, he answered, that if the French Queene, whiche was lame and vgly were dedde, that then waies might be founde, that the French kyng should marry themperors sister, and to haue with her the Duchy of Millain, and then with the money of her marriage, the kyng of England should be paid, and so a peace might be concluded: to this no answer was made, but whether this were true or false, for a myth the Frêche quene was ded the. xxvi. daie of Iuly, & was buried at. s. Denise.

The duke of Burbon this Sommer, made sharp war on the Frêche kynges dominions, and did high enterprises. wherefore the kyng of Englande sent his letters, to diuerse lordes and gentlemen in this seasõ the tenor wherof ensueth. Trustie &c. For asmuche as (our Lord God be thanked) our arme, vnder the leading of our cosyn the duke of Burbon, hath not onely entered the realme of Fraunce, gaining and attaynyng many townes, citees, Castles, and places, with the whole countrey of Prouince, without any resistence, of our auncient enemy the Frenche kyng, but also goeth daily marching, and continually dooth chace, and drue before them such men of war, as our said enemy hath prepared for his defence, in resistence of our cosyn the duke of Burbon, and oure said arme.

In such wise that it is thought vndoubtedly, now to bee moste conuenient tyme and season, either in our persone (although the yere be somewhat past) or by a leutenant, with a puissant army to invade Fraunce, on the other side, both for the recoveryng of the Crowne and to compell our saied enemye, to knowlege his obstinate, wilfull, and eronious demeanure, wherfore we will and commaunde you to be redy with such power as you be able to make, vpon the next Proclamacion to be made, dated the tenth day of September.

After whiche letters sent furthe, euery man made preparacion accordyngly, and the people murmured and saied, that it were much better, that the kyng should maintein his warres, with his awne subiectes, and spend his treasure on them, then to trust the Duke of Burbon, beyng a straungier to spend his money.

The kyng beyng at Wynsore, to him came sir Anthony Titz Herbert one of the Iustices of the Comon place, a man of excellent lernyng in the law, as appeereth by his workes, sir Raufe Egerton knight, doctor Dēton Deane of Lichfeld, which in the beginning of this yere, wer sent as Commissioners into Irelande, which so wisely endeuored themselves, that they reformed many iniuries doen in the countrey, and brought diuerse of the wilde Irishe, by faine meancs to a submission, and made by the Kynges auctoritie the Erie of Kildare deputie of the lande, before whom the great Oncle bare the sworde: and the Lord Piers Butler, called Erie of Ormound, whiche was deputie of Irelande, was by thesaied Commissioners, made high thesaurer of Ireland. And when they had set all thynges in good ordre, in the moneth of September they toke shipping, and in thesame monethe came to the kyng, whiche gaue them his hartie thanks, for their good doynge.

In this moneth the kyng sent Master Ihon Magnus Priest, and Roger Ratcliffe Esquier into Scotlande, for the suretie of his nephew the kyng of Scottes, for diuerse lordes of Scotland, wrote to the kyng that they doubted the suretie of their kyng, because the duke of Albany, whiche was here apparant to the realme of Scotlande, had the kyng in gouernance, & also they thought, he beyng a Frenchman borne, should not rule their realme: wherfore thei emongest theseltes, murmured sore in this matter. The Duke hearyng, that the Lordes of Scotland, had written to the kyng of Englande, and also that they repined and grudged at his doynge, sodainly with all the treasure that he could make, departed from Scotlande, and sailed into Fraunce, with which departyng the commons were nothing sory, and sone after his departing, the Ambassadors of England, were ioyously receued into Scotland, and there thesaied Ambassadors tained, till Maiche twelue monethe, in which tyme, there were many conclusions driven, betwene the two realmes. now let vs retuine to Fraunce

The. xxiii. day of September, thre horsemen of the garrison of Bullein, whiche wel knewe the haven of Calice, came at a nepe tide, and passed ouer Calice haven, by Rise banke in the night, and went behind the Est Wyndmill, and then tooke lande, and went to a litle village called Middilwaie, and passed the Tuine Pikes, and entered into a Whelers house, and tooke the man and the wife, and. xx. l. in money steilyng, and went away clere without askrie of perceuyng of the watch of Calice, and no man wist where they were become, till the trompet of Bullein brought worde and demaunded the ransome.

The last day of September, fiftie light horsemen of Calice, apperteignyng to sir Robert Iernyngham, rode towarde Bullein, and passed the water of Maigysō, and came to the water of Slakes nere Bullein where sodainly thei encountered. lx. Frenchmen of the garrison of Bullein, there was shotyng with long bowes and crosebowes, on euery side strong was the fight, but at the last the Frenchmen fled, the Englishemen folowed, and toke thre light horsemen, and when they perceued the *Alarme* on euery side, they put themselves in array, and with their botie came to Calice.

The same date sir Thomas Palmer, with. lx. horsemen of Guysnes, encountered with the capitain Bertram, leader of the horsemen of therle Dammartyn, with lx. horsemen, there was a strong fight two howers together, but in the ende the Frenchmen fled, and the Englishemen



lishemen folowed, and toke. xviii prisoners, and. xvi. good horse, and with this botie they returned to Guysnes.

In this busie season, the auenturers hearing what the horsemen, on their parties had done and inespec. all perceuyng that thenghlish horsemen had taken good prisoners, commoned emongest themselves, what was to be doen, then one of their capitaines said openly sirs you se how long we haue been here, and wages we haue none, our luyng riseth on the gain of our enemies, and sith our beginnyng, we haue had good chaunce in all our enterprises, God be thanked: now the Winter draweth nere, let vs now auenture to get some good botie, to make vs mery with, in the cold wether, and if you will, we shall entorprise a thing, that I truste to vs shalbee profitable. Then all the compaignie cried furthe furth. Then with a banner of saint George, they marched toward a village, liyng toward Mustrell, hauyng onely xxv. light horsemen to be their skourers, and they were not fully two hundred men. This compaignie folowyng their skourers, went farre on, and had gotten a faire botie of Oxen, Kine, and other bestiall, and were nere at their returne and by chaunce thesame day, was the erle of Dammartyn, and the capitain of Mustrell, with the power of the Duke of Vandosme, going toward saint Omers, to burne and destroy that countrey, and for that purpose thei had gathered together. xv. C. horsemen, and. viii. C. footmen, howbeit the footmen were a large myle behind the horsemen

The Frenchmen on horsebacke, espied the English horsemen, which perceuyng the great nombre fled, and as thesaid Frenchmen marched forward, they espied the auenturers on foote, & made toward them: thenghlishmen seyng the great nombre of the horsemen, studied to get some hedge or strong place to fortifie them, but there was no suche place in sight, and also they had no suche tyme so to do, wherefore the Capitain saied Good felowes and brethren, we haue of long tyme been called auenturers, now is the tyme come of our auenture, the Frenchmen will not raüsone vs for nothing, we be emongest the so feared: if any thing saue our lues, it must be God and our hardines, and therefore saied he, if you se me begin to fle, slae me out of hande. Then every man cried God mercie, and kneled doune and kissed the earth, and strake handes eche with other, in token not to depart, and then made themselves prest to the defence.

The Frenchmen came on, on every side, thenghlishmen shot their arrowes, and defended them aswell as they could: the Frenchmen perceuyng that the Englishmen, kept themselves so close, caused diuerse of the horsemen to light a fote, and so they did, and fought with their speres against the pikes, and shotte with Crosebowes on every side. Alas the white, or while the Englishmen had arrowes to shote, they were not broken, but close without perill, but when their arrowes were spent, the Englishmen fought valiauntly, and slew many Frenchmen that lighted on foote, but in the conclusion the horsemen entered, and killed them all in maner, because there were so many of their compaignie slain, and tooke fewe of them prisoners. This was the end of these compaignions, called the krekens or auenturers, which were as hardie men, as cuer serued prince or capitain.

The Duke of Burbon, with the Marques of Picardy, in the moneth of October, with a great puyssaunce, laied siege to the strong toune of Marcell in Prouince, and lay there a greate space. The Frenche kyng reised a greate armie, and sware that he would reise the siege, whereof hearyng the Duke of Burbon, sent for the Marques of Piscare, and his other captains, and declared to them that his intet was, to geue the French King battail: the Marques of Piscare saied that the Frenche kynges puyssaunce was greate, and then small, and said: although the duke of Burbon, whiche was a banished man from his countrey, had no other remeady to reuenge him, but by battail, yet he saied he would not put al the Emperours men, of the whiche he had the guide, in such a hasaid till the remnant of the Emperours power wer come Well saied the duke of Burbon, then you do not as you haue written, both to the Emperour and to the king of England, whiche shalbe a reproche to your honor. Nay, saied the Marques, I will kepe me from reproche. Then saied docter Richard Pace, Ambassador for the kyng of Englande: my lorde you

haue had the King my Masters wages, I would bee glad to heare what way you would take I woll tell you said the Marques, the Frēch kyng hath a great armie gone into Italy, & he himself foloweth with another, not to come to fight with vs, I dare assure you: but onely to take the Duchie of Millain vnprovidd, whiche shall do him moie pleasure then he had slain all vs. Also the Emperor shall lese, more then. x. Marceles be worth, and the French kynges power shalbe moie elated, that he will not set by the Emperor, nor the kyng of England. Therefore my aduise is, to breake vp this siege, and with all spede to preuēt hym in Italy, and if we be entered the tounes, and put municions in thesame, he shall lye a colde in the feldes, and then you shall se what shall become of hym, when his beastes dye, and his vitail spent. To this counsaill the duke and all the Capitaines agreed, and so brake vp the siege, and with all hast departed into Italy, and fortified all the tounes in the Duchie of Millain, with men and othei necessaries.

The Frenche kyng hearyng of this, with all his armie passed the Mountaignes, and Camped nere to Millain. It chaunced in this monethe of Nouember the. xiii. day, aboute the toun of Calice, there fell a great mist, in which mist the Frenchmen came to a village called Kause beside Newnā bridge, & tooke. xl. beastes, then the *Alarme* was brought to Calice, whiche hearing the Marshal of Calice, called to hym sir Robert Iernyngham, and they had with them. i. C.xxx. horsemen, and sent sir Anthony Broune to tell the capitain of Guysnes, what they intended to do, but they taird not for the company of Guynes, but marched so far forward, that they came to the water of Sclaukes, which is nere Bulloin, and there they set their stale. And in the mornyng betime, they sent furthe a gentleman called Richard Lamberd, with. xx. light horsemen on swifte geldynges, and they came by Moone light nere Bullein, and then they saw the men of Bullein and other there about, put out there bestes into the feld. Then the Englishemen with great diligence, brought all the beastes together, and so began to driue them together, toward their embusheiment. Then the *Alarme* began at Bullein, and the men of war issued out of the toun, and fought with the Englishemen, their horses wer fresh. wherfore they had a great auantage, but in conclusion three French menne were slain, and their horses taken, and so the light horsemen came with their cattle nere to the embusheiment, and the Frenchemen folowed, that seying the Englishemen that kept the stale, came in all hast and rescued their light horsemen, and draue the Frenchemen backe, and then made returne with their beastes, and as they were returning they had worde brought to them, how that sir Willyam Fitzwillyam, capitain of Guysnes with his retinue, were besieging a pile called the castle of Capell, wherfore they sped them thether in all haste, and when they wer come thether, the capitain of Guysnes them hartely welcomed, and then they concluded to geue an assault to the Castle, and so with good courage set on, the Frenchmen defended it very valiantly a greate while, but at the last the Englishmen gat ouer the diches, and scaled the walles, but the Frenchmen still them defended till the Englishemen had gotten to the highest of the dongion, and then was there slaying a pace. For there wer. liii. persones slain out of hande, in reuengyng the greate obstinacie of the Frenchmen, and the castle was rased and brent. Then sir William Fitzwillyam with his botie, and sir Ihon Wallop Marshal of Calice and sir Ihon Iernyngham returned, he to Guysnes, and thei to Calice. Thesame day xiiii. Buigions, and. xiiii. Spaniardes, all horsemen of Guysnes, came to the Church of Falske, not farre from Durnam at high Masse tyme, and there drew their swordes, and so much did, that all the men in the churche, to the number of fiftie. yelded theihselves prisoners, of the whiche number they toke eight persones with them, whiche should be gages for the remnant, & with these. viii. thei came to Guisnes.

The. xix. daie of December wer receiued into London, lorde Gilbert Kcuet Erle of Castelles, sir Robert Cockeburne bishop of Dunkel, and the Abbot of Campskennell, Ambassadors from Iames the fifth kyng of Scottes, by the bishop of Lyncolne, the lorde of saint Ihones, and diuerse other noble men and wer conueighed to their lodgynges at Taylors Hauile.

The



The xxiii date of December, thesaied Ambassadors were conueighed to Grenewiche, accompanied with thesaied lordes by water, and when they came to the viler gate, they were receued of the officers of the house, and so passed through the hall, whiche was well furnished with people, and so through the vttermost chamber, into the great chamber of presence, where they wer receiued and welcomed, of al the princes and nobles of the realme, and within a short space the king came furth, and set him self in a throne of three steppes high, vnder his Clothe of estate, whiche was very rich, but his apparell was excedig rich, both of goldsmithes worke & perle, and stone, which the Scottes well aused, & then they wisely and humbly made their obeisance, and the bishop in good plain latin made a solempne Oracion, in the which he declared, that although the realme of Scotlande and he, had often times had the renoune and fame of him and his Courte, both for the gites of grace and nature, whiche were in his persone, yet he saied that his princely countenance, his louely fauor, whiche he hymself did se, did much surmount the fame & name, whiche he hath hard of reporte. He declared further, that although fortune had hym fauored, in conquering of regions, and vanquishyng of battailes, yet that thyng was not so honorable to him, nor profitable to his realme, as was a good peace, whiche pleaseth bothe God and man, and for that cause he shewed, that kyng Iames the fift, his nephew, and felowe to the kyng of England, had sent them his Ambassadors, to entreate a peace, so that a couenient marriage might be made, betwene hym and the lady Mary, daughter to the kyng, whiche should be a lincke necessary, to knit together the realme of Scotlande and England, in perpetuall loue and amitie.

To which Oracion, the bishop of London doctor Tunstal answered and saied. that the kyng was at their desire, content to haue peace vpon reasonable condicions, and as touchyng marriage of his daughter, he would so answere them, that they should be contented. Then the kyng rose from his place and welcomed them, and all the honest persones of the train, and after communicacion had, they tooke their leaue for that tyme, and so toke their barge and came to London.

Before the feast of Christmas, the lorde Leonard Giey, and the lord Ihon Giey, brethren to the Marques Dorcet, sir George Cobham sonne to the lorde Cobham, Willyam Cary, sir Ihon Dudley, Thomas Wiat, Frances Pointz, Frances Sidney, sir Anthony Broune, sir Edward Seimour, Oliuer Manners, Perciuall Harte, Sebastian Nudigate, and Thomas Calen Esquires of the Kynges Housholde, enterprised a chalenge of feactes of armes, against the feast of Christmas, wherefore they sent Wyndsore herault, on saint Thomas day before Christmas, into the Quenes great chamber, the kyng being present, which herault had a coate of armes of red silke, beaten with a goodly Castle, of foure Turrettes silver, and in euery turret a faire lady, standyng gorgeously appareled the herault after that the Trumpet had blowen, saied, where the kyng our souereigne Lorde of his bountifull goodnes, hath geuen to foure maidens of his Court, the castle of Loyaltie, to dispose at their pleasure, thesaied maidens haue geuen the custodie therof to a captain and fiftene gentlemen with hym, whiche captain sent furthe me his Herault called *Chasteau Blanche*, to declare to all kynges and princes, and other gentlemen of noble corage, that thesaied captain will nere to his Castle raise a Mount, on whiche shall stande an Vnicorne, supportyng foure faire shildes.

The firste shilde shallbe White, and whosoener toucheth that shelde shalbe answered sixe courses at the Tilt, by them of the Castle, with hostyng harnes and double peccs.

The second shilde, Red, betokenyng the Turnay, and whosoener toucheth that shild, shalbe answered tenne strokes at the Turnay, with the sworde, edge and poynt abated.

The third shild yellow, signifyng the Barriers, and he that toucheth that shilde shalbe answered twelue strokes at the Barriers, with the sworde, edge and poynt abated.

The fourth shilde blew, tokenyng the assaulte, with such wepons as the capitain of the Castle shal occupie, that is, Morrice pike, sworde, target, the poynt and edge abated.

Also thesaied capitain and his compaignie promised, to defend thesaid Castle against all commers, beeyng gentlemen of name and armes, and the assaulters to deuise all maner of engynes for the assaultyng, edge tole to break the house and ground onely except, and also that no other weapon shalbe vsed, but suche as the patron shalbe sette vp, by thesaied Vnicorne, and that no manne medle with fire within or without, but the matches for gones, and euery prisoner taken on either partie, to pay for his raunsom iii. yardes of right saten, & euery capitain xii. yardes.

Accordyng to this Proclamacion was the Mounte, and all thynges deuised sumpteously, with a great craggy braunche, on which wer haged the shildes of the armes of the capitain, and all other of the Castle. For this enterprise there was set vp, in the Tilt yard at Grenewiche a castle square euery waie. xx. foote, and fiftie foote on heigh, very strong and of great timber, well fastened with yron, the embatelmantes, loupes and euery place where men should entre, wer set with greate rolles, and turned assone as thei wer touched, so that to seinyng no man could entre the towers, nor embatilmantes. On the North and South sides, were two greate diches xv. foote depe, from the brynke to the botome, & thei were very stepe, and betwene the diche and Castle, was set a pale, whiche was rampaired with yeath so stepe and thicke, that it was not likely to be gotten. On these diches were two drawe bridges, on the West side was a great rampire or banke, very stepe without and within, and like to a vauure of a fortesse, by the vauure the diches wer. xxiii. fote depe. When the strength of this castle was wel beholden, many made dangerous to assault it, and some saied it could not be wonne by sporte, but by earnest. The kyng mynded to haue it assaulted, and deuised engins therfore, but the Carpenters wer so dull, that thei vnderstode not his entent, and wrought all thyng contrary, and so for that tyme the assaulte was prolonged, and all the othei poyntes of the chalenge held, for the morow after saint Ihon the Euangelistes daie in Christmas, came out of the castle, sixe men of armes of the castle on horsebacke armed at al poyntes with their speres redy to discharge, and so came to the ende of the Tilt, abidyng all commers. Then sodainly entered into the feld, two ladies on two palfries, in greate robes of purple damaske, leadyng two ancient knightes, with beardes of siluer, in thesame apparell, and when they came before the Quene, thei put vp a bill to her, the effect whereof was, that although youth had left them, and age was come, and would sette them to de feactes of armes. Yet courage, desire, and good will abode with them, and bad them to take vpon them to breake speres, whiche they would gladly do, if it pleased her to geue them license. When the Quene and the Ladies had seen the bill, thei praised their corage, and gaue them license.

Then the knightes threw awaie their robes, and then it was knowen that it was the Kyng, and the Duke of Suffolk, whose bardes and bases were golde, embrauderied with purple, siluer, and Blacke, very curiously. After them folowed the Erie of Devonshure, the lorde Montacute, the lorde Roos, sir Nicholas Carewe, sir Frances Brian, Henry Norreis, Anthony Kneuet, and fife othei, euery man ran eight courses, in which courses the kyng brake seven speres. Euery man that day did well, so that the Scottes much praised the men of armes of Englande, but miste of all thei prised and marued at the kynges strength, for thei saw his speres were brokē with more force, then the othei speres wer.

When all the courses wer runne, the kyng and all the othei disarmed them, and went to supper, and after supper the kyng hauyng with him, the Ambassadors of Scotland, came into the Quenes chamber, where after that the Lordes and diuerse ladies had daunced, there came in a Maske of xvi. all appareled in clothe of Golde, riche tynsell and crimosyn veluet, cut, slit, and tied very curiously, their buskins and shoen wer gold, cappes and whoddes all gold, riche and not counterfeted. of this nomber the Kyng and the Duke of Suffolk



wei twoo, then the Maskers toke Ladies, & daunsed a greate season, and that doen was brought in wyne and spices, and the straungiers well cherished, & after that conueighed toward then lodgyng And as thei went thei asked a gentlemā which accompaigned them, if all the warie tyne the kyng and the lordes wei so mery, or had had suche ioyous pastyme, or kepte suche royall housholde, or were so well appareled for in their countie they saied, in tyme of warie, was nothyng but wailing and inournyng, and also thei thought that the realme of Fraunce, is not a realme to sport wth, noi to Maske with. The gentlemen answered, that the kyng and his courte, vsed them stull all the warre tyme, as thei dooe now, for thei set not by the French kyng one bene. For the kyng of England maie sit in his chaire and dammage the French kyng for the Lordes and cominaltie of England, prae for the continuance of warre, for by the waies of Fraunce they wyne, and lese not, at whiche sayng the Scottes muche mused

Fridaie the. xxx. daie of December, therle of Castels one of the Scottishe Ambassadors toke his leaue and departed toward Scotlande. for to common with the Counsaill of Scotland, for thynges whiche were not in their commission, and left behynd hym the Bishoppe of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campskennell some saied tharticle was, that the Scottes should forsake the French kyng, & that the kyng of Scottes should come into Englande, but whatsoeuer it was, euery man knewe it not

The second daie of Ianuary, there was muche talkyng of the assault of the Castle, and so after long debate, sir Frances Brian, and Frances Poyntz, entecprised to defende the Weste braie of the Castle, with Pike Target, and Sworde, poynt and edge abated, against sir George Cobham, George Harbert, Ihon Poyntz, and Wilyam Kneuet, and when thei were all armed, the Trúmpettes blewe, then toward the braie marched the foure gentlemen, with pikes and swordes, and cried *harr, harr*, ther was foynyng, lassyng, and strikyng, they within fought mightely and when any without clymed vp the banke, thei within bet them doune thei within were sometye beten doune almoste. but surely thei fought valiantly, and then they ceased for a while.

Then began the assaulte again, and George Harbert and Wilyam Kneuet, helde them twoo within so hard, that they could scant put their heddes ouer the lraye, or bulwerke. While they two thus stull fought, their two felowes, sir George Cobham, and Ihon Poyntz, with their swordes digged holes in the banke to clyme vp, but or they had dooen, their twoo companions were fought out of brethe, then sir Frances Brian and Frances Poyntz, fought with the other two that digged, and then on came thother two, that had brethed themselves, then fierce was the fight, and Ihon Poyntz gat footyng in the bancke aboue, and toke holde of the pale, and fought hande to hande, with Frances Poyntz his brother, and euen George Harbert susteined him, at the banke with his pike, sir Edward Cobham gat the banke, and fought hardely, but at the last he was ouerthrowen, but vp he gat again. and coragiously gat the pale. they two within fought valiauntly, but they wer ouer matched, for they that fought at the pale without, by aide of their felowes gatte ouer the pale, and then was the battail ended. I thinke that there was neuer battail of pleasure, better fought then this was.

The next day after was another fight, of foure and eight, which was sore foughten, and at last the bray taken, and when the combates were disarmed, sodainly all the young persones without, threwe stones at the within the castle, and they at them, and many honest men whiche threwe not wer hurt, and with muche pain thei without wer apesed, and no mā knewe how nor why, this hurlyng began.

The fifth daie of Ianuary, all the knightes of the castle, came to the bairriers to abide all men, thether came the kyng, and many other lórdes and gentlemen, and that daie by them of the castle, were deliuered. lviij. gentlemen, & lviij. battailes fought valiantly, the kyng hymself fought coragiously, and so did all the other. The eight daie of February, the gentlemen of the castle folowyng their chalenge, came into the feld, ready to answeare all comers. To this turnay came the kyng, his base and bard wer cloth of siluer, and blacke

veluet ruffed and not plain, and ouer that was a worke, of purple veluet, embraudered richely with gold, cutte in knottes or foldes fastened, so that it bossed out and frounced very stately to behold, after the Kyng came. xix. other richely appareled, the Kyng and Sir Anthony Broune Turnaed together, and the Kyng with his sword, poynt and edge abated, had almoste cut his poldron, his strokes were so greate. Then euery man turnaed as his course came, and many a sworde was broken, and many a good snipe geuen, and when euery man had stricken the full number of twelue strokes, thei wei seuered and then they disarmed.

In this monethe the Cardinall as Legate, by his power Legantyne, would haue visited the Friers Obseruautes, but they in nowise would therein condisceude, wherefore. xix. of thesame religion, were accursed at Paulcs Crosse, by one of thesame religion, called Frier Forest *Of this Frier Forest ye shall here more here after, in the thurte yere of this Kyng* The Obseruaunt Friers would not obey Cardinall.

In this season the French kyng was in Italy, with all his nobilitie, and to hym was Millain yelded, but because of pestilence he would not entre, but departed and laied siege to the strong tounne of Pauia, wherof was capitain a valiaūt Spanyard, called Anthony de Leua. The Frēche kynges mother beyng Regent of Fraunce, perceiuyng that the king her soonne, with all his good Capitaines were in Italy, doubted that the kyng of Englande, in the nexte Spryng tyme would inuade Fraunce. Wherefore she by the auice of the counsaill of Fraūce, did so much with the kyng of England, that her Stuard of household called Ihon Iokin, had a sauconduit to come into Englande, whiche was kept close in the house of docter Laike, a Prebendary of saint Steuens, and euery daie priuely spake with the Cardinall, and so secretly he remained, till the xxiii. daie of Ianuary, at whiche day came to London, the president of Roan called Monsire Biynyon, as an Ambassador from Frances the French kyng, and was lodged with Ihon Iokyn: this Ihon Iokyn was kept priue, because that no man should knowe, that there was any man of Fraunce, here to solhcite any cause for the Frenche Kyng, whiche after grewe to greate trouble. For he shewed hymself to straungers, whiche fauored the Frenche partic, and so at last it was openly knownen, to the kynges counsaill, and almoste to all men: but when the Emperors Ambassador knewe this darke dealyng, he mused not a litle, and saied that the Cardinall did driue priue driftes, & that by his meanes ouely, Ihon Iokyn was come into England, to entreate a peace in secret maner, or the kynges fiendes might knowe it, and all people saied that Ihon Iokyn was but a cast awaie of Ieane, and had no luyng to lue on, but of the lady Regeūt, and marueiled why he should be kept close, & so muche cherished of the Cardinall. For this kepyng close of this Iokyn, Englishemen wei rebuked at the Marte in Flaunders, and Brabant. The Emperors Ambassador and the bishop of Romes Ambassador also sore murmured, why this Ihon Iokyn should bee kept as a spuite in close, considering that there was open warre betwene the twoo kynges, and feared that the kynges counsaill should be corrupt. This Ihon Iokyn was muche with the Cardinall, but neuer was seen with the Kyng nor his counsaill, but for all the secretnes, Monsire Pratt themperors Ambassadour, knewe all the offers that he made for peace (whiche in deede wer very giate) and how he had offered pencions, to diuerse young mē aboute the kyng, of the which some were very glad, & so the noyse by reson of suche offers ran, that a peace was likely to ensue in shorte space.

Monsire Pratt wrote of this matter, in all hast to the Emperor, in the which letters he highly commended the kyng of England, for his stedfastnes but he said some of the kynges counsaill, loued neither the Emperour nor the kyng of Englande, and wrote to hym farther, all the maner of y secret kepyng of Ihō Iokyn. These letters at last wei brought to the Cardinall, by what chaunce it was not openly knownen, and so he sent for Monsire Pratt, and declared to hym the matter, which answered him, that he was counsailer and Ambassador to the Emperour, and that it was his parte, to assertein the Emperoi of euery thyng, that was or might sound preudicial to his maiestie, but howsoeuer that his answer



was taken, he was not fauored with the Cardinall, but he saied openly, that it was not well men to the Emperoi, to stop his packet with letteis and to open them, and the Spanyardes saied, that the Emperoi sent them not into England to slepe, but to do him seruike. The bishop of Rones Ambassador wrote to his master, that peace was likely to be concluded, betwene Englande and Fraunce, and willed hym to be the firste frende to the Frenche kyng, rather the seconde. Of whiche writyng came harme after, as you shall heare.

In this moneth tidynges came to the Kyng, howe the Marques of Piscane in Italy, had gotten from the Frenche kyng, a castle called the castle. s. Angell, which was a greate fortification, of his siege at Paue.

There was in this monthe a Flemyng in Heddyng Castle, whiche came often tymes to saint Omers, & promised them if they would come to Heddyng, he would deliuer the Castle vpon his woide thei of sainte Omers, gathered together seuen hundred footemen, and fise hundred horsemen, and poynnted with the spie, that the fourthe day of February, thei would come theier, and whē the false knaue knewe the daie, he told Monsie Pontdromie, Capitain of Heddyng, whiche incontinent filled the castle with men of warre, and laied busshementes on euery side, and had laied the ordinaunce, all on the one side of the Castle, that way that the Flemynges should come. The men of warre of saint Omers, were conueighed by then spie, mistrustyng nothyng, to a posterne, which was hile vased, and when there were as many in, as the Frenchemen thought sufficient, thei let fall the Porticulis. Then Monsie Pontdromie cried, slaie, slaie, then the Flemynges wist that they wer betraied, and put themselves to fight for their liues, that seying Monsire Pontdromie, commaunded to fire the ordinaunce in suche haste and fury, that the flame was so greate and fierce, that it brent thesaied Lorde Pontdromie, and xxvii of his compaignions-all gentlemen, the mayne was so hastely fiered, that thei had no leasure to auoyde. In the fight tenne of the Flemynges wer slain, and thirtie kept theiselves so hardely together, that their liues were graunted them, and so was taken as prisoners, the remnant that entred lept ouer the castle wal, and so saued themselves, and told newes to their horsmen, which wer without, whiche hearyng the mischaunce, returned toward saint Omers.

Sundaie the fith day of Marche, wer receiued into London, Monsie de Beuer lorde of Camphere, Admirall of Flaunders, & the President of Malynes, called Master Ihon de la Coos, and Master Ihon de la Gache, as Ambassadors from the lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperoi, for causes of the lowe countreis, of Brabant, Flaunders, and Zelande and on Tewesdaie thei wer brought to the kyng to Bridewell, whiche nobely them entertained, and then thei shewed how thempetors maiestie, had commaunded them to obey the kyng of England, as protector and gouernoi, wherfore thei and all theirs, wer at his commaundement, & if thei had doen other wise, and not obeyed hym as then gouernoi, thei asked him-mercy, then the kyng and thei talked together secretly, and then they departed. These Ambassadors demaunded thre thynges.

1. First, thei demaunded the ladie Maie the kynges onely daughter, to be deliuered to them out of hande, and she to be named Emprise, and to take possession of all the lowe countreis, and to be gouernour of thesame, this article was not agreed to, for causes.
2. Also that all suche sommes of money, as the Kyng should geue with her in marriage, for a dower to be made to her, should be paid incontinent this article was also denied.
3. Thirdly, that the kyng of Englande hymself should passe the sea and make warre in Fraunce, the nexte Sommer, to this the kyng saied he would take ausement.

Thursday the. ix. daie of Marche, at. vii of the clocke in the mornyng there came a gentleman in poste from the lady Margaret gouernesse of Flaunders, and brought letters, shewyng how that the. xxiii. daie of February, the siege of Paua, where the Frenche kyng had hen long, was raised by force of battail, and the Frenche Kyng hymself take prisoner, and-how by the Duke of Burbon, the viceroy of Naples called Myngnouais, and the Marques of Piscare, and other of the Emperors capitaines, the whole power of Fraunce was discomfited, & how the duke of Albany with seuen thousande men, was goging to Naples.

Treasure at  
Heddyng  
castle.

Ambassa-  
dors of  
Flaunders.

Naples, and how the bishop of Rome was become French, against the Emperor, and had sent his cosyn in aide of the Frēche kyng, with a great power. Thesame daie the president of Roan & Iohn Iokyn, wer goyng to the Court, (for they had not yet spokē with the kyng) and in Holburne in their way was tidynges brought them, of the takyng of the kyng their Master, and of the losse of the feld, whiche hearyng this misauenture, returned to their lodgyng sorowfull, and within shorte space, returned to the Regent of Fraūce. It was thought suely that the kyng of England, would haue had peace with the French kyng, if this-chaunce had not happened, for all the people of Englande, grudged against Flaunders, for their euill entreatyng, in the tyme of warre, and also the kyng was displeased with them, for enhaunsyng his coyne there, which was a cause that money was daily conueighed out of the Realme, and many other causes there were of grudge.

Saterdaie the xi daie of Marche, in the citee of London for these tidynges, wer made greate feies and triumph, and the Maior and Aldermen road about the citee with Trummettes, and much wyne was laied in diuerse places of the citee, that every man might drynke, and on Tower hill the Ambassadors of Rome, of Flaunders, and Venice, had a greate banket made in a goodly tent, whiche pleased them well, and as thei returned homeward, all the stretes were full of harnesssed men and Cressettes, attendyng on the Constables, whiche they praised muche.

A triumph  
for the tak-  
ing of the  
Frenche  
kyng.

Sondaie the xii of Marche, the kyng accompaigned with the Ambassadors, of Rome, of the Emperor, of Scotland, of Venice, of Millam and Florence, road in his estate to Paules churche, and there the Cardinall sang Masse, and a xi. prelates waited on hym in pontificalles, and after Masse was doen, the quere sang *Te deum*, and the nyngstrelles plaied on every side, and when all was doen, the kyng returned to Bridewell, and there kept a solempne dinner. The bishop of Scotland was muche marked this day, for when-soeuer he came to the Court, before this tyme his apparell was sumpteous, his whodde was euer veluet or crimosyn Satyn but after the takyng of the French kyng, he ware onely blacke Chamlet, by whiche token men iudged his Fienche harte.

From the ix day of Marche to the xvi day, the kyng had no mo lētters, of the maner of battaill of Paue, and that day he receiued a letter from the Duke of Burbon, by a gentleman named Gropayne: when the kyng had redde the letter, he came into the Quenes Chamber and there thesaied Gropayne declared the maner of the siege, and how wel it was planted, and how theemperors men entered the French campe by force, and thiewe doune their bastiles and fought with the Frenchemen within their Campe, and tooke their kyng prisoner in thesame, and many other whiche was marueil. For when the French kyng entered Italy, he had in his gaid. xi C. men, and of speies furnished twoo M. iii. C. l. and of light horsemen eight hundred and xx and of footemen lviij. M. and of these the Duke of Albany had but eight thousande, so that there remayned with the Frenche kyng. xlix M. ixx C. and fiftie men, wherof was taken xiiii M. and mo, beside the great riches, and the goodly ordinance whiche were. xii greate Bombardes of blasse, and. xxiiii. greate Canon peces. xxiiii. double Curtalles, foure double Canon peces, two middle Canon peces, and eight other peces. After the feld was doen, the French kyng was put in the custodie of the Viceroy of Naples, whiche muche comforted hym, and praised his valauntnes, and praied hym to be content, for he should haue a gentle ende, then he desired to write to his mother, whiche was to hym graunted, the very wordes wer these

The true re-  
port of the  
takyng of  
the Frēche  
kyng

“ To aduertise you of my infortunate chaunce. Nothyng is lefte but the honor and the life that is saued, and because some other newes shall recomferte you, I haue desired to write to you this letter, the which liberally bath been graunted to me: besechyng you to regard the extremitie of your self, in ensuyng your accustomed wisdom. For I hope that at length God will not forget me, to you recommendyng your lile enfantes and-myne, supplyng you to geue sauconduite, to passe and retuine from Spam, to this berar that goeth toward the Emperior, to knowe in what wise I shalbe intreated, and thus right hūbly to

your-



your good grace, I haue me recommended. this subscribed by your humble and obedient sonne Frances.

**The Cardinal first began to suppress Abbies.** This season the Cardinall beyng in the kynges fauor, obtained licēce to make a Colledge at Oxford, and another at Ipswyche, and because he would geue no landes to the said Colleges, he obtained of the bishop of Rome, licēse to suppress and put doune diuerse Abbayes, Priones, and Monasteries to the number of \_\_\_\_\_ wherfore sodainly he entered by his Cōmissioners, into the said houses, and put out the Religious, and tooke all their goodes, moueables, and scaicely gaue to the poore wretches any thyng except it wer to the heddes of the house, and then he caused the exchequer to sit and to finde the houses voyde, as relynquished, and founde the kyng founder, where other men wer founders, and with these landes he endewed with all his Colleges, which he began so sumptuous and the Scholers were so pioude that euery persone iudged, that thende would not be good, as you shall heare five yeres hereafter.

**The Scotts returned into Scotland.** The Eile of Castelles whiche was sent into Scotlande, returned into England, the. xix. daie of Marche, but because the Frenche kyng was taken his commission for the moste parte was determined, and so he and all his compaignie toke their leaue of the kyng, and without any rewaide returned into Scotlande, the fourth daie of Aprill.

In this moneth of Marche, the kyng sent Cutberd Tunstall Bishop of London, and sir Richard Wyngfeld, Chancelier of the Duchy of Lancastre, and knight of the Garter, into Spain to the Emperour, for greates causes concernyng the takyng of the Frenche kyng and in especiall for waies to be made on Fraunce, on euery side. For so the kyng of England and his counsaill, wer agreed and determined: and the same moneth the Ambassadors, departed again into Flaunders.

**Commissions.** The counsaill remembryng that it was determined, that the kyng in proper persone should passe the sea, they considered that aboue all thynges, greates treasure and plentie of money, must nedes be had in a readines. wherfore by the Cardinall were deuised strange Commissions, and sent in thende of Marche to euery shire, and Commissioners appoynted, whiche wer the greatest men of euery shire and priue instruccions sent to them, to see and ordre the people, and the tenor was, that the sixt part of euery mannes substance, should without delate bee payed in money or plate, to the kyng for the furniture of his warre: wherfore the Cardinall, as chief Commissioner for London, sent for sir Willyam Bayly knight, then Maior of the citee, and the Aldermen, and diuerse hedde Commyners and saied to them in maner folowyng. You the kynges welbeloued frendes and subiectes, of the citee of Lōdon, I must declare to you, how the kyng contrary to his awne mynd and will, but compelled of verie force, is determined to entre into a new war, & for the more explanacion of the truthe, you shall vnderstande, that after that Frances the Frenche kyng that now is, had obtayned the Crowne, and scepter of the realme of Fraunce, he moste humbly sued to the kyng our Master, for peace, loue, and amitie, promisyng vpon the Euangelistes, to kepe the league then concluded, and also to paie to lady Mary quene dowager of Fraunce, her due pencion and dowaire, to her graunted by kyng Lewes her husbande. After this he by his Ambassadors, humbly desired the citee of Turnay, which kyng Lewes before tyme had loste the kyng whiche would that the citee of Turnay, should be no cause of grudge, betwene hym and the Frenche kyng, consented that for certayne sommes of money, it should be deliuered. And farther the more to bynd amitie betwene them, the kyng was content, that a comunicacion of mariage should be had, betwene the Dolphyn of Fraunce, and the ladie Marie Princes of England, yet for to entreate more loue, familiaritie, and acquaintance, the kyng to his greates cost and charge passed the sea, and met in persone with the Frenche kyng, thynkyng that by reason of personall sight and actual comunicacion, that more stable and ferme loue, should growe betwene them, then by writyng, at which time it was vndoubtedly thought, that there could be no more loue be knit, betwene two persones. There were couenauntes made and sworne, and the kyng  
our

**The proposition of the Cardinall.**

our Master said to the French kyng: Brother, now that you and I be this knit, I require you to kepe ferme peace, & amitie, with my nephew the emperor and also suffice not Duke Ihon of Albany, to go into Scotlande, for puttynge the young king my nephewe, in ieopardie of his persone, wherefore if you loue me, in especiall kepe these two articles: if you obserue these articles, and all other couenauntes betwene vs agreed, I assure you there had neuer prince a surer frende, then you shall haue of me. Then the French kyng laied his hand in mine (said the Cardinal) and sware by the othe of a kyng, he would obserue & kepe ferminely, these poyntes with many mo, and after the Kynges were depaied, and that the Emperoure was come to the kyng to Calice the French kyng sent Monsire de la Roche baron with letters, declaryng that he was in perfecte league and amitie with the Emperor, and this notwithstanding, he within lesse space then halfe a yere, sent Robert de la Marche to invade the Emperors lande, and made warre in Nauern & other places. The kyng our Master hearyng this, of his mere charitie sent me and other nobles with a greate trayne to Calice, to knowe by whom the war began, for he promised to be enemye to hym that brake firste. To whiche place came from the Frenche kyng, his Chancellor, and Monsire de la Palice, and many other noble men. And from the Emperor came his Chancellor, and the lorde Cheuers, and there in open counsaill, the Emperors Ambassadors, did shewe the French kynges letters, signed and sealed, by the which he enforced and began the warre. to which poynte the Frenche Ambassadors could not answere. What should I saie, the warre was open on bothe parties, I sent to the French kyng Ambassadors, to entreate peace, but in nowise he would concēt. wherefore I with my compaignie returned. In the meane season (although I doubted nothyng the Frenche kynges faith toward our Master) yet for a more suertie, I obteigned a saue conduite for the Englishe Merchauntes, that thei should go to Burdeaux, and vpon suertie of that our Merchantes passed, yet he contrary to his saueconduit, toke the Merchantes goodes, and put their bodies in prison, whiche the Turke would not haue doen. The kyng sent gently to him his herault Clarenceux, desirynge him to redresse all these enormities, and to paie hym his sommes of mony, due to hym and to the Quene his sister, for her dower, which to do he refused and denied, whiche thynges you knowe, the kyng of his honor might not suffice. Wherefore mightely he hath these three yeres, kept warre continually bothe on lande and sea, and invaded Fraunce with two armies royall, and bet their toynes, castles, and fortresses, destroyed the people, and passed the water of Somme, and proffered battaill to the Frenchmen, in their awne countrey, and hath brought the countrey in such penury and wretchednes, that in many yeres it will not be recouered.

The saying  
of the kyng  
of England.

The othe of  
the Frenche  
Kyng.

And the more to hurt and damage the French kyng, the kyng hath in wages the Duke of Burbon, whiche was the greatest strengthe on the Frenche part. by whose power and aide of other, which had great sommes of money, of the kyng our Master, the Frenche kyng in persone is now taken, and all his nobles in effect, before Pavia, and kept as prisoner to the Emperor and the kyng our Master, and that for great reasō for our master sent sir Gregory de Cassado his Ambassador, to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Duke of Burbon, and the Marques of Piscaire, with a hundred thousand Crownes, so that thei would fight with the Frenche kyng: for the which money they assented, and so gaue battaill, in the which they slew, xii. thousand men, and drowned. vii. thousande, and. xiii. thousande taken prisoners, and now sithe God hath geuē vs victory, the kyng remembryng the saying of the Poet that saith It is more mastery to vse victorie gotten, then to get it; thynketh it necessarie now in all hast, to make an armie royall, and he in person to passe the seas, and to recouer his right inheritance, bothe of the Crowne of Fraunce as of Normandie, Guyen, Gascone, Aniove and Mayne, the writynges whereof comprehendynge the very title, you maie se here present if ye list, but I doubt not but you knowe them well inough. And now I aske you this questiō, whether that you thynke it cōuenient, that the kyng should passe with an armie or not, for the kyng will do by thause of his subiectes. to the whiche many said yea,



The Card-  
nals demaund.

Wel said the Cardinal, then must he be made able to go like a prince, which cannot be without your aides, & for to shewe you what the Archbishoppe of Cantorbury and I, which bee primates of the realme haue doen, we haue geuen of our landes, and all landes apperteyning to the churche, the third parte, and the temporall lordes, haue geuen of landes and goodes, the sixt parte, and to leopard, their bodies in pain and trauaill, and now sithe they which shall auēture their lifes, doth profer the sixt part, what should thei geue which abide at home? For soth I thinke that halfe your substaunce were too litle, not meanyng that the Kyng so asketh. For he demaundeth onely no more, of fiftie *l* the sixt part, and so vpon euery *l*. aboue fiftie. *l*. to what some soeuer it amounte to, the sixt part that is. *iii. s. iiii. d.* of the *l* and from. *xx. l* to fiftie pounce, and so vpwārd. *ii. s* and *viii d* of the pounce, and from. *xx. pounce* to. *xx.s. xii. d* of the pounce, and this to be leued accordyng to the first valuacion, as appereth by your awne valuacion, whiche is but a small matter, to the thing that is meant. Then they beyng astonied, at last *ȝ* one saied, my lord sithe the last valuacion diuerse Merchantes be decayed by the seas, and suietship, and other yaies, so that valuacion cannot bee had. Then answered the Cardinall, sers, speake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for some shall not paie the tenth parte, and some more, it were better that some should suffre indigence, then the kyng at this tyme should lacke, and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffill not in this case, for it maie fortune to cost some their heddes: but I will speke to the kyng, to bee good to you, so that if he go not ouer the sea in persone, then you shall haue your money redeliuered, but firste let the money bee gathered, and laie it where you will, and if the kyng nede it not, you maie take it again.

The Card-  
nals threat-  
enynges

When the Cardinall had thus perswaded the Maior, and his brethrē and other hedde comyners, thei toke their leaue, and euery day after by the space of fortnight, he sent for a certain number of Comyners, and told them like tale, but some spake suche woordes to him, and some going from hym, that they were sent to ward.

The sayyng  
of the cler-  
gie

Now were Commissioners sent to the cleergie, for the fourth part of their landes and moueables, and in euery assembly the priestes answered, that thei would pay nothyng, except it were graunted by Conuocacion, otherwise not: for thei saied, that neuer kyng of England did aske any mannes goodes, but by an ordre of the lawe, and this Commission is not by the ordie of the lawe: wherefore they saied, that the Cardinall and all the doers thereof were enemies to the kyng, and to the common wealthe. This infamie was spoken in preachynges, and euery where.

The grud-  
e of the com-  
mō people.

When this matter was opened through Englande, howe the greate men toke it was manuell, the poore cursed, & riche repugned, the light wittes railed, but in conclusion, all people cursed the Cardinal, and his coadherentes as subuersor of the Lawes and libertie of Englande. For thei saied, it men should geue their goodes by a Commission, thei wer it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so England should be bond and not free.

It happened at Redyng in Barkeshire, that the Commissioners satte for this money to be graunted, and the people in no wise would consent to the sixt parte. but of thei awne mere mynde, for the loue they bare to the kyng, they graunted the twelue part, that is. *xx. d.* of the pounce, the Commissioners hearing this, said they would sende to the Cardinall, desirynge hym to be content with this offre, and so the Lorde Lisle wrote the letter, so that sir Richard Weston would beare it, the which letter at the request of the gentlemen of the cōtrey, the said sir Richard toke vpō him to cary & roade to the Cardinall. whiche therewith was sore grieved, and said, but because that the lorde Lisle wrote, that the matter was put communed of and not concluded, it should cost the lorde Lisle his hedde and his landes should be solde to paie the kyng the values, that by him and you folishe commissioners he had lost, and all your liues at the kynges will. these words sore annoyed Sir Richard Westō, but he said lile.

Then

Then the Cardinall wrote letters, to all Commissioners of the realme that they should kepe their first instruccio, and in no wise to swarue one iote, vpon pain of their liues, and euery man to be valued according to the valuacion taken in the xiiii. yere This laste poynte sore touched the citee of London, for the Cardinall in the. xiiii. yere, sent one Doctor Tunes his secret Chapelein, to the Chapter house of Paules, promisyng to the Londoners, that whatsoeuer they valued themselves at, that no man should knowe it, but the kyng the Cardinall, and he, vpon whiche promesse many persones for their more credite, and to be the higher esteemed valued themselves at a greater substaunce then they were worthe. thynkyng neuer to lende or paie by that confession, for the loane and the subsidie were paid accordyng as men were seased, and not by Master Tunes boke, whē men valued themselves, not knowing what should succede.

Now in this tyme was that subtile valuacion, layed to their charge, which when they perceued, they murmured muche, and said they would paie nothyng, except the kynges lawes, vnder whiche they were boine, so determined it But this notwithstanding, Commissioners went out to euery shire, for the leuie of the saide money, but for all that could be perswaded, saied, lied, and flattered, the demaunde could not bee assented to, sayng, that they that sent furthe suche Commissioners, were subuerters of the lawe, and worthy to be punished as traytors So that in all the realme were billes set vp, in all places Some billes saied, that the kyng had not paid that he borrowed: Some saied that the Subsidy amounted tieble more then he had bestowed other saied whatsoeuer was graunted, no good came of it and other saied that the Cardinall, sent al the money to Rome, thus was the muttering through all the realme with curses and wepynges, that pitie it was to beholde.

Duryng this season that the Commissioners sat, and that the bishop of London, and other the kynges Ambassadors, were abidyng wynde to saile into Spain to the Emperor (as you haue hard rehearsed) Monsire Pratt, the Emperours Ambassadour, whiche was sore angrie for Ihon Iokyns commyng into Englande, as you haue heard befoie, departed priuely out of the Realme of Englande, the. ix. day of Aprill, without speakyng with the Kyng, or the Cardinall, and so muche did by saucondute, that he passed through Fraunce in poste, and came to the Emperor before the Ambassadors of Englande came thither, and whether it was by his report or otherwise, the accustomed fauor that the Emperor and his counsaill shewed to the Englisliemen, began then to decare, and to shewe themselves vnkynde to the Englishe nacion, without cause, as you shall here after perceue

In this yere the kyng folowing of his hauke lept ouer a ditch beside Hychyn, with a polle and the polle briake, so that if one Edmond Mody, a foteman, had not lept into the water, & lift vp his hed, whiche was fast in the clay he had been dioned. But God of his goodnes preserued him

This yere at Whitsontyde, died Thomas duke of Norffolke, and was honorably buried at Thetford in Norffolke.

## ¶ THE XVII YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this xvii Yere, the Commissioners in all shires sat, for the leuie of the sixt parte of euery mannes goodes, but the buiden was so greuous, that it was denied, and the commōs in euery place were so moued, that it was like to haue growen to a rebellion. When this mischief was shewed to the kyng, he saied that he neuer knewe of that demaunde, and therefore with greate diligence, he sent his letters to the citee of London, and to all other places, in the which the kyng gently wrote, that he would demaunde no some certain, but suche as his lonyng subiectes would graunt to hym of their good mindes toward the maintenaunce of his warres: wherfore the Cardinal, the twentieth & six daie of



Aprill, sent for the Maior of London, the Aldermen and counsaill of the same, with the moste substañciall persones, of the common counsaill, and when they were come to his place at Westminster, he saied: the kyng our souereigne lorde, moste graciously considereth the greates loue, zeale, and obedience, which you beaie vnto hym, and where like louyng subiectes, without any giudge or againsaie, of your louyng myndes you haue graunted the sixt parte, of all your goodes and substaunce, fiely to bee paied, accordyng to the firste valuation, the whiche louyng graunt and good mynde, he so kindly accepted, that it was maruell to se. But I my self do cōsider the great losses, and other charges that daily hath, & doth to you grow, and that notwithstanding, any losse or charge that happeneth to you, yet you neuer withstoode nor againsaied, any of the kynges demaundes or Commissions, as it appereth now of late, of whiche dooynges, I haue highly the kyng enformed, for y<sup>e</sup> whiche he gaue you hartie thākes. Then I kneeled doure to his grace, shewyng hym both your good myndes toward hym, and also the charges, that you continually sustein, the whiche at my desire and petition, was content to call in and abrogate the same commission, & where he by reason of your owne graūtes, might haue demaunded the saied somme as a verie debte, yet he is content to release and pardon the same, and wil nothing take of you, but of your beneuolence. wherfore take here with you the kynges letter, and let it be redde to the commons, and I doubt not but you will gladly do, as louyng subiectes should do.

The sayyng  
of the Car-  
dinal to the  
Londoners.

Here note, that if the Cardinall had not said, that the kyng had released and pardoned the first demaunde, the citezens would haue answered the Cardinall that they neuer made no suche graunt, and for a suretie no more they did not: and so they helde their peace, & departed toward London, sore grudgyng at the lyng of the Cardinall, and openly sayyng that he was the verie cause, and occasiō of this demaunde, and would plucke the peoples hartes from the kyng.

The com-  
mon coun-  
saill.

The. xxviii. daie of Aprill, in the Common counsaill of the citee, was redde the kynges letter, accordyng to the effect aboue rehersed, wherfore the citizens sent foure Aldermen, and. xii. Commers to Hampton courte to geue thanks to the loide Cardinall, whiche for busines as was saied could not speake with hym, wherfore they returned not content. Then every Alderman assembled his ward, in their places accustomed, & gently moued them of a beneuolence, to be graunted to the kyng, the which they openly denied, sayyng. that they had paied inough before, with many euill wordes.

The. viii. daie of Maie, the Cardinall again sent for the Maior and his brethren, whiche shewed the what they had done: then saied the Cardinall, you haue no suche commission to examyn any man, I am youre Commissioner, I will examyne you one by one my self, and then I shall knowe the good will that you bear to your prince, for I will aske of you a beneuolence in his name. Then was it answered to the Cardinall, by a counsailler of the citee, that by the lawe there might no suche beneuolēce be asked, nor men so examined, for it was contray to the statute made the first yere of kyng Richard the thide, also some persones commyng before your grace, maie for feare graunt that, that all daies of their life they shall repent, and some to wyne your fauor, will graunt more then they bee able to paie of their awne, and so ronne in other mennes debtes, so that by dredfull gladnes, and fearetull boldnes, men shall not be maisters of themselves, but as menne dismaied, shall graunt that that their wives and children shall sore rewe. The Cardinall hard this sayyng verie paciently, and answered: Sir I maruell that you speak of Richard the thirde, which was a vsurper and a murtherer of his awne nephewes, then of so euill a man, how can the actes be good, make no suche allegacions, his actes be not honorable. And it please your grace said the counsailler, although he did euill, yet in his tyme wer many good actes made not by hym onely, but by the consent of the body of the whole realme, whiche is the parliament. Then sir Willyam Bayly lorde Maior, kneeled doune and besought his grace, that sithe it was enacted, by the common Counsaill of London, that every Alderman should sit in his awne ward, for a beneuolence to be graūted, whiche he perceiued to be against the lawe, that the same

acte

acte by the same common counsaill, might be reuoked and no otherwise: well saied the Cardinall, I am content But now will I entre into the kynges Commission You Maior and you Master Aldermen, what will you geue? my lorde saied the Maior, I prae you pardō me, for if I should entre into any graunt it might fortune to cost me my life your life saied the Cardinall, that is a maruelous worde, for you will toward the kyng, will the citezens put you in leoperdy of your life, that were straunge. For if they would that waie, then must the kyng come with strōg power them to oppresse, wherfore speake no more suche wordes, and with that he studied a litle and saied My lorde Mayor, let you and your citizens, if you be greued with any thyng, in this demaunde, humbly and after a good fashiō come to me and I shall so entreate you that you shalbe content and no displeasure arise, & so I prae you shew your neighbors, and so the Maior for that daie departed.

The flatter-  
yng of the  
Cardinall.

The Maior did wisely not to assent to graunt to any thyng for although he and the Aldermen had assented, the common counsaill would neuer haue assented. So on the next morowe, it was declared to the common counsaill, that their act that was made that euery Alderman should sit for a beneuolence to be graunted, was against a statute lawe. wherevpon the said act was annulled and then was it declared, that euery man should come to the Cardinall, and to graūt priuily what he would, with this sayyng the citezens wer sore greued, then the Maior gently shewed them how he durst warrant, that they should bee entreated gently, and exhorted them to go thether when they were sent for, whiche sayyng nothyng pleased them: and then in a furie they would haue had Richarde Gresham, and Ihon Hewster Mercers, and Richarde Gibson Seriant at armes and Merchant Tailor, banished out of the common counsaill, and so without answeare made, what they would do, they departed home.

In the same season through all the realme, this demaunde was vtterly denied so that the Commissioners cōuld bryng nothyng to passe, and yet they assaied bothe by faire waies and foule: some spake faire and flattered, other spake cruell and threatened, and yet could not bryng their purpose aboute. For in Kent the lorde Cobham was commissioner, and handled men roughly, and by reason one Ihō Skudder, answered hym clubbishly, he sent hym to the tower of London: for whiche dooyng the people muttered and grudged against the lorde Cobham, and saied expresly, that they would paie no money, and then they began to accōpt the loanes and subsidies graunted, so that thei rekened the kynges Tresure innumerable, for they accepted that the kyng had takē of this realme, twentie fiftenes, sith the. xiiii. yere of his reigne, and in this grudge, thei euill entreated sir Thomas Bullein at Maidestone.

In Essex the people would not assemble before the commissioners in no houses, but in open places: and in Huntynghdon shire, diuerse resisted the commissioners to sit, whiche were apprehended, and sent to the Flete.

The Duke of Suffolke sat in Suffolke, this season in like commission, and by gentle handling, he caused the riche Clothiers to assent and graunt to geue the sixt parte, and when thei came home to their houses, they called to them their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Weavers, & other artificers, whiche were wont to be set a woorke and haue their luynges by cloth makyng, and saied, sirs we be not able to set you a woorke, our goodes be taken from vs, wherfore trust to yourselves, and not to vs, for otherwise it will not be. Then began women to wepe and young folkes to crie, and men that had no woorke began to rage, and assemble themselves in compaignies. The Duke of Suffolke hearyng of this, commaunded the Constables, that euery mannes harnes, should be taken from them, but when that was knowen, then the rumour waxed more greater, and the people railed openly on the Duke of Suffolke, and sir Robert Drurie, and threatened them with death, and the Cardinall also, and so of Lanam, Sudbery, Hadley, and other townes aboute, there rebelled foure thousande men, and put themselves in harnes, and rang the belles *Alarme*, and began togather still more: then the duke of Suffolke perceuyng this, began to raise men, but he could get but a small nombre, and they that came to hym saied, that they would defende

Insurrection  
in Suffolke.



hym from all perilles, if he hurte not their neighbors, but against their neighbors they would not fight: Yet the gentlemen that were with the duke did so much that all the bridges wer broken, so that their assemble was somewhat letted.

The duke of Norffolke high Threasorer and Admirall of Englande hearyng of this, gathered a greäte power in Noiffolke, & came towarde the commons, and of his noblenes he sent to the cōmons, to knowe their intent, which answered: that they would liue and dye in the kynges causes, and to the kyng to be obedient. when the duke wist that he came to thē, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they meant. Then he asked who was their Capitain, and bad that he should speke. then a well aged manne of fífue yeres and aboue, asked licence of the Duke to speake, which graūted with good will. My lorde saied this man, whose name was Ihon Grene, sithe you aske who is our capitain, for soth his name is Pouertie, for he and his cosyn Necessitie, hath brought vs to this dooyng, for all these persones and many mo, whiche I would were not here, liue not of ourselves, but all we liue, by the substanciall occupiers of this countrey, and yet they geue vs so litle wages for our workmāship, that scately we be able to liue, and thus in penurie we passetæ tyme, we our wifes and childrē, and if they by whom we liue, be brought in that case that they of then litle, cannot helpe vs to earne our luyng, then must we perishe and dye miserably. I speke thus my lorde, the cloth makers haue put all these people, and a farre greater number sīd worke the husbände men haue put away their seruautes, and geuen vp household, they say, the kyng asketh so much, that thei be not able to do as thei haue done before this tyme, & then of necessitie, must we dye wretchedly: wherfore my lorde now accordyng to your wisdom, consider our necessitie. The Duke was sory to heare then complaint, and well he knewe that it was true: then he saied, neighbors, seuer' your selves asonder, let every man depart to his home, and chose furthe fōure, that shall answer for the remnant, and on my honor I will send to the kyng and make hūble intercession for your pardon, whiche I trust to obtain, so that you will depart, then al they answered they would, and so they departed home.

At the two dukes requestes, commissioners of great aucthoritie wer sent to theim, then the Duke of Noiffolke, and the Duke of Suffolke came to Bery, and thether came many people of the county in their shirtes and halters about their neckes, mekely desuryng pardon for their offences, the Dukes so wisely handeled themselves, that the commons wer appeisid, & in especiall one Master Iermyn, toke muche pain in ridyng and goyng betwene the lordes and commons: then the demaunde of money ceased in all the realme, for well it was perceiued, that the commons would none paie.

After this the two dukes came to London, and brought with them the chief capitaines of the rebellō, which were put in the Flete, and then the kyng came to Westminster, to the Cardinals place: Whei upon this matter, he assembled a great counsaill, and openly he said, that his mynd was neuer, to aske any thyng of his commons, whiche might sounde to his dishonor, or to the breche of his lawes, wherfore he would know of whom it was long, that the commissions were so straight to demaunde the sixt parte of euery mannes substance: the Cardinall excused hymself & said, that when it was moued in counsaill, how to make the kyng riche, the Kynges Counsaill, and especially the Iudges saied, he might lawfully demaunde any some by Commission, and that by the assent of the whole counsaill it was done, and toke God to witnes, that he neuer maligned nor desired, the hynderance of the Commons, but like a true counsailler, deuised to enriche the kyng. And the spirituall men saie, that it standeth with Goddes lawe, for Ioseph caused the kyng of Egypte, to take the fifth parte of euery mannes godes, but because euery manne laeth the burden from hym, I am cōtent to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noyes of the people for my good will toward the kyng, and comfoit of you my lordes, and other the kynges counsailers, but the eternall God knoweth all. Well said the kyng some haue enformed me that my realme was neuer so riche, and that there should neuer trouble haue risen of that de-

maunde,

The sore  
wordes of y<sup>e</sup>  
kyng

The excuse  
of the Car-  
dinal.

maunde, and that men would pay at the first request, but now I finde all contrary, then enery man held his peace.

The kyng was sore moued, that his subiectes were thus stirred, and also he was enformed of the deniall, that the spirituall men had made, and of their saynges, wherefore he thought it touched his honoure, that his counsaill should attempt suche a doubtfull matter in his name, and to bee denied bothe of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, for although some graunted for feare, before the commissioners, yet when they wer depaied, they denied it again. Then the kyng saied, I will no more of this trouble: Let letters be sent to all shires, that this matter maie no more be spoken of, I will pardon all them that haue denied the demaunde, openly or secretly. Then all the lordes kneled doune, and hartely thanked the kyng. Then letters were sent to all commissioners to cease, with instruccions how to declare the kynges pardon. In whiche declaracion, was shewed, that the Cardinall neuer assented to the first demaunde, and in the instruccions, was compieheaded, that the lordes and the Iudges, and other of the kynges counsaill, disaised the same demaunde, and that the Cardinall folowed the mynd of the whole counsaill, these two poyntes were contrary one to another, whiche were well marked. And farther the instruccions were, that at the humble petition, and supplicacion of the Cardinall, thesaied greate sommes, whiche were demaunded, by the kynges aucthoritie royall, wer clerely pardoned and remitted, wherefore the Commissioners willed the people to prais for the Cardinall: but the people toke all this for a mocke, and saied God saue the Kyng, for the Cardinall is knowen well inough, the commons would heare no praise spoken of the Cardinall, they hated hym so muche.

The kyng  
sore moued

The Pardon  
of the greate  
demaunde

NB

The xix daie of Maie, the Cardinall sent for the Maior and his biethren, and certain commmers, and made the Maior to sit doune by hym, and then declared, that where the kyng was determined, in proper persō to passe the sea into Fraunce, for whiche cause he asked of the citizens of London, and his other subiectes, an aide toward his charges, to whiche request (he saied) that the Londoners were at all tymes conformable, like lonyng subiectes, but sithe the kyng considereth the greate fall of the Fienche Kyng, whiche is yet prisoner, and that daily he hath suite made to hym for peace, greatly to his honor and profite, for I trust that all his right and title, shalbe to hym deliuered, which thyng once agreed I truste you shall have peace, and therefore at my humble request, the kyng hath pardoned you of all the sommes of money, that of you were demaunded and if his grace had not passed the seas, although the money had been gathered, surely it should haue been restored again, and cōsequently the kyng thanketh you as hartely, as any prince may thanke his subiectes and for asinuche as peace, is not yet concluded, I counsaill you to shewe yourselves, enemies to the Frenchmen, and to say that you be the kynges, bodie and goodes at his will and pleasure, so that your lonyng myndes towardes hym, maie to the Frenchmen appere, you wot well what I meane saied the Cardinall. Then the Maior and his compaignie kneled doune, and moste hartely thaked the kyng and hym, and so departed. The next daie, all this was rehersed to the cōmon counsaill, whiche humbly thanked the kyng for the pardon. but twoo thynges thē sore displeased; one was that the Cardinall bad them saie, they were the kynges, body and goodes, they saied that they used no dissimulacion, for they would not saie they were the kynges, but they thought and were the kynges in deede, and not in sayng: the seconde was, that the Cardinall excused hymself, that he was ignorant of the first cōmission: For all they knew and were present, when he himself made to them the first mocion, & whatsoeuer was saied by the Recorder, in his excuse was takē as a cloke for the rain, & a dissimulacion or a mocke. For wisemen perceived all the handelyng of the matter after the kyng had pardoned euery offendour.

The sayng-  
to the  
Maior of  
London

The preacie  
seate of the  
Cardinall.

The xxix daie of Maie the lordes sat in the Staire chamber, and the ther were brought one Deuereux, a gentleman of Huntingdō shire (whiche would not suffre the commissioners to sit, as you haue laid) and Thon Scuddei of Kent, these twoo were brought from the Tower, bare footed in their shirtes through London to the Starre Chamber, and there



there the Cardinall shewed them their offences, with terrible woordes: and after that he shewed the kynges mercie, extended to thē and declared their pardōn, and so they were deliuered.

The morowe after beyng the. xxx. daie, wer the chief of the rebelles of Suffolke brought to the Starre chamber barre, and there the Kynges counsaill learned, laied sore to them their offence, but the Cardinall declared for thē the kynges pardon then the kynges Attorney, asked suertie for they good aberyng, their answered that they could finde none, then saied the Cardinall I will be one, because you be my countrey mēn, and my lordc of Norffolke will be another, and so they were discharged, and had money to bryng them home: Now here is an ende of this commissiō, but not an ende of inward grudge and hatered, that the commons bare to the Cardinall, and to all gentlemen, whiche vehēmetly set furth that Commission and demaunde.

In this trobelous season the vplandishe men of Germany, called the bowres, rose in a great number, almoste an hundred thousande, and rebelled against the princes of Germany, of whiche a great number wer slain and destroyed.

In Aprill last past, the Tyndale men, with the aide of the Scottes, to the nōber of eight hundred, did daily greate roberies in Englande. For to repressse this nest of theues wer sent sir Richard Bulmer, and sir Cristopher Dacres, with a greate compaignie of Englyshmen, and to them diuise men came, and submittted themselves, but the great theues kept them in the moūtaignes of Cheuiot, and daily skirmished with the Englyshmen, and could not sone be taken but after long lying abrode, they seueled and many of them wer taken.

In this verie season the Frenchemen, kept a greate number of men of warre, at Bullein and there aboute, and the v daie of Maie foure hundred horsemen, embushed themselves in the Forest of Guysnes, and the same daie. lxxx. horsemen of the Ciewe of Guysnaes, roade furthe sekyng auentures, the Frenchemen let theim passe, till they had them at auantage, then they issued out and cried, kill, kill, then Englyshemen them valiauntly defended, almoste twoo houres, but at the last the Frenchemen, oppressed them with multitude, and brake their arraye, and slewe fiftie of them, the iennant saued themselves. this chaunce was nothyng pleasant to the Englishe capitaines. But the Frenchemen were so surmounted by this ioiney, that the. xx. daie of Maie, the men of warre of all the garrisons in Picardy, assembled together, and came within the English pale to Aunderne, and so to Calice: the Frenchmen were of suche nombre that all the Englishe pale was spied ouer. At Balyngham the Frenchemen draue awaie the cattell: the Englyshmen thought theselves to weke to encounter with them, whiche were the whole strength of all Picardy. And so on the Assension daie, there came to Newnam bridge, three hundred horsemen, and there set a stale, but with ordinaunce they were made to go backe. Then came foure hundred Frenchemen to the Turne pike, and they had gotten all the cattell together. The bend of sir Robert Iernyngham, seying the Frenchemen so nere Calice, set forward not past. lx. horsemen and they fiersly set on the Frenchemen, whiche fledde, and they chased them, and reskued all the cattell, that the Frenchemen had taken, and with greate difficultie, brought them to the Marshe beside Calice.

The xxviii daie of Maie v. C horsemen, and. xvi. C. footemen, came to a village called Froyton, within the Englishe pale, and many auentured ouer the Water to haue taken all the cattell in the Mairishes, of Hamnes, Guysnes, and Calice, whiche wer of greate number, but the Fienchemen that made the auenture in the night, wer askried and slain all saue two. Then the Frenchemen returned in a great furie, and sware that they would once robbe the Marrisses or els they would dye for it, and so returned to Bullein, whether were come of newe, fise. C horsmen called Stradiats, whiche fortified wel the Frenchē parties, in so muche that they passed in number fise tymes the Englyshmen.

You haue haue hard before, how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the whiche one was called Beggam in Sussex, the whiche was very commodious to the countrey: but

but so befell the cause, that a ryotous compaignie, disguysed and vnknown, with painted faces and visures, came to thesame Monasterie, and brought with them the Chanons, and put them in their place again, and promised them that whensoever they rang the bell, that they would come with a great power, and defende thē. This doynge came to the eare of the kynges counsaill, whiche caused the Chanons to be taken, and they confessed the capitaines, whiche wer emprisoned, and sore punished.

The Cardinall aboute this season, by his power Legāntyne, sent a Chapeleyn of his, called Doctor Ihon Alein, a man of more learnyng then vertue, or good conscience, to visite all places religious: this priest roade in his gounce of veluet, with a greate trayne, and was receued into euey Relgion with Procession, as though the legate had been there, and toke suche greate sommes for his visitacion, that the religious sore were grieved, and murmured muche against it, and in especiall, for they were chaiged with greate sommes of money to the kyng, and now this sodain visitacion or <sup>Predacion,</sup> predacion, cleane shaued them. The com-  
mon people spake muche against this, and also they saied, that the Cardinall by Visi-  
tacions, makynge of Abbottes, probates of testaments, grauntyng of faculties, licēses, and other pollynge in his Couites legantines, had made his threasure egall with the kynges, & yet euey yere he sent greate sommes to Rome. this was then communica-  
cion, euē against the Cardinall, and his high auctoritie, & the spirituall men moste  
disdained it

You shall vnderstande, the kyng in his fleshe youth, was in the chaynes of loue, with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Blount, daughter to sir Ihon Blunt knight, whiche damosell in syngyng, daunsyng, and in all goodly pastymes, exceded all other, by the whiche goodly pastymes, she wauē the kynges harte and she again shewed hym suche fauor, that by hym she bare a goodly manne child, of beutie like to the father and mother. This child was well brought vp, like a Princes child, and whē he was. vi. yere of age, the kyng made hym knight, and called hym lorde Henry Fitz Roy, and on Sondaye beyng the. xviii. daie of Iune, at the Manor or place of Bridewell, thesaid Lorde ledde by twoo Erles, was created Erle of Notynghā, and then he was brought backe again by the saied twoo Erles then the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, led hym into the great chamber again, and the kyng created hym, Duke of Richemond and Somerset & thesame daie was the lorde Henry Courtenay Erle of Deuonshire, and cosyn germain to the kyng, was created Marques of Excester, and the lorde Henry Brandon, sonne to the duke of Suffolke and the Frenche Quene the kynges sister, a childe of twoo yere old, was greated Erle of Lincolne, and sir Thomas Manners lord Roos, was created Erle of Rutlande, and sir Henry Clifford, was created Erle of Cumberlande, and the lorde Fitz Water sir Robert Radclif was created Viscount Fitz Water, and sir Thomas Bullein, threasorer of the kynges houshold, was created Viscounte Rocheforde, and at those creacions, were kept greate feastes and disguisynges.

After this the Cardinall toke vpon him, as the kynges chief counsailler to se a reformation in the ordre of the kynges housholde, wherem he made certain ordinaunces. He also made all newe officers in the house of the Duke of Richemond, whiche was then newly begon: Also at that tyme he ordeined a cōsaill, and stablished another household, for the ladie Mary, then beyng Princes of the realme, so that all thyng that was done, was done by hym, and without his assent, nothyng was done. he tooke so muche vpon hym, and made the Kyng beleue, that all thynges should be to his honor, and that he neded not to take any pain, so that to hym was the charge of all thynges committed, at the whiche wise menne beked, and light men laughed, thynkyng great foly in his high presūpcion. And at this tyme, thesaid Cardinall gaue to the kyng, the lease of the Manor of Hampton Court, whiche he had of the lease of the lord of Sanct Ihones, and on whiche he had done greate coste. Therefore the kyng of his gētle nature, licensed hym to lie in his Manor of Richemōd at his pleasure, and so he laie there at certain tymes but when the common people, and in especiall suche, as had been kyng Henry the seuēthes seruantes, sawe the  
Cardinal



Cardinal kepe house in the Manor royall of Richmond, whiche kyng Henry the seuenth, so highly esteemed it, was a manell to here, how thei grudged and said, see a Bochers dogge lye in the Manor of Richmond these with many approbrious wordes, were spoken against the Cardinal, whose pride was so lugh that he nothyng regarded, and yet was he hated of moste men.

In this season the Frenche kynges mother, Regent of Fraunce and the three estates of the Reialme, assembled together, concernyng the estate of their realme: First, they sent a solēpne Ambassador to the emperor, with articles (as they thought resonable) for y<sup>e</sup> deliuer-aūce of the Frēch king and also for a peace, they sent also a messenger to the kyng of Englande, for a sauconduite for an Ambassadour, to be sent into Englande, for a treatie of peace, whiche to the messenger, was graunted and deliuered

Then came quer as Ambassadour from Fraunce, Ihon Iokyn now called Monsire de Vaux, whiche as you haue hard in the last yere, was kept secret in Master Larkes house, and when he came into Englande, he was welcomed of the Cardinall, and there betwene them were suche communicacions, that at the sute of thesaid Ihon Iokyn, a truce was concluded, from the xiii<sup>th</sup> daie of Iuly, for fortie daies, betwene England and Fraunce, bothe on the sea and beyonde the sea. Full well wist Ihon Iokyn, what he meaut when he desired peace for fortie daies, for in that season the Pikardes, might haue a quiet haruest, to cary in their Corne, whiche they should not haue, if the garrisōs of Calice and Guynes and other within the Englishe pale, had not been restrained from warre, and also the Fishermen of Depe, Bullein, and Traipport, had quiete fshyng, by this truce, for the nauie of Englade, was come home to harborough, this truce greued the menne of waire on bothe parties, it was so sodain that they wist not well what to do

When the Flemynges hard tell of truce, and that they were not comprehended in thesame, they began to rayle and said, that the kyng of Englande, had not done truly with thē, to take a truce without their knowlege. the Englishemen answered that they had no Ambassadour in England, and if that they had had any, they should haue been made priue, but the kyng would sende them no worde of his affaires, if they would not sende to knowe, for he ought their master, nor yet them suche seruice.

The Frenchemen in this season enterprised to enter into Flaunders, by Newe dike, but they were manfully defended by the Flemynges, and because the Frenchemen passed by the Englishe pale, and had nothyng done to them the Flemynges wer sore displeased, with the Englishmen of Calice

In the latter ende of Iuly came into Englande, Monsire Bryoud chief President of Roan, and was brought to the Cardinales presencc, at the Manor of Richmond, and when his Commission was shewed, it was doubted whether the auctoritie wer sufficiēt, because the kyng his Master was prisoner in Spain. but then he shewed auctoritie, geuen to the Lady Regent, and certain nobles of the realme of Fraunce, by the Frenche kyng in open Parliament, before his goyng into Italy for all thynges that did or mighte concerne his Realme, during his absence. When the Commission was thought reasonable, then was rehersed to the Frenchemen their doublenes, their vnstedfastnes, and how they had behaued themselves toward the kyng of England. then they answered if wee haue offended, you haue vs punished, for you haue brient our tonnes, slain our people, destroyed our countrey, so that you haue brought the lowe parties, to a long miserie without recouery, and therefore sithe we be the lesers for our offence, yet we sue for peace, least we be more punished After long consultacion, they offered many offers: first to pay all suche sommes of money as wer due, both for the yerely tribute, and also for the citee of Tunay, and the Frenche Quenes dowar, and farther to recompence the kyng of Englande his expences done in the warres.

Duryng this treatie, woorde was brought to the kyng of Englande, that there was a truce sodainly concluded, betwene the realme of Fraunce and the ladie Margaret, Duches of Sauoy, and Gouverner of Flaunders and the lowe countreis, for the space of. v. monethes,

so that no entercourse should be betwene them for merchantes, but by sauconduite, and that this Proclamacion was proclaimed at saint Omers, the firste daie of August, wherupon the kyng was contented, that a peace should bee taken from the. xiii. daie of August, to the firste daie of December, whiche was proclaimed in London. and by this truce euery Englishemā without sauconduite, might passe into Fraunce, & thei likewise into England. When this truce was proclaimed, the people murmured & said, now hath the Frenchemen gotten their fishyng quietly, and if they had been kept from that, they had been vndoen, and so with faire wordes thei helpe themselves, whiche if we haue warre again, shall hurte vs, for this Henryng shall vitail their tounes the next yere. This the common people talked, but it was to no purpose.

This yere the kyng sent Doctor Henry Standishe, bishop of saint Asse, & sir Ihon Baker <sup>Ambassadours into Denmark.</sup> knight into the realme of Denmarke, to comen and entreate with the nobles of the Countrey for the reduccion of kyng Christierne, to his realme, Croune, and dignitie, but all that could be said or perswaded, could not bryng the Danes to any reson, they hated hym so for his greate crueltie, and in especiall for the greate tyranny that he committed at Siokholme in Swethen, where he desired a greate number of his nobles to a banquet, and after the baket strake of their heddes. When the Ambassadors of Englande sawe that they could not bryng hym in again. they then began to require, that his sonne might haue the croune and dominion, whiche neuer them offended, and was of progeny borne of lady Isabell, sister to the Emperor Charles the. v. which also made great labor and instaunce for thesame: but the Danes answered they would none of his procreacion, for they said, the sonne would folow the father, or els at the least he would reueage his fathers wrong, and so with this answer they departed.

So muche did the Ambassadors of Fraunce, bothe by offers and entreatyes, that the king of England and his counsaill, did condescende to a peace, and the more soner because thei sawe if warre should continue, money must be demaunded of the cōmons, whiche had leuer rebell then pay any more money, as you haue hard in the last yere. Whē peace was concluded, then were Proclamacions of thesame, sent to euery citee and good toun, and the. xiii. daie of September, thys peace was proclaymed solemply with a Trumpet through the citee of London, the effecte wherof was, that vpon humble suite and large profers, made by the lady Regent of Fraunce, & the three estates of thesame, a peace, league, & amitie was concluded, betwene bothe the kynges of England & Fraunce, and their countreies and subiectes, so that the subiectes, of either realme maie lawfully passe and repasse, into the others realme and dominions, to bye and sell frankly and fiely, without let or interuption, and that this league in no wise, was a breche of the league taken wyth the Emperor and the lady Margaret, gouernesse of Flaunders in no point, but that thesaid Emperour and lady Margaret, and all other the kynges old and auncient confederates and allies, wer comprehended in thesame, and for due restitution to be made to the Frēchmen, therē was appoynted the reuerende father, Cutberd bishop of Lōdon, and for restitution to be made to the Englishemē, was appoynted the chief Presidēt of Roan.

And on the. xi. daie of September, was a truce proclaimed in Spain, in the toun of Vale Dolito, betwene the emperor and the Fienche kyng, from that daie to the ende of December next ensuyng, at which time the Emperour had not seen the Fienche kyng, whiche was conueghed by sea out of Italy into Spain, to a Castle called Madrill, and there remayned. and shortly after fell sore sicke, and was in greate ieperdy, for the whiche the Frēchmen cared little, for thei said that if he died, thei should paye no raunsome, and then their realme shoulde be quiet.

This peace betwene England and Fraunce, nothing pleased the Flemynges, wherefore when they had dronke well, thei spake largely, and boasted how they had victailed the English armies, and found them cartes and cariages, and thought it not kyndly doen, to refuse them as old frondes & make peace wyth old enemies, but they did not consideir what money



the Englishemen left in their countrey, nor how the Frenchmen for dred of the Englishemen, would not invade Flaunders, so that thei lyued quietly, all this they considered not.

In thesame moneth this peace was proclaimed, in Paris, Liôs, Roan and Amias. by this peace the kyng of Englande, should receiue at certain daies. xx hundred thousande Crownes, whiche then was foure hundred thousand pound steilyng, of the whiche one paiement of fiftie thousande pounce was paid in hande. After this peace taken, all the men of warre, that were aboute the retinue of Calice, Hammes, and Guysnes wer called home, and the shippes brought into the hauens, and many a Kreker wist not how to lyue

In the moneth of October wer sent into Fraunce, sir Wyllyam Fitzwillyam Threasuresor of the kynges house, and doctor Tayllor, as ambassadors from the kyng of England, & wer receiued through Fraunce very honorably, and by long iornies at the last, came to the cite of Liôs the xxiii. daie of Nouember, where to them wer presented, Wine, Fische, Fleshe, and Waxe, and thei wer visited with diuerse noble men. And on the. xxvi. daie they were conueighed to the Courte by twoo Elles, and at the gate receiued with two Cardinales, and so brought to the lady regent, whiche with muche honor them receiued, and then they deliuered the kynges letters, whiche she tooke in great reueience, and so with her counsaill, departed into hei priue chamber, and there taried almost two houres, and then came out again, to whom Doctor Tailor made an eloquent Oracion in Latin, of the commodities of peace, and declared that the kyng his Master for very loue, and not for no dred nor nede did cōdiscend to peace. To whom the bishop of Besanson, Chaunceller to the Lady Regent, made answere, and that doen, the Ambassadors were feasted, and serued with men of greate estate, and after that thei wer conueighed to their lodgynges.

And on Sondae next ensuyng, the Ambassadors wer conueighed to the Courte, and from thence the lady Regent and all the Court, rode solemply to the Cathedraill church of Lions, and there a Cardinall sang a solempne Masse, and after that Masse was dooen, the Lady Regent toke the twoo Ambassadors, the one on the right hande, and the other on the left hande, and so went vp to the high aultar, and there she laied her hande on the Canon and Crucifix of the Masse boke, and there sware to obserue, fulfill and kepe, all the articles and agementes, concluded in the league and treatie of peace, by her commissioneis. And whē this was doen, the bishop of Bisanson made an eloquent sermon, takyng for his antitheme *Quis est homo qui vult vitam, diligit dies videre bonos, Inquire pacem. &c.* In this sermon he muche praised the kyng of Englādē, whiche assented to peace and lauded the Cardinall whom he called the Legate of God, for counsaillyng hym to peace. for now was Fraūce free, and all hostilitie ceased, and when this sermon was doen, *Te deum* was song, and then the Trumpettes blewe, and all other instrumentes Musaicall, and then the Lady Regent, with all her trayne returned to the palace, & there were the Ambassadors highly feasted, and then sir Wyllyam Fitz William toke his leaue, and came shortly into Englande, leauyng behynde hym Doctor Tayler whiche taried there till the Frenche kyng was deliueied.

When the articles of peace, wer knowne to themperoi and his counsaill, full well wist they that the kyng of Englande now would be frend to the French kyng wherfore he and his subiectes, shewed themselves more straunge and vnkynde to the Englishemen, then they had been accustomed. In so muche that the Englishe merchautes, put vp a supplicacion to the Emperor, shewyng hym how their goodes wer taken, by letters of Marke, their shippes restrained, newe impositions taken of them, and most of all thei complained, that by an acte made in Spain called *Premetica* whiche ordeineth that euery cloth, should be of a certain number of thredes, the clothes of Englande there could not bee solde, to the great hynderaunce of the Englishe Merchautes. For the clothiers of England knowe not the number appoynted by the statute, and when thei make cloth, thei knowe not to what countrey that cloth shalbe sold, of these thynges the Englishe Merchautes desired a redresse.

1. At a daie appoynted the Englishmen had an answere deliuered them in writyng, comteignyng certain articles. The firste, if any wronges bee dooen vnto you, our Iustice is open

open in every place. The second, as touchyng letters of Marke, we will be aduised by our counsaill. The third as touchyng your shippes, we frely graunt that you shall haue our frēdship liberally, so that with your awne shippes and goodes, you maie go at youre pleasure, passing or makyng abode. And as touchyng customes, or Imposicions of newe: The accident maie cause vs so to doo, but that shalbee in suspence. And finally as touchyng our *Premetica*, made by the lordes of our counsaill, and by vs affirmed, wee will not breake, but wee will suffre to the intent that you Englishe Merchautes, maie bring true and well made clothe, for the whiche you shall bee the better welcome this was the very answeie that the Englishe Merchautes had, of the Emperoi and his counsaill

In this Wynter was greate death in London, wherefore the Terme was adioined, and the king for to eschew the plague, kept his Christmas at Eltham with a small number, for no manne might come thither, but suchie as wer appoynted by name this Christmas in the kynges house, was called the still Christmas. But the Cardinall in this season, laye at the Manor of Richemond, and there kept open housholde, to lordes, ladies, and all other that would come, with plaies and disguisyng in most royall maner. whiche sore greued the people, and in especial the kynges seruautes, to se hym kepe an open Court, and the kyng a secret Court.

The Cardinall came to Eltham the. viii. daie of Iānuary, and taried there till the. xxii. daie. In whiche season the Cardinall, and other of the kynges counsaill, sat for a direccion to be taken in the kynges house, and fist it was considered, that the greate number of the yomen of the gard were very chargeable, and that there were many officers farre striken in age whiche had seruautes in the Courte, and so the kyng was serued with their seruautes, and not with his awne seruautes, whiche was thought not convenient. Wherefore first the officers seruautes, wer put out of the Courte, and many old officers were put to lue in their countreys, but the kyng of his bountie enhaused their luynges, for he that had three pound wages, had sixe pound annuite, without attendaunce, and he that had. xl s. had foure pound, and so every man after that rate, and young men were put in their romes. Then was there. lxxiii. of the gard, whiche had. xii. d. the daie checked, put out of that wages, and they had. vi. d. a daie unchecked, and should dwell in their countreys & come not at the court, til thei wer sent for, except it wer for suites. in the which the Cardinall promised the, to be their helper. Alas what sorowe, & what lamentacion was made, when all these persones should depart the court. Some saied that poore seruautes wer vndoed and must steale. Some saied that thei wer found of the reuercions of the officers service, so that for them was nothing more set out at the diesser, and it was greate charitie to fynde them. Other saied that the yomen of the gard, whiche were put out wer now not able to fynde themselves and their horse, to doo the King service. Other saied, that now they would polle and pill in their countreys, & oppresse the poore people, thus every man had his sayng.

At this season the Cardinall made many ordinances, concerning the kynges house, whiche bee at this daie called the statutes of Eltham, the whiche some saied wer more profitable then honorable.

This monethe of Iānuary was a peace concluded, betwene the realmes of Englande and Scotlande, for three yeres and sixe monethes, of the whiche the Scottes wer very glad, and especially the borderers, for they wer sore hurt by this warre.

This yere the kyng on Shrouetewesdaie, kept a solempne Iustes at his Manour of Grenewiche, he hymself and xi. wer on the one part, and the Marques of Excester with. xi. were on the other parte: the Kynges baide and base and all his bende, wer of cloth of gold and siluer, richely embraudered, with a mannes harte in a presse, with flames about it, and in letters were written, *Declare ie nose*, in Englishe, Declare I dare not, the Marques and his bend wer in Grene Veluet, & crimosyn sattyn embrodered with hartes burnyng, and ouer every harte a Ladies hand commyng out of a cloude, holdyng a gaden water pot, which dropped siluer droppes on the haite. At this Iustes was many a spere broken, and by



Six Frances Brian lost one of his eyes. After the lustes, the king made to the Quene, and lordes and ladies a costly banket, and did seruice to the Quene and ladies hymself

The abjuracion of doctor Barnes, whom we shal heare more in the xxxii yere of this Kyng

In the monethe of February the. xi. daie beyng Sondae, the Cardinall with greate pompe, came to the Cathedrall Church of Paules, on whom bishoppes, Abbottes, and a great number of doctors, gaue their attendaunce, and thiete he sat in pontificalibus, vnder his cloth of estate of riche clothé of Golde. and there one Frier Barnes a Frier Augustine bare a fagot, for certain poyntes of hêresie, as the Bishoppes saied: and two Merchauitres of the Stillerd bare fagottes, for eatyng fleshe on a Fridaie, and there the bishop of Rochester Doctor Fisher, made a sermon, reprouyng Martin Luthers opiniō, a Frier of Germany, whiche wrote against the power of the Bishoppe of Rome, and in his sermon he spake so much honor of the Pope and his Cardinales, and of their dignitie and prehemiuence, that he forgat to speake any thyng of the Gospell, whiche he toke in hande to declare, which sermō was muche praised of the Cardinall and Bishoppes, wherfore the Cardinall gaue to all the people his benediccion, and then departed.

Lady Margaret Duches of Alansoun deuyed wayes for the French king to escape.

All this yere was continuall suite made to the Emperor and his cōsail, by the Lady Regent of Fraunce, and all the realme there, for the deliuerance of Frances the French kyng, and after many communicacions whiche toke none effect, was sent into Spain of Ambassade, the noble lady Margaret, late duches of Alaunsoh, sister to the French kyng, with a greate compaignie of nobles and honorable personages. Themperor Charles met thesaied lady in the Market place of the cite of Toletō, and her right hartely welcomed, and after that the Duches and ber compaignie, had refused to agree to certain articles, whiche the French kyng had offered hymself, thesaied Duches had license of the Empeior, to go to Madrill, where the French kyng was kepte as prisoner, and there to knowe his mynd. When she was there, she & other diuised suche a waie, that the French kyng should haue scaped, and poste horses wer laied euery where: this were not so secrete, but the Emperor was therof enformed, and toke certain Frenchemen, whiche confessed how all thynges should haue been brought to passe. The Duches of Alaunson hearyng that this priuite was opened, on post horses with all spede returned into Fraunce, leuyng the whole matter at large.

But for all this the lordes of Fraunce, ceased not daily to sue. for the deliuerance of their souereigne lorde, and at last to the Empeior was deliuered a boke for the French kynges deliuerance, for the Emperor saied he would nothyng demaund of hym, for haunyng hym he had more then he could geue hym. Then the French kyng and his counsaill, offered a boke conteynyng many articles to the Emperotire. and when the Emperor had well vnderstande the contentes of thesame, he saied to the French Ambassadors, is this the full will and agrement of your Master, they answered yea: well saied the Emperor, if this be his awne offre, I truste that he will kepe it. Then themperor thought best to bring the French kyng to more libertie, and to visite hym hymself, whiche he had not doen but in the tyme of his sickenes. Where the xiiii. daie of February, the Emperoi accompanied with the greate Constable of Fraūce, the Duke of Enphantaso, the Duke of Ciuil, the Duke of Nassō, the Duke of Aluoy, the duke of Alberkirke, the Duke of Medcna, the Duke of Massedonia, the Marques of Aguler, the Marques Villafraça, the Marques of Sturgus, the Erle of Barselona, the erle of Boniuient, the Erle of Ienuier, the Erle of Salenas, the Erle of Arrowffe, the erle of Saluator, and xii Bishoppes, and a greate number of nobles, came to the castle of Madrill, to whom was the French kyng brought with a noble repaire, to whom the Emperor made lo reuerence, and declared to hym how all victories, consist in the hande of God, and where greate debate, warre, and strief, had long continued betwene the, he said it was the very bady worke of God, to deliuer hym to captiuite, so that by his restraint of libertie, a generall peace should be cōcluded through all Christendome, and now sith you haue offered vs reasonable condicions, we entendyng not your punishment,

nor restraint of your libertie haue gently receiued your offers, signed with your awne handes, whiche all your nobles shall heare redde

In pmiss, the Frenche kyng sware to kepe peace, bothe by land and by water with the Emperor and his subiectes, of all landes, territories, or dominions, belonging to the Emperor or the Empire 1.

Item, thesaied Frenche Kyng clerely renounced, all the right, title, or interest whiche he had or pretended, to the realme of Naples, or the kyngdome of Sicile 2.

Item thesaied Frenche kyng clerely renounced his right and title, to the Duchie of Mil-lain and the Countie of Ast 3.

Item, thesame kyng surrendered into theemperors handes the whole Duchie of Burgoyne, the Countie Charoloys, with all castles and lordshippes appertynnyng to thesame, with all manner of souereignatie, apperteignnyng to the crowne of Fraunce by reason of thesame. 4.

Item, thesaied kyng surrendered & relased, all the souereignetie whiche he claimed of the Counties of Flaunders and Arthoys, and thother lowe countreys, so that they from thence furthe, should neuer sue to any Parliament of Fraunce by appele, or resorte, the Counties of Guynnes, Aude and Bullonoys alwaie except. 5.

Itē, he released all the right & title, that he had to the citee of Tournay and Turnesyns and to the townes of Hedyng and Arras, with all Castles and dominions apperteignnyng to thesame, with the title of the souereignetie and resort of thesame, to the Parliamentes of Fraunce 6.

Item, he sware and promised, neuer to helpe or aide the Loide Dalbrethe, called the kyng of Nauerr by couyn or other wise, against theemperor or his heires nor successors. 7.

Item, that he nor none other by his assent. should maintein, aide or cōfort Charles Duke of Geldres, nor maintein sir Robert de la Marche, by no meanes against the Emperor, or his countreys, or dominions. 8.

Item, he promised at his awne costes and charges, to finde five hundred men of armes, and tenne thousande footemen, to do the Emperour seruice, whensoever that he toke his iorney toward Rome, for the obteignnyng of his crowne and scepter Imperiall, and to paie their wages for sixe monethes 9.

Itē, he promised to be enemye to all persones, whiche would go about or intend in any wise, to let or disturbe thesaied iorney to Rome. 10.

Item, he promised to discharge the Emperor against the kyng of Englande, for the somme of two hundred thousande Crownes, whiche he ought then to the kyng of Englande, and to deliuer the Emperor a sure acquitaunce for thesame, whiche amounteth in starlyng money xl M.l. 11.

Item, he released all the pencions, whiche he claimed of the realmes of Naples & Sicile, whiche was yerely a hundred thousand dukattes. 12.

Item, for the surer performaunce of all these articles, it was agreed that the Frenche kyng should at his departyng, deliuer into the Emperors handes, the Dolphin of Vien and Henry Duke of Orleans, his twoo elder sonnes, which should remain in Spain, till that all these articles wer performed. and if after he came into his realme, the three estates of Fraunce, would not condescend and agree to these articles, whiche he had offered and sworne, then he should shortly come again into Spain, and yeld hymself prisoner again, and his children then to be redeliuered into Fraunce. 13.

Item, for the more fortificacion of this concorde, and for the more amitie to be had betwene the two princes and their realmes, the Emperor offered in marriage to the Frenche kyng, the noble princes lady Elnoi late Quene of Portyngall, with a greate dowar, and offered to hym with her in marriage three faine lordeshippes, called Ansanes, Maconoyes, and Barsur, the whiche the Frenche kyng ioyfully accepted. But this offre was condicionally, so that the whole agreement toke effecte, or els not. Some saied as you heard before, that the Frenche Quene was poysoned for this intent: but euill tongues neuer saied well. To al these 14.



these articles and māny mo, the Frenche kyng sware before the Emperour, and all his nobles the -xiii- date of February.

In the tyme of this entreatie came into Spayne, Charles Duke of Bourbon whiche appeled the Frenche kyng, that he contrary to al right and Iustice, had procured and imaged, the death and destruction of thesaied Duke without any cause, but onely to possede his so-ueraigneties and Dominions, by reason whereof, thesaied Duke was compelled to liue in exile, out of his countrey, and that the Regent of Fraunce, contrary to Iustice had proclaimed hym a traitor, and seized all his goods and landes, wherefore he desired that the Frenche kyng, might to hym make a condigne recompence to whom the Emperour answered, that a prisoner might not bee appeled but yet for his good seruice, the Emperour did so muche, that an article was concluded, that the duke of Burbo should bee restored to his firste title, state, honor, and dignitie, and to all his other Duches, Counties, seignories, and Dominions; and there the Frenche kyng fully pardoned to hym al offences, and sware that al proces, proclamacions, impetitions, had or dooen against hym should bee voyde, annulled and repeled, and farther the Frenche kyng, in recōpence of al wronges doen to him, and for the restitution of his goodes, promised and sware to paye thesame duke CC thousande crounes, with al the rentes, and profites receiued of the landes of thesaied duke, in the tyme of his exile. When all these articles wer concluded, sworne, and appoynted, the Emperour iudged that the Frenche kyng, would neuer loue the Duke of Bourbon, and that by some newe found faute, or by some priuy enemye, he might bee brought to confusion: wherefore of his noble liberalitie, considering the good seruice that the duke had doen to hym, and might do if he were of possessions and dominions, gaue vnto the Duke the whole Duchie of Millain, so that thesaied duke should finde yerely foure thousande footemen, and fise hundred men of armes, and paie to the Emperour yerely foure thousande Ducates, but he neuer obtieigned the possession, for lacke of the inuesture or creacion: Also the Emperoure gaue to the Viceroy of Naples, the Duchie of Boysee, and the Countie of Ast, and many greate rewardes for his good seruice.

This peace thus concluded betwene the Emperour and the Frenche kyng, was openly proclaimed through all Spain, Fraunce, Flaunders and the Emperours dominions, whereof then subiectes were glad, and made fires & triumphes through all their countreys. The kyng of Englande like wise, whiche was included in thesame Leaguē, was very glad of the peace, and caused the Cardinall and all the nobles and prelates to assemble at the Cathedrall Church of sainte Paule, and there was *Te deum* song, and the Cardinall gaue benediction to all the people, and that night fires was made through all London. The common people said as they thought some saied the peace was honorable to the Emperoure, and other saied, the Frenche kyng would not kepe his promise, when he was once deliuered, and so it proued.

The kyng of England hearing that ſ Frenche kyng was at a poynt to be deliuered, sēt a knight of his chamber, called sir Thomas Cheyney to the French kyng, certefiying him of the great gladnes ſ he had of his deliuary, & also the cōfort that he had for the conclusion of peace. of whiche kynd remembraunce, the French kyng muche reioysed. The French kyng toke his leaue of the Emperour, & toke his iorney into Fraunce waid, and came to Victoria, in whiche season the fame went, that the Dolphin whiche should haue been deliuered, as one of the hostages for the Frēch Kyng his father, was diseased, and so the Frenche Kyng was staid for xv. daies, till the truth was known other saied that the cause was that there wer betwene Fontenay and Bayon xxx. M. men, and doubted lest if he had been brought doune to Fontenay, he might haue been rescued. but whatsoeuer the cause was, he was restrained as you haue harde.

And at the last when the daie came of his deliuary, and he was discretely moued, that he should not speake to his children, for feare that lamentacion and sorowe might in suche wise rise, that hurte might ensue of it. Whē the daie was come that he should be deliuered, there was betwene the borders of Fraunce and Spain, a Lake of no great depenes, in  
the

the middes whereof was laied a greate emptie boate at an anker, and at euery shore was another boate, and when the French kyng was come to the banke, he entered the boate on the Spanishe side, and sixe Spaniardes with hym, and like wise on the Frenche pait, the twoo Princes sonnes to the Fienche kyng, entered the other boate and sixe Frenchmen with them, and so bothe the boates come to the boat lying in the middes, the Fienche kyng entered at the one ende, and his children at the other, and passed through the great boate, and euen in the midst of the boate thei met, and he with his hande blessed them, without speakyng of any wordes, but sadly regarded them, and so he entered into the boate with the Frenchemen, and his children into the boate with Spaniardes, and eche of them were shortly at the shore, and mounted on horsebacke, and the Frenche kyng rode to Bayon, where he was nobely receiued, almost of all the nobles in the realme, and in especial of his mother and his ii. children were conueighed to Fountraby and so vpward, and were well cherished in all thynges, by the great Constable of Spain and his wife.

This was Frances the Frenche kyng, coueighed into his realme the xxi. daie of Marche, whiche was taken the xxiii. daie of February, the yere last past.

After that themperei had concluded, & taken his leaue of the Frenche kyng, he rode to the faire citee of Ciull, and there he with greate triūph married lady Isabell, daughter to kyng Emanuel, of Portyngall, with whom he had greate treasures and sommes of money, and great friendship of the Portyngalles, for he had xi. hundred thousande Ducates with her maiage. When this maiage was knowen in Englande, the Englishemen sore murmured, that the Emperior beyng at Wynsore, in the. xiiii. yere of the king, had faithfully promised to mary the lady Mary, daughter to the Kyng of Englande. But for a verie truthe the Emperoures counsaill was not content with the answer made to Monsire de Beuers the last yere, and so counsailed the Emperour, not to tary for the lady Mary whiche was young and also thei said that she was begotten of the kyng of Englande by his brothers wife. And also an acte was made in Spain, that he should not depart the countrey, till he had issue. All these thynges were laied to hym, whiche caused him to encline to mariage, and seyng the geat offer that the kyng of Portyngal made to hym, he was there to agreyng, and so married the lady Isabell, sister to kyng Ihon of Portyngall.

¶ THE. XVIII. YERE.

THE. xxviii. daie of Aprill, in the beginnyng of this. xviii. yere, came to the Court to Grenewiche, Monsire Brenon chief president of Roan, & Ihon Iokyn now called Monsire de Vaux, whiche President of Roan, before the Kyng sette in a Throne, and accompanied with all his nobles, and the Ambassadors of Rome, of the Emperior, of Venice, and Florēce, beyng there present, made in the Latyn tounge a solempne oracion, the effect wherof was that he shewed, how dreadfull the warres had been betwene the realmes of Englande & Fraunce, what greate losse the realme of Fraunce, had susteigned by thesai red warres. He declared farther of what power the kyng of Englande was of: and what conquest he might haue made in Fraunce, the kyng beyng prisoner, & knowleged the kyng of Englandes right in the warres, and their wronges, where he humbly thanked hym, of his pitie and cōpassion that he had on them in their necessitie and affliction, that he would consent to peace. To this Oracion the Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancastre, by name sir Thomas More made answer saying: that it muche reioysed the kyng, that thei first considered, how by his power he might haue oppressed, and how by his pitie he had releued them: wherefore he would here after that for kindnes, they should shewe hym none unkindnes, but inuolately to kepe that league whiche was concluded.

The next daie after beeyng Sondae, the Cardinall song a solempne Masse, in the kynges chapell of Grenewiche, and after Masse the kyng sware before the Frenche Ambassadors, the foure Ambassadors aboue rehersed being present, that he should kepe the peace and league concluded.



concluded, betwene hym and his brother and perpetuall alie the French kyng, duryng his life and a yere after, and after Masse to all Ambassadoures was made a greate feast

In the moneth of Maie was a proclamaciō made, against al vnlawfull games, accordyng to the statutes made in this behalf & commissiōs awaied into euery shire, for the execution of thesame, so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cardes, and Boules, wer taken and brent. Wherefore the people murmured against the Cardinall, sayng. that he grudged at euery mannes pleasure, sayng his awne, but this Proclamaeion small tyme endured. and when young men were forbidden Boules, and suche other games. some fell to drunkyng, and some to ferettyng of other inennes Conies, and stealyng of Dere in Parkes, and other vnthrifines

Because all this Sommer the Kyng tooke his pastyme in huntynge, and nothyng happened worthy to bee written of: I will returne to the Frenche kyng, now come again into his realme

When he was at Paris he saied and wrotē to the Emperour, that he would obserue & kepe his promises in euery point, but what he thought I will not iudge. For shortly after he set furth a boke, called the appollogie or defence against the conuencion or agrement made betwene the Emperōr and hym at Madrill, allegyng that he was cōpelled to make that agrement, or els he should neuer haue been deliuered. He alleged farther that the Lawyers of his realme clerely determined all promises and couenauntes made by any persone to his awne hurt, with hym that is more of power then he, to be made by compulsiō, and so of none effect and not to be performed. He also saied that the gouernors of the Lawe, determined that no othe or promise is of any effecte, where a manne is in reoperdie of life, or of perpetuall imprisonment or bondage, and moste in especiall when it is doen by compulsion or thretenyng. Moreouer he saied that he might geue awaie nothyng apperteynyng to his Creūne, without thassent of his peeres and the three estates of his realme (to the whiche he was sworne at the time of his Coronaciō,) whiche would therto in no wise assent, and therefore he saied that his othe and promes was voyd, and so he declared to the Viceroy of Naples, beyng then with him as Ambassadour for the Emperor, and offered for his ransome to paye asmuche money as euer Frenche kyng paid, with diuerse other articles of newe diuised.

When these articles came to the Emperor, he them refused and saied, that he had desired nothyng impossible of the Frenche Kyng, and if he might not or would not kepe the appoyntemēt betwene them made, yet he had hym kepe that poynt of couenaunt, whiche onely depended in his will, that was that he should yelde hymself prisoner againe, and so he should haue his children deliuered and then he would reasonably commen with hym, of newe articles of agrement, and as to the appollegie set furthe by the Frenche kyng, that his othe and promesse was voyde, and made by compulsion and thretenyng, it was answered by another boke called the Refutacion or Quercommying of the appollegie, of the conuencion of Madrill. Whiche twoo workes were so eloquently set furth, with suche and so many perswacions and allegations, bothe on the one part and the other, that it would comber a wise man (except he were perfectly indifferent) to iudge to whiche parte he should moste encline, and geue credence, therefore I leaue it at large

After that the Frenche kyng was deliuered, and the peace concluded, the Emperor was fully determined to passe the seas into Italy, and so to Rome, and there to be crowned Emperoi, wherof hearyng the bishop of Rome, called Pope Clement the seuenth, a man of great wit and vice, and of litle vertue or learnyng: much doubted in hymself what damage might come to hym, if the Emperor had bothe Naples, Scicill, and the Duchie of Millain, and also wer crowned Emperor. Wherefore he sent to the Venicians, and to the Florentines, and to Fraunces Sforce duke of Millain, whiche had committed treason against the Emperor, and was deprived by iudgement of his name & dignitie, and thesame geuen to the Duke of Burbon, but yet by power he kept muche of the possession: and declared to them, by what puyssaunce the Emperor would come into Italy, and what greates possessions he had there

there, at euery ende of Italy, so that if he wer once crowned Empeior, he would loke to haue the seignorie of all Italy wherefore they consulted and debated for then awne suretie, how to banishe him and his all Italy by power: and as thei wer debatynge of this matter, thei hard woide how the French kyng was returned into Fraunce, and sought all waies and meanes, how to breake with the Empeior. When they sawe so open an accion offered to them, with al diligence thei sent their seuerall Ambassadors, that is to saie, the Pope twain, the duke of Venice called Andrew Gritti, one (whiche was his secretaire) and the Florentynes one, and the Duke of Millaine one, these fve Ambassadors came to the Frenche Kyng, and declared what ioye and gladnes their masters had of his safe retourne into his realme, and then thei shewed to him how thei by the Bishop of Romes exhortacion had diuised a league, whiche should set a perpetuall peace betwene all princes Christen, and for the more expedicion, thei had set fwith and agreed vpo articles, for the whole league. When the Frenche kyng saw the articles it was as he would haue it, for he thought by the whole power of the confederates, his children should be deliuered, & he yet again once to haue a medelyng in Italy wherefore with greate gladnes and solempnitie, he entered into the league, and sware to kepe it, and gaue to the Ambassadors greate rewardes

The first article of this league was that themperor, the kyng of Englande, and all other kynges and princes, might entie into thesame, and if the kyng of Englande would, he should bee admitted as protector of thesame league

But yet the Empeior should not bee admitted, till he had deliuered the Frenche kynges children, hauyng a reasonable somme of money for thesame, nor before he had restored the Duke of Millain to his whole Duchie, franckly and frely, and all other persones of Italy, in like maner as thei wer before the last warres began Nor he shal not once come into Italy for his Coronacion or other wise, but with suchie a tiane as the Pope & the Duke of Venice shall thinke conuenient, and that within three monethes after he hath entered into this league, he shall paie to the kyng of Englande, all suche sommes as he ought hym before y time.

Item, if themperor would not entre, then thesaid cōfederates should assemble a greate armie in Italy, accordyng as euery one should bee assessed, and this armie to be main-teigned, till the Emperors power were diuen out of Italy.

Item, that the Empeior shalbe warned, to deliuer the Frēche kynges children, and to fall to a reasonable poynt with hym, whiche thynges if he deny to dooe, then the confederates certifie hym, that they shall neuer cease till he be brought to reason.

Item, that a greate nauie should be prepared on all the coastes of Italy, at the common costes of the confederates.

Item, that Fraunces Sforce shall enioy the Duchie of Millain, payng yerely to the Frenche kyng fiftie thousande Ducattes, & the French kyng neuer to claime thesame.

Item, the Frenche Kyng or the Duke of Orleauce hys soune, shall haue the Countie of Ast

Item, if the Empeior bee expelled oute of Naples and Scicil, then the realmes to be at the gift of the Popē, payng yerely to the French kyng lxxv thousande Ducattes.

Item, if the kyng of Englande wyl take vpon hym as Protector of this league, then he or his sonne (the Duke of Richemond) to haue a duchie or a principaltie in the realme of Naples, to hym & to his hienes, to the somme of thirtie thousande Ducattes at the least, and the Cardinal of Yorke to haue a yerely pencion of x thousand Ducates. This league was concluded at Cognace on the xxii. daie of Maie, in this yere

When this League was thus concluded, it was sent to the Kyng of Englande, whiche with greate deliberacion like a wise prince, consulted muche with his counsaill of this waightie matter, & whē al thinges wer fully perceued, he answered to thambassadors, that he thanked muche the confederates of their good will, but he would not entie into the league, because he would be an indifferent entreator betwene bothe parties and a meane



for a peace: and so he wrote to the Emperor, whiche hartely thanked him, and toke it for greate kyndnes: this league was called the holy league of Clement. When the Bishop of Rome sawe that this league was concluded, because he would shewe that he and the confederates, had iust cause of warre against the Empeior, for thynges done in Italy, he sent to hym a letter, dated at Rome the. xxiii. daie of Iune: in the whiche letter he most craftely laied to the Empeiors charge, what he had done for hym before he was Pope, & sithe he was promoted to that dignitie, he left nothing vnremembred, that either he had frendly meant or actually done to the Emperor and accused him of muche vnkyndnes, and in especiall that he would not pardō Frances Sforce duke of Millain, at his request. He accused hym also of the couetous desire which he had, to haue or obtē the whole Monarchie of Italy, with many other prettie inuencions for whiche causes he saied he was compelled, for the suretie of all Italy, & in especiall for the chuiche of Rome, to ioyne hymself with greate Princes, and to make warre for the defence of thesame. This letter was deliuered to the Emperour with all speede, to whom the Emperour answered by a letter, dated the. xiiii. daie of September, contēnyng. xxiii. shetes of paper, in suche wise that all wise men maie se by thesame, that the Romishe bishop accused theemperour, where he should haue blamed hymself, for the Emperor laied a greate number of ingratitude and vntrustestō hym, and clerely anoyded all thynges, that he laied to his charge. The Pope sent his Ambassador another letter, that if the first letter were not deliuered, then he should retain it, but as God would, for manifestyng of the truthe, the letter was deliuered tenne dayes before.

After the first letters writtē, the holy father of Rome raised in all hast an armie of eight thousande footemen, with a valiaunt compaignie of horsmen, whiche passed the riuier of Poo, and ioyned themselves with the power of the Venecians, wherof was capitain Frances duke of Urbine, and so they all together marched toward Millain: and in the meane season they had sent Octavian Sforcia Bishop of Aretyne, whiche for the Frenche kyng should retain. xiiii. M. Swysse, and they were commyng out of Swyzerlande, to ioyne with the arme of Italy. Thintent of this armie was to diuie al the Emperors power, out of the Duchie of Millain, but all their deuises proued cōtrary, as you shall after plainly perceiue. For you shall vnderstande, that although the Frenche kyng was taken before Pavia, a yere & more before this tyme, and all the Frenche men driuen out of the Duchie of Millain, yet the Emperour left not the duchie without an armie, for he left there Anthony de Leua, whiche was capitain of Pavia, at the siege laied by the Frenche Kyng, and Fernando Dauall and Alphons his brethren, two valiant capitaines, but Fernando died, the more pitie: these capitaines had with them Spaniardes and Almaines and other to the number of eight or tenne thousande, and laie still till the newe confederacie set forwarde, and especially they were sore moued with Frances Sforce duke of Millain, whiche had the possession of the moste part of all the fortresses of the duchie, that he would be one of the cōfederates: wherfore they thought best to begin with him and to get the possession out of his hand. Wherfore Alphons Dauall sent for all theemperors army together, & they came al together to warre, & whē he was there, he sent for Moron chief counsailer with the duke of Millain, whiche mistrustyng nothing came to him, and there he laied to him hōw the Duke his Master was false to the Emperor, and Moron it denied, then he was kept there as a prisoner, whether it were by cautele or no I cannot tel, but he wrote to the Duke, that he perceiued that the Emperoure was like to preuaile, and aduised him for auoydyng of all mistrust, and also to shewe him self the very frend of the Emperor, and his obedient subiect, to deliuer all the strong holdes into his captaines handes: the Duke hearyng this counsaill, and willyng not to haue the enmtie of the Emperiall capitaines, assented and deliuered to Dauall all the fortresses that he had except the castelles of Millain & Clemona, which he saied he kepte onely for the healthe of his body, because he had ben long sicke

Then Dauall with his powre of Almaines & Spaniardes came to f citie of Milaine & lodged his people in euery house, & fearing y the duke imagined some thing by keepyng of the two  
strongest

strongest castels, for if he delyuered those two castelles to the army of the confederates the Emperours capitaynes & people should be in greate daüger, wherfore he gentlye with greate perswasio desired to haue the keying of the castell of Millayn, whiche the duke would in nowise assent, mistrusting, that then he shoulde lese the duchie & all, wherfore Dauat with all spede layed sege to the castell the duke being with in During the time of this sege, the capitaynes euer toke money & other thinges fro the Citezens which sore therat grudged and saied that they wold suffer it no more, and so as an almaine came to a smith for a docate, the smith cried helpe & with that the toun rose. then the capitaynes came into the cite to se what was done, the souldiers that kept the sege seyng that ianne into the citie and there was much entreting on both parties.

The duke hering the noies in the cite & seing the beseigers gone, came out of the castel, thinking that his frendes had come to his reskue, but when he sawe no succour, and harde the noyes ceased, he etred the castell agayne When the Capitaines had long inticated the people were ans cōtēted, but by meanes of one sedicious felowe they began again, & there was a sore fight but the night cam so faste on that both the parties seuered them selues.

The citizens sore grieved with the spaniards saied opely that shortly they trusted to se all themporous frendes driue out of Italie, & with many yll woordes rebuked the souldiairs. and when they came into the cite they hurt them.

Anthony deleua and Dauall, perceiuyng this deuysed how to be revēged, wherfore in the euenyng they entred with a thousād spaniards & other, & slewe one citizē & set his hed on a polle & caused it to be borne afore thē & set. iii. or iii. houses a fire, which whē the citizēs perceiued they were greatly aferd and ran to harnesse, and cast doun stones and barres, but the hand gounes shot so fast at them that thei durst not loke out: the Almaines set fire in many houses, least they should haue leyser to fight, and some of the Spaniards that kept the towers, slew the citezens. Alas the citee was in greate perill, and that wel perceiued Leua and Dauall, for if the remnant of the Spaniards had come in the whole citee had been burned or vtterly destroyed, wherfore they caused the souldiers to cease, whiche were content, for they had been in harnes from the sunne set, till nyne of the clocke the next daie.

In this seasō tharmy of the cōfederates, made hast to help the duke of Millain, & in the meane waie the citee of Lawde was yelded to the duke of Vrbis: Dauall wēt thether with a small cōpaignie to reskew the citee and when he sawe that it was past reskew he returned saiyng: it wcr better to lese Lawde, then Millain, & so brought al his people to Millain

The Emperoure from tyme to tyme was aduertised, of all thynges done in Italy, wherfore with great diligence he sent the duke of Burbon thether with ten saile, and landed at Sa-uona, & brought with him. x. M men, wherof thē Milaners wer very glad, & besought him to be good to thē, to whome he gaue many good wordes & sware, & praied God that his braynes might be striken out with a gonne, except he did deliuer thē shortly of their great burden, and oppression of the Spaniards, so they wōld deliuer hym. xxx. M ducates, for the wages of the souldiers that he had brought with hym, whiche wishe was thought to haue happened to hym at Rome, for breakyng of his promes for after he had receiued the money for a litle space the Millainers wer in good quiet, but shortly after, they wer worse then afore, in so muche as some substanciall men for feare of their liues, hanged themselves.

Whē the Millaners hard how the citee of Lawde was taken, and the Spaniards put out, they thought that v M Spaniards and iii. M. Almaines, and no great nomber of horse-men, beyng without wages and vitale, could not defende so greate a citee long, against the whole power of the princes confederate While the power of ſ confederates, were slowly commyng to Millain ward, the duke and his compaignie lacked victaile, wherfore of necessitie, when they sawe the watche negligently kept, they sent out of thec astle. CC. men, whiche



with strength passed the siege, and came to the armie of the confederates, and shewed them in what case the castle was in, whiche bad them bee of a good cheere, and so they marched forward towarde a gate of Millain, called Rome gate, and Ihon de Medices whiche led the forward, shot sixe gonnres at a tower to haue oerthrowen the same, and so to haue entered in by that waie. The Emperors men came to the place, and not onely defended the same, but valiantly set forward to fight with their enemies, and skirmished with them very sore. The Italians seying that the Spaniardes wer so fierce, thought it not best to fight with them, but to tary till the Swysses were come, and then they thought theselves sure of victorie and so with shame inough, they returned to Meligia.

After this returne the imperialles fortified the citee in many places. The duke of Millein seying that he lacked victaile, and that his succors had failed him, sent to the duke of Burbon worde that he would deliuer the castle so that he should be bound to no farther inconueniencence so they agreed that he and his, should haue their bagge and baggage, and should haue the citee of Come for his abode till he wer tried of the emperor of the accusacions against hym alleged vpon whiche condicion he yelded the castle, & went directly to tharmy of the confederates. And after y he went to Coine, accordyng to his appoyntment: but the Spaniardes whiche kepte the toune, would not suffre hym to entre, wherefore of necessitie he was compelled to returne, to tharmy of the confederates, & there became enemye to theperors meny. At this Sommer tharmie of Italy gat nothyng, but the citee of Lawde, and ther durste not fight with the Spaniardes, wherefore they went & besieged Cremona, in the whiche wer 1 M. Almaines, and v C. Spaniardes. All the Swysses and viii. M. of the Popes nien & all the horsemen of Malatesta, wei sent to the siege, wherof was capitain y said Malatesta Balio Perúsine, whiche as he would haue entered the castle was slain, and 1. M. men and more of his bende: wherefore the duke of Vbyne, and the whole army of the Venecians wer sent for, whiche made so greates a noimber, and had suche ordinance that they within began to treate, and by appoyntment deliuered the citee.

After this the whole army of the Italians or confederates, determined clerely to besiege Millain, but sodainly the bishop of Rome sent for his army (for what cause you shal here after) and also they hard say, that George Fronsberge a valiant capitain an Almain, which serued theperor in his last warres was comyng with xiiii M. Lancelknightes, which wer paid then wages afore hand, for. iii monethes to aide theperors part. When the confederate army hard this, they wer astonied, and durst not enterprise the siege, but at a certain Abbay, two mile fiō the citee of Millain they made a fortification for iii M. fotemen, and fise hundred horsemen, to lye surely all wynter, to suffre no recourse to come to the citee, which citee was all this Sōmer season well fortified and victailed.

After the Popes army was departed at Cremona, as you haue hard, there came to tharmy of the confederates, Michael Anthonio Marques of Saluce, as capitain generall for the Frēche kyng, and brought with hym iii M. Gascons, and v C. men of armes, and. xv C. light horses, according to the league. Then this whole army hearyng that y Almaines were comyng forward with great ordinance, and a greates number of hoisueu and had passed the straights of the mountaignes maugre the Venecians, and that Conradine Lepontine, whiche had deliuered vp Cremona with. 1 M. Almaines, was ioyned with capitain George. Whē tharmy of the confederates wer well informed of this greates armie, that was comyng toward Millain, the capitaines clerely determined to mete with thē, and by battaill or otherwise, to let them from passyng the ruer of Poo, or to ioyne with theperors armie, wherefore they marched forward, and founde that the Almaynes were come into the territories of Mantua: then the duke of Vrbyn, & Ihon de Medices cosin to the Pope thought to wēry the Almaines with light skirmishes, but Ihon de Medices skirmished so nere tharmie, to get him a name aboue other, that he was hit with a gonne, and so shortly died. Then the Almaines came to Floren-ciola and there toke counsaill, & thought it not best to sojorne all wynter in the Duchie of Mil-lain, because all-thing there was scace, by reason of the continuall warres. wherefore they deter-

mined

The castle  
of Millain  
yelded to  
theperours  
vsc

mined to take the Popes tounes, as author of all the mischief and warre, and surely they had taken the toun of Plesance, if tharmie of the confederates had not strongly, bothe with men and artillery, fortified the toun

While all these thynges were a doying, there continued a greate hatred betwene the bishop of Rome, & the noble famely of Colume in Rome all whiche famely was Imperiall, in so muche that the bishop saied to Pompey Cardinal of Colume, that he would take awaie his Cardinall's hat, and thother answered if he did so, that he would put on a helmet to ouerthrowe his thre crownes. When this malice had long continued, the bishop of Rome began to lacke money, to maintein his warres, and sore he lered the Columes his domestically enemies, & so of his awne mocion began to breake the matter with Ascayn Colume, sonne to Prospec de Columna, in name of the whole bloud of the Columes, sayng that it were more convenient for both parties to agree, then to abide the chance of battail, to the whiche they bothe were parties (for the Columes had men of warre in the Emperors battail, as the bishop had in tharmy of the confederates) then every daie to retain souldiers at home eche for feare of other to their great charges and losse. Ascaine hearyng this saied he would speke with his kynred, and so did and this communicacion had takē effect, and Hugo de Moncado had not been. For this Hugo was a litle before sent from the Emperor to the Pope, with certain articles to cōclude a peace, to the whiche the Pope would not agie, sayng he came to late, & when he sawe the bishops proude answer, & perceiued him enemy to his master, he then sought an occasion to oppresse the bishop & his power, and so moued the Cardinall of Colume, and Ascaine Colume, to invade Rome with a sodain traie, & to take Pope Clement or he were ware.

An answer of a Cardinall to the Bishop of Rome.

They beyng glad to please the Emperor, gathered secretly 11 M souldiers, and entered Rome with suche speede, that they were at 3 Ihon Laterāne nere to the Popes Palace, or any man spied them, then began a crye, the Cardinall of Colume cōmeth with a great power. The Pope thynkyng it to late to sende for aide, fled by a secret waye to the castle Angell, and with hym fled Cardinall's, Bishoppes, & other of his palace to a great number, so that there was not victaile enough, for them all. The bishop Clement sawe that shortly he and they, should be famished in the castle, sent to Hugo de Moncado, whiche had declared that he was thauthor of this act, not myndyng to hurt the Pope, but to make hym the Emperors fiend, or els to cause hym to surcesse, for doying the Emperor any damage, and to the said Hugo he offered, to kepe peace with the Emperor and his confederates for foure monethes, & in the meane season to treat a peace, and also to call his armie againe over the Poo, and for the performance of this he deliuered to the Columes good hostage, and returned his armie from Cremona, as you haue hard before, and so he was deliuered at large. Now will I leaue the Emperors armie lyng in Italy, and speake of a greate mischiet that fell in Hungary.

The greate Turke Sultan Soliman Pac, hearyng of the strict and waire that was betwene Christen princes, imagined that his tyme was come to do some great act in Christiendō, wherefore he assembled a puissant armie of 150 M men, and entered into Hungary, sore destroyng the countrey. When hearyng Lewes kyng of Hongary, a comagious knight of xxvi. yere of age, with a small nombre marched for aide in Iune, and was on the great army of the Turkes or he wist, and so with good corage ioyned battail, but he was oppressed with multitude, and was compelled to fle into a marreis, where he horse & man were drowned and many other with hym, his body was found after & buried. The sayng was that he was betrayed, by an Erle of his awne, called Ihon de Voadā, & so it was likely, for the Turke afterwarde made hym kyng of Hongary, but he enioyed but one part of it called Trāsiluania for Fernando the Emperors brother, whiche had married the sister & heire of Lewes was slain, kept the chief part of Hongary. The greate Turke hymself was not at the fight, but when he hard that the kyng was slain, he reioysed muche, & spoyled the countrey & brought many a Christian soule into captiuitie to Turkey. Of this victory he wrote to the Venicians, as to his freundes, whiche letter was red openly in Venice, before Doctor Pace

The Kyng of Hongary drowned.



Ambassador there for the kyng of England, but whether they were ioyous or sorowfull of the iudynge, I cannot well tell you.

This sōmer was great grudge against merchant strangers in Lōdō in somuch ŷ if ŷ matter had not been well pacified, much business might haue folowed, the cause of the grudge was this, ther was an act made in the. iiii. yere of king Henry, ŷ no stranger should bring in wine nor woade in an aliens ship: so that thenghlishmen after ŷ went to Tholose, and brought much woade to London, & serued all the clothiers repairing to London & now in this yere by meanes of gentlemen about the king, the strangers had license to bring in woade in stiāgers bottomes, so that all Lōdon was ful of their woade, & also they sent their woade into the cōūtrei, so ŷ thenghlishmens woade in Londō lay vnought: wherefore sir Ihō Alen knight beyng Maior, sent for a great sort of strangers, which wer the chief merchantes of all, & shewed vnto thē what games they had gotten in the citee, by reason whereof they should iuaunce the citee, & not hurt it, wherefore he willed thē to sel their woade to the meichātes of Lōdon, & they should be paid in continent, & not to resort to other places in the cōūtrei with their woade, to the hinderance of the Londoners. The strangers proudly answered the Maior. ŷ thei would seke euery place for their auātage, & so in mockyng maner departed. The Maior perceiuyng ŷ called a cōmen counsaill in the moneth of August, and there were many billes laied against the strangers, & at last it was enacted, that no citezen nor freman, should bye nor sell in no place, nor exchāge nor meddle with certain strangers called Anthony Bonūice, Laurence Bōuice, Anthony Viuald, Anthony Cauerler, Frāces de Bard, Thomas Calnecant, and a great sort mo whose names I let passe, and if any person did meddle or occupie with them, contrary to this acte he should lese his fiedome, and libertue in the citee of London by whiche acte the strangers wer so brided, that they came to a reasonable poynt and conclusion.

The first enhauncyng of the Angell.

In this season the angel noble was iust the sixt part of an ounce Troy so ŷ six angels were iust an ounce, which was xl. s. sterlyng, & the Angel was worth. ii. ounces of siluer, so ŷ sixe Angels were. xii. ounces, whiche was but xl. s. in siluer: but in Flaunders, Braband, and Zeland, the Angel was worth. vii. s. iii. d. so ŷ merchants daily caried ouer much money, to the great hinderance of the merchandise of this realme, for moste men caried gold, & when it was there, it was losse in euery noble. viii. d. to bryng it hether again: & when thenghlishmen spake to the rulers there, to leaue thenhaūcyng of the kynges coyne, thei laughed thē to skorne. The kyng & his counsaill perceiued to what end this enhauncement in Flaunders, if wer not met with shortly, would bryng ŷ riches of this realme. wherefore in the moneth of September, he by Proclamacion, enhaunced the Angell to. vii. s. iii. d. and the Royal to. xi. s. and the crowne to. iii. s. and. iii. d. and this Proclamacion was made through all England. and to bryng out of Flaunders the great nōber of Englishe golde whiche was there, the kyng by Proclamacion again the fift day of Nouember, enhaunced the Angell to. vii. s. vi. d. and so euery ounce of gold should be. xlv. s. and that an ounce of siluer should be. iii. s. ix. d. in value.

The second enhauncyng.

This yere on Michaelmas euen, Thomas Hynd whiche was chosen shriffe before, was called to take his oth, but he made defaute, wherefore one Simō Riee was chose which refused, then was one George Robinson Mercer chosen, whiche toke his oth not to be able. The cōmons wer in such a fury ŷ they sware ŷ thei would haue a Mercer. Master Nicholas Lābert an Alderman & Grocer, which had a dispensacion for ŷ shrualtie for ŷ yere seyng this discord, said to the cōmōs, masters, although my tyme bee not come, yet to appease your strief, if you will chose me, I will take it, & so he was chosen with great thankes. In this season a sodain rumer begā in Spain, ŷ themporor would haue war with kyng of England, wherof hearyng thenghlishe merchantes, whiche lay in Spain at diuerse portes, cōcluded to sende to doctor Edward Lee Ambassador for the kyng of England in thēperors court to knowe ŷ certentie, which gently answered thē, that he trusted ŷ there was no such cause, of ŷ which they should be aferd, for the kyng his master & themporor, wer yet in perfite loue & anitie, and farther he

sent

sent them worde, y the kyng of Englād was not entered into the league of Italy with the confederates, as they would haue hym, for he laboreth to make a vniuersall peace, whiche he could not conueniently do, if he were protector or a cōtractor in y league, this answere he sent to them from Granado, the. v. daie of September.

In the moneth of December, the kyng kept a solempne Christmas, at his manor of Grenewiche with greate plētie of victaile, Reuels, Maskes, disguysynges, and bankettes: and the xxx. daie of December, was an enterprise of Iustes made at the tilt by sixe gentlemen, against all cōmers, whiche valiantly furnished the same, bothe with spere and sworde, and like Iustes were kept the third daie of Ianuary, where were. CCC. speres broken. That same night, the kyng and many young gentlemen with hym came to Bridewell, & there put hym, and. xv. other, all in Maskyng apparell, and then toke his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinales place, where wer at supper a great compaignie of lordes and ladies, and then the Maskers daūced, & made goodly pastyme, and whē they had well danced, the Ladies plucked away their visors, & so they were all knowen, and to the kyng was made a great banket.

The xiii. daie of Ianuary came to the court, Don Hugo de Mendosa, a great man borne in Spain, of a noble famely, this persone was sēt as Ambassador from the Emperor, to the kyng of England with large commission, for the emperor put it to the kyng of Englandes determinacion, whether his demaundes whiche he required of the Frenche Kyng, were reasonable or not, and for the declaracion thereof, and for to knowe the kyng of Englandes request and entreatie concerning the peace, was this noble man sent into Englande, whiche many tymes consulted with the kyng and his counsaill, and he taried here two yeres full.

This Christmas was a goodly disguisynge plaied at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part, by master Ihon Roo seriant at the law. xx. yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any auctoritie, the effecte of the plaie was, that lord gouernance was ruled by dissipation and negligence, by whose misgouernance and euill order, lady Publike wele was put from gouernance: which caused Rumor Populi, Inward grudge and disdain of wanton souereignete, to rise with a greate multitude, to expell negligence and dissipation, and to restore Publik welth again to her estate, which was so done. This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparel, with straunge diuises of Maskes & Morrishes that it was highly praised of all menne, sauynge of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had been diuised of hym, & in a greate furie sent for the said master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe, and sent hym to the Flete, & after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that played in the plaie, and them highly rebuked and threatened, & sent one of them called Thomas Moyle of Kent to the Flete, but by the meanes of frendes Master Roo and he wer deliuered at last. This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was neuer meante to hym as you haue harde, wherfore many wisemen grieved to see hym take it so hautely, and euer the Cardinall said that the kyng was highly displeased with it, and spake nothyng of hymself.

A plaie at  
Grays Inn

In this yere the second day of Marche we received to London, with a great compaignie of noble men, the bishop of Tarbe, Frances viscōit of Toraine, & master Anthony Vescy, secōd president of Paris, as Ambassadors from the Frenche kyng, & so brought through London to the Tailors hall and there lodged, and afterward we cōueighed to Grenewiche to the kyng, where thei were right hautely entertained, & after thei letteried & their requestes hard, they departed for a season to London

Ambassadors  
fro the  
Frenche  
Kyng.

On shrouetewesdaie, the kyng hymself, in a newe harness all gylte, of a strange fashion that had not been seen, and with hym viii. gentlemen all in cloth of golde of one suite, embroidered with knottes of siluer, and the Marques of Excester, and viii with hym in blew veluet and white saten, like the waues of the sea, these men of armes came to the tilte, & there ran many freshe courses, till cc lxxxvi. speres wer broken, and then they disarmed and wēt to the queenes chamber, where for them was prouided a costly banket

A Iustes

The Frēche Ambassadors hannyng their recourse to the kyng and his counsaill, muche labored to haue in mariage the Lady Mary daughter to the kyng, and after long counsailing, that



that matter was put in suspēce because the President of Paris, doubted whether the marriage betwene the kyng & her mother, beyng his brothers wife, were good or no. of this first mocion grewe muche busines or it were ended, as you shall here, afterward The common people repugned soie against that demaund, for they said that she was heire apparant to her father, and if he should dye, they would haue no Frenchmen to be kyng of Englande, and thus the common people spake, as then myndes serued them.

While the Frenche Ambassadors laie thus in London, it happened one euenyng as they wer commyng from the blacke Friers, from supper to the Tailers hall, two boyes were in a gutter castyng doune rubbishe, whiche the raine had driuen there, and vniware hit a lackay belonging to the viscount of Tourain, and hurt hym nothing, for scantly touched at his cote, but the Frenche Ioides tooke the matter highly, as a thying done in despite, and sent worde to the Cardinal, whiche beyng to bastie of credence, sent for sir Thomas Scimer knight, lord Maror of the citee, and in all hast commaunded hym vpon his allegiance, to take the husband, wife, children and seruautes of the house, and them to emprison, till he knewe farther of the kynges pleasure, and that the ii. boyes apprentices should be sent to the Tower, whiche cōmaundement was accomplished without any fauor For the man and his wife, and seruautes, wer kept in the Counter till the sixt daie of Maie, whiche was six wekes ful, and then neighbours of gentlenes kepte their house in the meane tyme, and one of the apprētices died in the Tower, and the other was almoste lame. of the crueltie of the Cardinall, & of the pride of the Frenchemen, muche people spake, and would haue been reuenged on the Frenchemen, if wisemen in the citee had not appeased it with faire wordes.

Ambassadors frō the  
Kyng of  
Hongarie.

On the xiiii daie of Marche wer conueighed from Lōdon to Grenewiche, by therle of Rutlaade and other, the Ioides Gabriel de Salamanka Erle of Ottonbrough, Ihon Burgrauē of Silueberge, and Ihon Faber a famous clerke after bishop of Vien, as Ambassadors frō Don Fernando, brother to the Emperor, newly elected kyng of Hungary and Beame, after the death of his brother in lawe kyng Lewes; whiche was slain by the Turke the last Sommer, as you haue hard before. this compaignie was welcomed of the high Officers, and after brought into the kynges presence, all the nobilitie beyng present, and there after great reuerence made, thesaiued Clerke Master Faber made a notable Oracion, takyng his ground of the Gospell, *Euit seminare semen suum*, and of that he declared how Christe and his disciples went furthe to sowe, and how their sede was good that fell into the good ground, and brought furth good fruite, whiche was the Christen faithe. and then he declared how contrary to that sowyng, Machomete had sowen seede, whiche brought furthe the euil sede, and shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue encreased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that daye. he declared farther what actes & great Turk then luyng had done, and in especial he noted the gettyng of Belgrade, and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the kyng of Hungary, to the great rebuke (as he said) of al the kynges christened. he set furth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of cōpaignies, what armure, what capitaines he had, so that he thought, that without a marvellous great number of people, he could not be ouerthrowe. Wherfore he moste humbly beseched the kyng, as saint Georges knight and defender of the faithe, to assist the kyng his Master, in that Godly warre and verteous purpose To this oracion the kyng, by the mouthe of sir Thomas More answered that muche he lamented the losse that happened in Hongarie, and if it were not for the warres, whiche were betwene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that acte, wherfore he with all his studiē would take pain, first, to set an vnitie and peace throughout all Christendom, and after that he bothe with money and men, would be ready to helpe toward that glorious warre, asmuche as any other prince in Christendom. After this done the Ambassadors were well cherished, and diuerse tymes resorted to the Courte, and had greate chere and good rewardes, and so the thrid daie of Maie next ensuyng, they toke their leaue and departed homeward.

An Oracion  
made by  
Master  
Faber.

The an-  
swer.

This

This season the fame went, that the emperor had written to the French kyng admonishyng hym to regarde his othe and promes toward God, and his honor and fame toward the worlde, allegyng that if he kept his promise toward hym, that he shoulde finde hym suche a frende, that all Fraunce should reioyce of it, & if he would not kepe his former promes, whiche he made and sware at Madryll, he toke God to witnesse, that he would neuer leaue the warie, til fire and sworde had brought hym to accomplishe his promes, or els to driue hym out of his realme & dominiōs with strength and puissaunce, which letter the French kyng nothyng regarded sayng that the Emperoure the nexte yere should haue warre inough.

Therperors  
letter to the  
Frēche

The fame went and letters came to London, that the Emperoures army in Italy the. xii. day of Aprill had met with the Venicians as they were goyng homeward, and that betwene them there was a cruell fyght & by fyne force the Venecians were put to flyght, & no maruell as the Venicyans answer, for they say that by cause ther was a peace concluded for six monethes betwene the byshop of Rome, and Hugo Demountcado, and that the viceroy of Naples was come to Rome to cōterme the same truce, therfore they sent their ordinaūce and harnes and loked for no war, but onely taried together till they were payed there wages and so vnprovidd they were set on and ouercome

In the end of this yere the people were sore troubled with pouertye for the great paymentes of money that were past, and also in wynter in the seade season fell such aboundans of rayne in Septēbre, Nouembre & Decembre, and on the xvi. daie of Ianuer fell suche a great rayne that there of ensued greate fluddes whiche destroyed corne, felde, and pastures: and drowned many shepe and beastes then was it dry tyll the. xii. day of Aprill and from thence it rayned every day or nyght tyll the thirde day of Iune, and in May it rayned. xxx. houres contynually with out ceasyng whiche caused great fluddes and did muche harme, so that corne sore fayled the next yere as you shall perceiue hereafter

## THE. XIX. YERE

This time a bill was set vp in Londō muche contrary to the honor of the Cardinall, in the whiche the Cardinall was warned that he should not counsaile the kyng to mary his daughter into Fraunce, for if he did he should shewe hym selfe enemy to the kyng and the Realme, with many threatenynge wordes: this bill was deliuered to the Cardinall by sir Thomas Seimer Maior of the citie, which thanked him for thesame, & made much serche for the author of that bill, but he coule not be founde, whiche sore displeased the Cardinall, & vpō this occasiō the last day of Aprill at night he caused a great watch to be kept at Westminster & had there cart gonnes ready charged & caused diuerse watches to be kept about Londō in Newington. S. Iones strete, Westminster. S. Giles, Iseldon, & other places here Lōdon, which watches were kept by gentelmē & their seruātes, with householders & all for feare of ſ̄ Lōdoners because of this bil Whē ſ̄ citizēs knew of this, they saied that they marueiled why the Cardinall hated thē so for they saied that if he mistrusted thē, he loued not them, & where loue is not, there is hatred, & they affirmed that they neuer entēded no harme toward him, & mused of this chaūce, for if. v. or. vi. lewde persones had made *Alarme* in the citie, thē had ētred all these watche mē with there trayne which might haue spoiled the citie without cause, wherfore they much murmured against the Cardinall & his vndiscrete doinges

Sonday the fift daye of Maye was a solempne Masse song at Grenewiche the Cardinall and the Archebishop of Canterbury with. x. prelates mitered beyng present, and there the Freuche Ambassadors, in the name of the Frēche kyng there Master, sware to obserue the peace & league concluded betwene thē for the terme of two princes lues, & there opēly the bishop of Terby gaue to the kyng hatie thākes for the great fauor he shewed to the kyng his master, in the tyme of his visitacion (as he called it) that is to wete when he was in



prisō, for he said the kyng by his mercy had conquered the whole hartes of the realme which he could not do by strēghth. Thēbassadors also desired as you hane harde, the mariage of the lady Mary for the duke of Orleance ii. sonne to the French Kyng. Some said she was mete for him self. but many a man marueled why she was denyed for the secōd sonne, seying that in the. x. yere of this kyng it was cōcluded that she should mary the Dolphin beyng the first sonne but this demaund was not concluded nor answered but deferred because of her tendre age, tyll another time. For the more enterteinyng of the French ambassadors the king caused a solēpne Iustes to be done by sir Nicholas Carew, sir Robert Iernyngham, sir Anthony Broune, and Nicholas Haruy, the valiaunt esquier as chalengers: whiche were appareled in bases and bardes all of one suite, the right side was ryche tyssue embraudered with a compasse or roundell of blacke veluet and in the compas a right hand holding a sworde, and about the sword were penne and peces of money of diuerse coynes, all embraudered, vnder the hand was embraudered *Loialte*, and on that side of the bard was written in embraudery, *Bi pen, pain nor treasure, truth shall not be violated*. The otherside of the bases and bardes were of cloth of gold and cloth of siluer. When these foure chalengars were come to the tilt, then entered the Marques of Excester and. xiii. with hym all armed and barded and based of one suite: that is to saie, the right sides cloth of golde cut in cloudes engrayled with Damaske golde, the otherside cloth of syluer set with mountaynes full of Oliue braunches, made of gold all mouyng. These men of armes ranne many a faire course with little missyng, for with in twoo houres and a half, notwithstanding that yt rained apace, they brake. iiii. hundreth speres at the least, and when nyght approached they disarmed and went to the courte.

The kyng agaynst that night had caused a banket house to bee made on the one syde of the tylt yarde at Gienewyche of an hundreth foote of length and. xxx. foote bredth, the rooffe was purple cloth ful of roses and Pomgarnettes, the wyndowes, wer all clere stories with curious monneles strangely wrought, the Iawe peces and crestes were karued wyth Vinettes and trailes of sauage worke, and richely gilted with gold and Bise, thys woorke corbolyng bare the candelstykes of antyke-woorke whiche bare litle torchettes of white waxe, these candelstickes were polished lyke Aumbre: at the one syde was a haute place for herawldes and minstrelles: this house was richely hanged and therin was raised a cupbord of seven stages high and. xiii. foote long, set with standing cuppes Bolles, Flaggons and greate pottes all of fyne golde: some garnysed with one stone and some with other stones and perles, on the other side was another Cupbord of. ix. stages high, set full of high pottes, flagons and bolles, all was massy plate of siluer and gilte, so high and so brode that it was maruaile to beholde. at the nether ende were two broade arches vpon thre Antyke pillars all of gold, burnished swaged and grauen full of Gargills and Serpentes, supporting the edifices the Arches were vawted with Armorie, all of Bise and golde, & aboue the Arches were made many sondri Antikes & diuises. In this chamber, was three ewry bordes, one for the kyng, another for the quene, & the third for the princes: the first bourde had. ix. greate ewers, and basins all gilt, and playne, the seconde bourde had seauen greate gilt basins chased, & thre paire of couered basyns, chasid all gilt with Cuppes of assaie, they were so great that euery Loide grudged to beare them: the third ewery had. ix. basyns and two payre of coueryd Basyns, and cuppes of assaie, this ewery was all of gold, & the Basyns were so massye that thei troubled sore the bearers: The hole supper was serued in vessel of gold. to reherse the fare, the straūgenes of dishes, with deuises of beastes & fowles it were to long, wherefore I will let passe ouer the supper with songes & minstrelsie. Whē supper was done, the kyng, the quene and the ambassadors washed, and after talked at their pleasure and then thei rose and went out of the banket chambre by the forsaid Arches & when they were betwene the vttermoste dore and the Arches the kyng caused them to turne backe & loke on that syde of the Arches, and there they sawe how Tyrwyn was beseiged, and the very maner of euery mans camp, very connyngly wrought, whiche woorke more pleased them the remembring of the thing in dede. From thens they passed by a long gallerie richely  
hanged

hanged into a chambre faire & large the dore whereof was made with masonie, embatayled with Iasper, and within that a porche with a tye, and crokettes gilt, this chambie was raised with stages. v. degrees on euery syde, & rayled & coutrailed borne by pillars of Azure, full of starres & flower delice of gold, euery pillar had at the toppe a basin siluer, wherein stode greate braunches of white waxe, the degrees were all of Marble coler, and the railles like white marble: in the myddest of this Chamber, was a gate, the Arches whereof stretched from side to side, this Arche was figured masonrie on water tables with haunses receiuyng pilles wrapped, beyng Dormants Antike, & ouer the gate stode the pictures of Hercules, Scipio, Iulius, Pompei & such other conquerours, the ventes and embowes were of very strange worke, with leaues, balles, & other garnishinges, all gold, and in the hole arche was nothing but fine Rice & golde, the rofe of this chambie was conninglie made by the kynges Astronimer, for on the grounde of the rofe, was made the hole earth enuironed with the Sea, like a very Mappe or Carte, and by a conning making of another cloth, the zodiacke with the. xii. Signes, and the fve circles or girdelles and the two poles apared on the earth and water compassing the same, and in the zodiak were the twelue signes, curiously made, and aboue this were made the seuen planettes, as Mars, Jupiter, Sol, Mercurius, Venus, Saturnus, and Luna, euery one in their proper houses made according to their properties, that it was a conning thing and a pleasant syght to beholde.

When the kyng and the quene, were set vnder their clothes of estate which were rich and goodly, and the ambassadours set on the righte side of the chambre, then entred a person clothed in cloth of golde, and ouer that a mantell of blew silke, full of eyes of golde, and ouer his hed a cap of gold, with a garland of Laurell set with beres of fyne gold, this person made a solempne Oraciō, in the Latin tongue, declaryng what Ioye was to the people of both the realmes of England and Fraunce, to here and knowe the great loue, league, and amitie, that was betwene the two kynges of the same Realmes geuyng greate praise to the kyng of England for graunting of peace, and also to the Frenche kyng for suyng for thesame, and also to the Cardinal for beyng a mediator in thesame and when he had doen, then entred eight of the kynges Chappel with a song and brought with them one richly appareled. and in likewise at the other side, entred eight other of the saied Chappel bryngyng with them another persone, likewise appareled, these two persones plaid a dialog theeffect wherof was whether riches were better thē loue, and when they could not agre vpon a conclusion, eche called in thre knightes, all armed, thre of them woulde haue entred the gate of the Arche in the middel of the chambre, & the other iii. resisted, & sodely betwene the six knightes, out of the Arche fell doune a bar all gilt, at the whiche barre the six knightes fought a fair battail, and then thei were departed, and so went out of the place: then came in an olde man with a siluer berd, and he concluded that loue & riches, both be necessarie for princes (that is to saie) by loue to be obeied and serued, and with riches to rewarde his louers and frendes, and with this conclusion the dialogue ended.

Thē at y nether ende, by lettyng doune of a couitaine, apared a goodly mouēt, walled with towers and vambres al gilt, with all thinges necessarie for a fortresse, & all the mount was set ful of Chrystal coralles, & rich rockes of rubie curiously conterfainted & full of roses & pomgranates as though they grewe. on this rocke sat eight Lordes appareled in cloth of Tissue & siluer cut in quater foyles, the gold engrailed with siluer, and the siluer with gold, al loose on white satin, and on their heddes cappes of blake veluet set with perle and stone, they had also mantelles of blake satin and then they sodenly descended from the mounte and toke ladyes, and daūced diuers daūnces.

Thē out of a caue issued out the ladie Mary daughter to the kyng & with her seuen ladies, all appareled after the romayne fashion in riche cloth of gold of tissue & Crimosin tinsel bendy & their hores wrapped in gallas of golde with bonetes of Crimosin veluet on their heddes, set full of perle and stone. these eight Ladies daūced with the eight Lordes of the mount, and as thei daūced, sodenly entred sixe personages, appareled in cloth of siluer and blacke tinsell satin, and whodes on their heddes with tippettes of cloth of gold, there



there garmentes were long after the fashion of Iseland, and these persones had visers with syluer beides, so that they were not knowne: these Maskers tooke Ladies and daunsed lustely about the place.

Then sodenly the kyng and the viscount of Torayne were conueighed out of the place into a chambre thereby, & there quicklie they. ii. and six other in maskyng apparel of cloth of gold and purple tinsell sattin, greate, lōg, & large, after the Venicians fashiō & ouer them great robes, & there faces were visard w beaides of gold. then with minstrelsie these. viii. noble personages entred and daunsed long with the ladies, and when they had daunsed there fill, then the quene plucked of the kynges visar, & so did the Ladies the visars of the other Lordes, & then all were knowē thē the kyng gaue to the viscōut of Torayn, the maskyng apparel that the kyng hym self waie & also the apparel that the viscount hym self masked in, which were very riche, for the whiche he thanked hym

Then the kyng, quene and the ambassadours, returned to the banket chamber, where thei found a banket ready set on the borde, of so many & marueilous dishes, that it was wonder to se, then the kyngsat doune and there was ioy, myrth and mēlody: and after that all was doen the kyng and all other went to rest, for the night was spent, and the day euen at the breakyng.

The morowe after the ambassadours toke there leaue of the kyng, and had greate rewarde geuen them and so came to London, and there rested two dayes and so departed in hast homeward.

These two houses with Cupbordes, hāgynges, and all other thinges the kyng commaunded should stand still, for thre or foure daies, that al honest persones might see and beholde the houses & riches, and thether came a great nombre of people, to see & behold f riches & costely deuices.

After that the ambassadours of Fraunce were departed the kyng sēt an other ambassade into Fraūce (that is to say) Sir Thomas Boleyne knight, viscōut of Rochforth, and Sir Anthony Broune knight, which came to Paris to the bishop of Bathe, whiche lay in Fraunce as ambassadour for the kyng of Englād, and then these thre went to the court and saw the Frenche kyng in persone swere to kepe the league & amitie concluded betwene hym and the kyng of Englande, and there they had greate chere and maskes shewed vnto them, but litle rewarde was geuen, & so f viscount Rochforth retourned into Englād & so did the bishop of Bathe shortly after, leauyng sir Anthony Broūe behind for a ligier.

An ambas-  
and sent  
to the mpe-  
four,

In this moneth of Maie f x. day the kyng sent sir Fraūces Poynes knight, as ābassadour frō f kyng of Englād, to Charles thempor & with him he sēt Clarenseaux, king of armes, to demaūd the one halfe of the treasure & ordinaūce which was takē at Pavia, for somuch as that war, was made as well at the kynges charge, as thempors chaige: he demaunded also the duke of Orleaūce, to be deliuered to him, & also it was demaūded that themporour shuld deliuer f bishop of Rome which was takē this moneth as you shall here, and also should bring his arme out of Italy, and if he refused to do any of these poinctes, then Clārseaux in the kynges name of Englande should make to him defiaunce

When it was knowen that warr was like to be betwene the Emperour and the kyng of England, the commons of England sore lamentyd the chaūce, for all marchandise were re-strayned to passe in to any of themporours dominions, & the marchaūtes wer desired by the Cardinal to kepe ther martes at Caleis, to the which in no wise thei would assent.

Shippes sēt  
to seke  
strang Re-  
gions.

This same moneth the kyng sent two fayie shippes, well manned, and vitailed, hauing in them diuers connyng men, to seke strange regions: and so furth thei sēt, out of the Thamis, the twentie day of May, if they sped well you shall here at their retorne.

The. xxii. day of Māy cam in post to the kyng out of Fraunce the bishop of Tarbie, whiche was here in the beginnyng of this moneth, this bishop brought to the kyng of Eng-land, the articles which the Fienche kyng now offered to the Emperour, which wer contra-rie to the articles sworne at Madryll in the. xvii. yere of the kyng, and farther he moued the kyng of Englande to be enemy to themporour, which request (as all inen say) was

much furthered by the Cardinall, because of the warre in Italie, betwene the Pope & the-  
perour: this bishop made short taryng with the kyng, for in post againe he returned to  
Paris, to sir Frances Poynes, & Claréseaux, whiche taried ther for him, & so they all toke  
ther Iornay toward Spayne.

Now will I retorne to the duke of Burbō, and themperours armie, which all y last win-  
ter liued ingreat pouertie, with out clothes, victaile or wages, so that they wer in maner  
desperat, & so went toward Parme & Bononie, belongyng to the Sea of Rome The b-  
shop of Rome hearyng this sēt a messenger to the duke to redeme the Popes townes, so  
that they shoulde not be spoyled nor hurte. the duke and the capitaine axed thre hundredth  
& fiftie thowsād Ducates, for sauynge of the Popes lād, & if thei might haue so much money,  
thei would depart to Naples. but when thei sawe that thei coulde haue no money, they  
with all spede turned toward Florence the xxii. of Aprill, whereof hearyng the Romaines  
thei wer glad, for thei thought that the Florentines wold hold good war with them, & thā  
the Pope & the Romaines woulde geue the loking on: but the chaūsc turned, as you shall  
here after.

For a suertie the duke of Burbon thought to haue gon to Florence for this cause, for  
ther was a gentlemā in Florence called Peter de saluata which had a brother that serued  
themperor in his warres, which promised to deliuer y citie, for he determined to cause the  
commons to rebell in y citie against the heddes, & in the meane seasō y dukes cōpany  
shulde scale y walles: whē this Peter knew y themperours army was come to a place called  
Le Chase, within twelue myle of the Citie to bryng his purpose to a conclusyon, he with  
suche as he had trayned to him, cryed in the Citie *Libertate de populo*, that is in English  
Lybertie of the people: with which voyce the people styried and came to the Palace in  
great nombre, and where they tooke the vi Lordes of the counsell which had the rule of  
the Publyke welthe of the Citie (as they call it) and slew one of them The Familie of  
Medices, whiche were the Popes kynred, were at this tyme sore afraied. Thus this *Peter  
de Saluata*, with the Commons gate the Palace and rang the cōmen bell. In this season  
was in Florence a Capitayn of the Frenche kynges called *Frederuo de Bodsoo*, he had with  
hym. iii. C. men: and when he saw this rebellyon, he came to the Commons and sayde  
Syr, if you contnew in this case, your fayre Citie is lyke to be subuerted, for your ene-  
myes be at hande: which notwithstandinge that you heare some fauoure to themperour as  
appeareth, yet their nedinesse and pouertie is such, that without mercy thei wyll robbe,  
murder and sley you, your wyfes & chyl dren, and sette fyr on your beautifull Citie.

This Capitayne moche steyed the Citie, notwithstanding that xx. or more persones were  
sleyne in the ruffle, yet they were well auoyded, and sodeynly entered into the Citie the  
Duke of Vrbyne, which lay but. vi. myle from Florence, and, xviii. myle from themperours  
armye whom he had coasted, but he thought no aduauntage to medle. This Duke brought  
with hym, v. M. footemen, and vi. C. horsemen, and when he was entered the Citie, a  
crye was made that all thynges was pardoned, so that euery man departed home and deli-  
uered his weapon, whiche was dooen. and thus the Citie was appeased, the. xxviii. day of  
Apryll.

All this doyng within the Citie was ynknowne to themperours armye, for it was begonne  
and ended in iii. or. v. houres, and so for lacke of knowledge, this enterprise was lost,  
which was happye for the Florentynes. Sore displeased were themperours Capitaynes when  
they knew of this chance, and also how the Duke of Vrbyne was entered into the Citie of  
Florence for their defence, but they coulde not doo with all And so shortly thei departed  
and came to the Citie of Seynes. xxx. myle of, and there they lost their great ordynance,  
and tooke counsell to go to Rome (notwithstandinge the trewe concluded betwene the  
Pope and the Viceroy of Naples, & Hugo de Moncada, as you haue hearde) and so moche  
they traueyled by nyghtes and dayes, commonly passyng xl myle, day and nyght. (Their  
good wyll was soche) that the vi. daye of Maie, with banners displaid, they came before  
the Citie of Rome beyng saturdaye the same day: and sonday the Romaynes made Bul-  
warkes,



warkes, Rampiers, and other defences, and layde ordynaunce on the walles, and shot at them without fearcelly.

Rome as-  
saulted.

The Duke of Burbon determyned that it were not best to lye still without, and be slayne with ordinaunce, considering that they were all naked people, and without great ordinaunce wherefore he determined to take the chaunce & to geue the assaute, & so manfully they approached the walles betwene the Burgo nouo & olde Rome. But the Romainys valiauntly defended them with handgūnes, pykes, stones, & other weapons, so that the enemyes were fayne to reueynte. Then the Romaines were glad, & sette many faire banners on their Towers & Bulwarke, and made great showtes. Which seeyinge the Duke of Burbon cryed to a new assaute. Then the Drumslades blew, & euery mā with a ladder mounted & at the fyrst endouiter, agayn the Romainys put them a lytel backe. Which perceiuing, the duke of Burbon cryed God & themperour. Then euery man manfully sette on, there was a sore fyght, many an arrow shot, & many a man felled: but at the last the Emperours men gotte the wall & betwene euery assaute fell a myst, so that they within coulede not see what parte they without would assaile, which was profitable to themperours partie. At the three assautes were slayne iii. C. swyshes of the Popes Garde. In this last assaute was the Duke of Burbon stryken in the thygh with a handgōne, of the which he shortly dyed in a chapell of s. Syst, whyther his Souldiers had brought him, And this chaunce notwithstandinge the Armye entered into Rome, & toke the Popes Palace & set vp themperours Armes. The same day that these three assautes were made, Pope Clement passed lytell on the Emperours Armye: for he had accursed them on the saturday before, and in his curse he called the Almaynes Luthelanes, & the Spaniards Murreynes or mores and when he was hearyng of masse, sodenly the Almaynes entered the Church, & slew his Garde & dyuerse other. He seeying that, fled in all haste by a preuye way to the Castell s. Angell: & al they that followed hym that way & coulede not entre, were slayne, and if he in that fury had ben taken, he had ben sleime. The Cardinals & other prelates fled to the castel of s. Angel, ouer the bridge, where many of the comen people were ouerpressed and drowned as they gaue way to the Cardinales & other estates that passed towarde the castell for succour.

The Duke  
of Burbon  
sleyn

Curse of the  
Pope

The Cardinall of Senes, of Sesaiyne, of Tudertine, of Iacobace & of the Valle, taryed so long, that they coulede not get to the castell for multitude of people: wherefore they were compelled to take another house, called the Palace of s. George, where they kepte theym selfe for a whyle, as secretly as they myght. You must vnderstand, that thorough the Cite of Rome, ronnethe a famousse Ryuer, called Tyber: and on the one syde of the Ryuer standeth the Castell s. Angell, or the Borough of s. Angell. & the other side is called Burgo Nouo, or the New Borough. This Bridge is called, the Bidge of Syxte, which lyeth directly before the Castell. At the ende of this Brydge was a wonderous strong Bulwarke, well Ordinaunced & well manned. The Emperours men saw that they coulede doo nothyng to the Pope nor to that porte of the Cite but by the bridge, determyned to assaute the Bulwarke. & so as men without feare, came on the bridge. & the Romainys so well defended them, that they slew almost iii. M. men. That seeying the Prince of Orenge & the Marques of Gnasto, with all spede gaue assaute, and notwithstanding that the Romaines shot great ordinañces, handgonnes quarrels, & all that myght be shot: yet the Imperiall persones neuer shranke, but manly entered the Bulwarke & slew & threw downe out at the loupes all the Romaines that they found, & after rased the bulwarke to the grounde. The Pope was in the Castell Angell and behelde this fyght, & with him were. xxiii. Cardinales, of which one called the Cardinall Sanctoium quatuor, or the Cardinall of Pouche was slayne, & with hym were a M. Prelates & Priestes. v. C. Gentlemen. v. C. souldyers. wherefore immediatly the Capitayns determined to ley Siege to the Castell of s. Angell, lest they within myght issue out & turne theym to damage: wherefore sodenly a Siege was planted rounde about the Castell. In the meane season the souldyers fell to spoyle, neuer was Rome so pyllled neither of the Gothes, nor Vandales, for the souldiers were not content with the spoyle of the Citizens, but they robbed the Churches, brake vp the houses of close religious

Rome spoil-  
ed.

religious persons, & ouerthrew the cloysters & spoyled virgins, & rauyshed maryed women. Men wer tormented if they had not to geue euery new asker or demaunder some wer strangled, some wer punyshed by the priuey mēbres, to cause them to confesse their treasure. This woodnesse continued a great whyle, & some man myght thynke that when they had gotten so moche, then they would ceasse & be quyete, but that was not so, for they played cōtinually at dyce, some. v. C. some a. M. ducates at a cast: & he that came to play laded with plate, went away again almost naked, & then fell to ryfelyng agayne. Many of the Citizens whiche coule not paciently suffre that vexacion drowned them selues in Tiber: The souldiers daily that ley at the siege, made Iestes of the Pope, sometyme they had one ridyng lyke the Pope with a whole behynde hym, sometyme he blessed, & sometyme he cursed, and sometyme they woulde with one voyce call hym Antechrist. And they went about to vndermyne the Castell, and to haue throwen it downe on his head, but the water that enuironeth the castell dispoyned their purpose. In this season the Duke of Vrbyne with. xv. M. men came to ayde the Pope. but hearyng that Rome was takē he taried, ix. myle frō Rome tyl he heard other word. The Marques of Saluce, & sir Frederico de Bodo with. xv. M. footemen & a. M. horsemen were at Vitarbe the. x. day of Maie. Where thei hering that the cite of Rome was taken also taried. The cardinal of Columbe came with an army of Neapolitans to helpe themperours men. but when he saw the cruelte of the souldiers, he dyd lytle to helpe thē, but he hated thē moch.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged tyl the. viii. ides of Iuli, at which day he yelded him selfe for necessitie & penury of al thinges in the castell. And then he was restored to geue Graces & graunte Bulles as he dyd before: but he taryed styll in the Castell saynt Angell, and had a great nombre of Almaynes and Spanyardes to keepe him. But the Spanyardes bare most rule in the Castell, for no man entered nor came out of the Castell but by them. When the moneth of Iuly came, corne began to fayle in Rome, & the pestilence beganne to waxe strong: wherfore the great Army removed to a place called Naroya, xl. myle frō Rome, leauyng behynde them suche as kepte the bysshop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spanyardes neuer were contented tyll they had gotten the Almaynes out of the Castell of. s. Angell, & so they had the whole custodie of the Pope. Thus Rome continued in peace tyll Septembre, tyll the Armye came agayne from Naroya: for then the Almaynes sware, that they would set the Cite and all on fyre, excepte the Pope woulde pay them their full wages.

The bisshop of Rome was somewhat astonyed, and sent to comen with them, onely two Archebishops & two Byshops & two Gentlemē: These syxe persones, the Almaynes tooke as pledges, contrarye to the Popes meanyng, & sayde they would keepe them theie tyll they were payed, & so put them in a strong chaumbre, in the palace of s. George. and every day almost they woulde bryng them furth openly, and scolde and chyde with them, & make them beleue that they woulde hang them if they were not payed. And so they kepte them emprisoned in a chaubre and. xxliii. watched every nyght without the chaumbre dore, &. xiiii. all day lykewyse. and yet for all that watche, they got out at a chimney, on saynte Andrewes An Escape eue, and were no more seene of them.

This escape was sooner knowne of the Spanyardes that kept the Pope, then of the Almaynes that watched the dore. The Almaynes were so woode with this chaunce, that thei came to the Prince of Orenge their generall capitaunc, & demaunded money of hym, in suche rigorouse maner that he was fayne secretly to flee to Senes. & then for hym they chose Capitaunc, the Marques of Gasto, whiche gouerned them tyll February, that he brought them to Naples.

Aboute the. xxviii. daye of Maie, there were letters brought to the Kyng of Englande<sup>7</sup> from the Frenche kyng, of parte of this trouble. but sonday, the second day of Iune, the Kyng receyued letters at the Castell of Wyndesore, by the whiche he perceyued all the ordre & maner of the sackyng of Rome, & taking of the pope, in maner & forme as you haue hearde: Wherfore the Kyng was sorye, & so were many prelates. but the Communalte lytle mourned



mourned for it, and sayde that the Pope was a ruffyan, & was not mete for the roume: wherfore they sayde that he beganne the myschief, & so he was well serued. But the Cardinall which toke this matter highly, called to hym the Prelates & the Clergy, and muche mourned the fall of the Bisshop of Rome, and saw how the people grudged agaynste the Spiritualtie, for their greate Pride, Pompe, & yll lyuyng. Wherefore he came to the Kyng, & sayde: Sir, by the onely callyng of God, you be made Defendor of the Christian faith: Nowe consydie in what state the Church of Christe standeth. See howe the head of the Church of Rome is in captiuitie. See how the holy fathers be brought into thraldome, and be without comfort. now shewe your selfe an aide, a defendour of the Church, and God shall reward you.

The kynges  
answer

The kyng answered, my Lorde, I more lament this euell chaunce then my tounge can tell, but where you say that I am defendor of the faith, I assure you, that this war betwene the Emperour and the Pope, is not for the faith, but for temporal possessiōs and dominiōs, and now sith bishop Clemēt is takē by men of war, what should I doo? my persō nor my people cannot him reskue, but if my treasure may help him, take that which to you semeth most conuenient. for the which offer the Cardinall thanked the kyng on his knee, and there vppon the Cardinall caused to be gathered together of the kynges treasure. xii. score thousande pounce, which he caried ouer the Sea with him, as you shal heare after.

The thre-  
sore gathered.

Then the Cardinal sēt cōmissions, as legate to al bishopes, commaūdyng that they should cause in euery parish Church, solenine processions to be made for the releuyng of the Pope and moued the people to fast. iii. daies in the weke, but few men fasted, for the priestes saied, that there commaundement was, to exhorte the lay people to fast and not to fast them selves: & the lay people saied, that the priestes should first fast, because the verie cause of the fastyng, was for a priest, but none of bothe almoste fasted.

Prayer and  
fastyng.

This seasō began a fame in Londō that ſ kynges cōfessor, beyng bishop of Lyncolne, called doctor Lōglād, & diuerse other greate Clarkes had told the kyng that the mariage betwene him & the Lady Katheryn, late wife to his brother, prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable & the kyng herevpō should mary the dutches of Alansō, sister to ſ Frēch kyng at the toūe of Caleis this sommer, & that ſ viscōut Rochforth had brought with him the picture of the saied Lady, & that at his retorne out of Fraūce ſ Cardmal should passe the Sea to go into Fraūce to fetch her.

This rumor sprāg so much, that the kyng sent for sir Thomas Seimer maior of Londō & straightly charged him to se that ſ people should sease of this cōmunicacion, vpō payne of the kynges high displeasure.

But whatsoeuer the Commons talked, it was cōcluded by the kyng and his counsayll, that the Cardinall shoulde passe into Fraūce, as his high ambassadour, but for what cause no persone knew but the king til his retorne.

Then was much preparacion made at Calleis, for the receauyng of ſ Cardmal, but ſ cōmō sayng was that ſ kyng would cōe to Caleis & meet with ſ Frēch kyng, & for ſ cause such preparaciō was made, but he came not there at al, & alwaies the people comoned as they durst of the kynges mariage.

The Cardi-  
nal rideth  
towards  
Fraunce

The. iii. day of Iuly, the Cardynall of Yorke, passed thorough the citie of Londō, accōpaignied with many Lordes & Gētlemē, to the nombre of twelue hundreth horse, towarde the Sea side, and at Cauntorburie he rested, & there to the people declared the destruction of Rome, & howe the Pope was in captiuitie with many Cardinales: wherfore he caused a Letany to be sōg by the mōkes of Chistes Church, after this maner. *S, Maria, ora pro Clemente papa S Petri ora pro Clemente papa* & so furthe al ſ letany: the he exhorted the people to fast & pray for his deliuerance which few did.

A new sonde  
Letany

The xi. day of Maye, the Cardinal with al his traine, toke shipping at Douer, and the same day laded at Caleis, wher he was receiued with procession, and with the hole garrison of the towne.

Barrelles of  
gold.

Whē the Cardinal was laded, there were set on lande. xvi. barrelles al ful of gold of the kynges

kynges money, whiche wer deliuered to the capitain of the castel in charge of this money the people much grudged, & saied this money shalbe spēt out of ſ realine, & yet Engliſhmen ſhal haue no parte nor profit of it, but only it ſhalbe spēt for ſ Cardinalles pleasure and the Frenche kynges, and the Popes profite.

The Cardinal was so sore displeased with the Emperour for keepyng the Pope in prysō (although it wer agaynst his wil & knowlege) that he imaged al the wayes and meanes possible how to hurte & domage the Emperour & therefore he sēt for thenglish marchaūtes, willing them to kepe ſ marte at Caleis, but thei answered that ſ towne of Caleis, was a towne of warre, & al marchaūtes must haue libertie at all houres of the night, in the marte season, whiche they coule not haue at Caleis. also the hauen is not able to receiue greate Hulkcs, and Carikes that come to a marte but some marchaūtes to please the Cardinal, brought their clothes to Caleis, and so caused their frendes of Andwarpe to come to Caleis, & to say that thei had bought the marchaūtes clothes, & ther at Caleis paid the custome, & so carried them to the towne of Andwarpe at thenglish mēnes charge, & ther sold thē to the great losse of thenglishmē

The Marte  
to be kept  
at Calice.

While the Cardinal lay in Calleis, the Frenche men daily resorted to Calleis, to welcome the Cardinall, and sodenly there vpon a noyse sprang that Calleis should be deliuered, to the Frenche kyng, whiche vayne sayng, made many men muse.

But the. xxiij. day of Iuli, the Cardinall departed oute of Calleis, & with hym was the lorde Cutberd Tustal bishop of London, the Lorde Sandes, Chamberlayn to the kyng, the Earle of Darby, sir Henry Guildforde, sir Thomas More, with many knightes and squyres, to ſ nombre of. xii. C. horse, & in the cariages. lxxx. wagons, & lx. moyles and sumpter hoises & at Sandifelde, met with him the couūte Brian gouernour of Picardie, & Monsir de Bees, capitaine of Bullein, with. iiii. C. men of armes, well appaieled, with banners displayed & all well horsed, which with trumpets and melodie receiued the Cardinal, & at Maiguisō there met hym the Cardinal of Lorayn, &. vi. bishoppes, & xl. gentlemē, wel furnished, & in their cōpany. iiii. C. horse, and so they rode furthe to Bullein where the burgesses them receiued

The recei-  
uing of the  
Cardinal to  
Bekynne.

And at the gate was made a pageaunte in the whiche was a Nonne called holy church, & thre Spaniardes & thre Almaynes had her violated, and a Cardinall her reskued, and set her vp of newe agayne.

Another Pageaunte, was a Cardinal geuyng a Paxe to the Kyng of England and the French kyng in token of peace, another Pageant was the Pope, hyng vnder, and the Emperour sitting in his Maestie, and a Cardinall pulled downe the Emperoure, and set vp the Pope

Whē wise men sawe this pagiaunt, thei smiled & saied, well can the Frenche kyng flatter, for harde it were for one Cardinall to subdue him that hath pulled downe the master of all Cardinalles.

Many wordes wer spokē in reprove of this pageaūt, but stil with great triūph rode these. iij. Cardinalls together, to the abee vnder a Canapie borne ouer them, & there lodged

The morow beyng the thre & twentie day he with al his traine remoued toward Muttrel, & ii. mile without the towne ther met with him the baihes, ther to him was made a solempne oraciō, & whē he came to the towne he was receiued with the Clergie, & ther the Englishmen had strait lodging, the nombre was so greate, & so ſ morowe he remoued toward Abbeuill wher he was receiued of the Baylyfe and aduocates of the towne, and then of the garrison of men of warre of the towne, and there was he receiued with procession, and Pageauntes to his praise vnder a Canapie, and so brought to the Church, and after to his lodging, and all the Canapies were set with T C for Thomas Cardinal, and so wer al his seruauantes cotes.

The third day of August in the Citie of Annas, came the Frenche kyng in a cote of blacke Veluet vpon white Satin, and tied with laces agglated with golde, and with him, the kyng of Nauar, and the Cardinall of Burbon, the greate master, the Duke of Vandosme,



Monsir de Guise, and Monsir Vandemount his brother, and the Frenche kynges mother with many Lordes and Ladies, which wer there solemplie receiued.

And on Soday the. iiii. daie of August, the Cardinall came fro Pickqueny toward Amias, in which towne he laie the night before, and in the way he was receiued with the prouost of the Citie, and many honorable personages of the citie, and after them came the Iustices and aduocates and with an eloquent oracion saluted him, and when he was with in halfe a myle of the towne the Frenche kyng hym selfe with all his Nobles mette with him, and founglie embraced him, and welcomed him and after toke all the Nobles of England, by the hand, and so brought the saied Cardinall to Amias: where for hym were deuised many Pagauntes, to his playste, and euer he was called *Cardinalis pacificus* the Cardinall pacifique, and so was written at the gate of his lodging.

The Frenche kyng brought the Cardinall to his lodging, & he would haue brought the kyng to his Courte agayne, but he would in nowise suffre him, but left him in his ledgyng and the same night the Cardinall rode to visit the Frenche kynges mother, & there he had long communication and so departed to his lodging.

The v. day of August the Cardinall with the great estates of Fraunce was conueighed to the Frenche kynges Courte, where he was receiued of the Frenche kynges garde, and in the first Chambre he was receiued of Knightes & gentlemen, in the secoud Chambre, of Earls Barons, and bishoppes. In the thurd of Ladies, in which chambre the kyng lay on a bed, and his mother sate by him, because he had a sore Legg. Then the Cardinall shewed his commission, which was very large, and in that was none but he alone: the Bishop of London and the Lorde Sandes, were in another commission, but that was not shewed than, nor they called to counsaill. There was the Cardinall highly thanked of the greates loue that he bare to the house of Fraunce: Then he & the Frêch Lordes fell to counsaill, first concerning the Articles of peace, & for the suerty of performauce of the same, and so that day they sat foure houres, and so euery day was the Cardinall in Counsaill with the Frenche kynges Counsaill, tyll the .xxviii. day of August, at which day was made in the Cathedrall Church of Amias, for the Cardinall of Englande a place on the North side of the Church for his Traues, & directly in the middes of the quere was a curious chappell wroughte of carued wood all gilt set for the Frenche kyng and his mother, which was couered with Ermosyn veluet, richely enbrodered and hanged with clothes of Antike making, set with pearle & stone, very curiously. The Masse was song by a Cardinall, and after Masse, the French kyng and diuers of his Lordes, were sworne to kepe the league, & then was a great Charter sealed on the high aultare, & deliuered to the Cardinall by the kynges awne hand, and then the Cardinall of England gaue to them all (as he saied clere remission) and then was *Te deum* song, and so they all departed.

Now will I leaue the Cardinall styll at Amias in counsaill; and retorne to Sir Fraunces Poynes, & Clarêceaux which were at this tyme arriued in Spaine, in the towne of Valê Dolife, the third day of Iuly, where thei found Doctor Lee the kynges Almoner there ambassadour for the kyng of Englande, & with him taried till the sixte day of Iuly, & then Sir Fraunces Poynes was brought to his presêce, and deliuered the kyng his masters letter, and beside that praied his Maiestie to côsider what the king of England had doen for hym sence his tendre age, how that he holpe him at all tmes with money and treasure, and howe that at suche tyme as the Lordes of Spayne would not receiue him as there kyng duryng his mothers life, yet by the kynges meane and his greates labour and cost, he was to that Realme receiued: and also howe the kyng of England had alwaies defended and protected the contrays of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland, against all persones, and in the quarell of themperour he had strongly inuaded the Realme of Fraunce so that by his inuasion at home, themperour had obteyned great victorie in forein places, which he could not haue done, if al the whole realme of Fraunce had ben without any enemies at home: wherfore the kyng desired him as reason would, the one halfe of the profite of the battail of Pâuy and also for his parte he required the duke of Orleauce to be deliuered to him, and also to paie to the

king, fourtie thousand pounde, which he ought to him as money lent, towardes his charges: and farther that he should deliuer the Pope, and make him a reasonable amende, & no farther to make warre on him or his dominions. The Emperour after this demaunde answered, sir we assure you that the loue of our vncle of England, toward vs and the manifold benefites that we haue receiued of him and by his meanes we shal neuer forget, and although oure power be not able to recompence thesame, yet our good will shall neuer fayle, to endeuei vs to do him pleasure: and as concerning his letters we with oure counsaile shall take aduice, and we trust you shall haue a reasonable answere, during which time, you may repose you, and allthings necessarie shalbe at your commaundement: with this answer, Sir Fraunces departed at this time. Whē it was knowen in Spaine, that the kyng of England was alied with the Frenche kyng, the Spaniards spake largely and saied that thei cared not for the kyng of England, and said farther that all this was the drift of the Cardinall, and by reason hereof the Englishe marchauntes were euil entertained in Spaine, but the Emperoure perceiuing this, gaue a generall commaundement, that all Englishmen shoulde be ordered and reputed as his louing frendes.

The Emperours answer.

In this very moneth, tidynges was brought to the Emperoure, how the inhabitants of Turnei conspired to destroy Monsiue Delanoies their Capitaine, and deuised to bid him to a banquet and so to sley hym & all that loved the Emperour, but as God would, he had knowledge of this treason, and toke the chefe Capitaynes, and did on them sharp execucion for feare whereof many fled into Brance.

The Emperour within a day or twayne called to hym Doctor Lee, & Syr Fraunces Poyntes the kyng of Englands Ambassadors, & said, my lordes we haue perceiued the king your masters requests, which be great and of a waightie Importaunce, wherefore we entend with all spede to write to the kyng our vncle, and when we haue receiued answere from him, we shall deliuer you of suche thinges as you demaund, praiyng you in the meane season, to take patience, and so for the tyme they departed.

By this tyme was it knowen that the Cardinall of England was with the French kyng, & ful well knew the Emperour that the Cardinall woulde do all for to aide the French kyng and to damage hym yet had he a great pention of the Emperour.

The Englishe Marchauntes fearing the sequelle of this matter, conueighed away there goodes daily out of the Emperours dominions but still the Englishe ambassadours came to the Emperours Court, and one day the Emperour saied to them, my Lordes, I marueill how the kyng my vncle is moued against me & my subiectes, I assure you I will no warr with him, I trust in his faithfull promes, & his accustomed goodnes, & his people I take as my frēdes. If he loue the Frēche kyng I may not sodo, for he to me is vntue & kepeth no iust promise, and we neuer compelled him to make any offer, but his offer was of his owne mocion and he also sworne to mainteine the same, which he now refuseth, and to our great preiudice hath persuaded against vs our dere vncle of England by peruers imaginacions, whiche I trust will neuer be our enemy. This many times the Emperour would comen with the Englishe ambassadors whiche lay in Spayne.

But now must I returne to the Cardinall of England whiche lay at Amyas: there was great counsailiing from day to day: Fyrst how the Pope should be deliuered, and the sea of Rome brought to a quietnes: Secondarily how to bring the Emperour to some reasonable agreement so that the French kynges children might be deliuered. It was well considered that the emperor had a great fordel by reason of the sayd. ii. hostages, whiche fordel might perchance so stomacke him y he would agre to no new condicions nor agrementes. Then it was answered on the other side that if a great army were sent into Italy whiche might driue the Emperours power out of Italy, then that armye should set the Pope at libertie & also driue the emperor to come to their purpose, or els he should leese both the realmes of Naples & Scycylla, and the duchie of Myllayn and other dominions, wherefore the French kyng determined to send an army royal into Italy vnder the conduct of Mounsire Odyt de Lawtrick-erie of Foys, whiche was appointed afore in June to go to the borders of Italy



with a small number, but now to him was assigned viii. M Bretons with notable capitaines of thesame cōutrey, and. viii. M Normans with like capitaines, and. viii. M. Gascoynes, and vi. M. Burgomians, iii. M. Sauosyns, viii. M. Swyches and Alnaihies, and. vi. M. Pycardes of whiche men were v. M. horsemen vnder the conduct of Mounsire Galyas, & in this army went sir Robert Iernyngham & Ihon Carew of Hakam and lxxx other English gentlemen whiche were sent thither by the Cardinall from Amyas. When this army was assembled, the Cardinal deliuered the kyng of Englandes money that he had brought out of England in barreles as you haue heard, with which money was this armye payed two monethes before hand, and the remnant was deliuered to sir Robert Iernynghā which was called treasurer of the warres. In this army were iii. M. cariage men, and aduenturers. iii. thousand, so that when they were ouer the mountaines they wer. lix. M. men, and some writers say C. thousand. This armye was called in Latin *Exercitus Anglie et Galorum Regum, pro Pontifico Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to say, the armye of the kynges of England, and Fraunce gathered for the deliuerance of the bishoppe of Rome, and so was this armye reputed. Although fewe people knewe at the beginnyng in Englande of the conueying of the money ouer the sea, yet when the Englishe coyne was the common payment of the armye it was then openly knowen. then many men sayd alas, so much money spent out of the realme, and of this charge the realme shall not be one peny the better, the kyng hath had of vs a loane and that is not payde, and the great subside was graūted to make the kyng riche and now is that money to helpe our old enemies and the Pope which neuer shall do vs good, this the people spake and muche worse. While the Cardinal was with the Frenche kyng, the Pope sent to him a bull and made him Vicar general vnder him through all the kyng of Englandes dominions, and there by a bull he created Anthony de Prato bishop of Sens and Chauncelor to the French kyng a Cardinal with great solempntie. The Cardinal for his solace rode with the French kyng to Compeigne and Mountdiedier, and was euer highly feasted of the kyng and his mother and of the Chauncelor of Fraunce, and of all the nobilitie. Then was it concluded by the Cardinal & the Frēche kynges counsaill what articles of offer should be sent to the Emperour, which if he refused, then open defiaunce to be made to him in the name of both the kynges: The proffers were these

Fyrst that the French kyng should pay for his raunsome xxv. M. crounes whiche amounteth to. v. M. pound sterlyng, one writer calleth it two myllions of crounes

The second to release all the pencion that he had in Naples with al the right of the same.

The third, that he should neuer clayme tite to the duchie of Myllain.

The. iiii. that he should release the superioritie of Flaunders for euer & the right that he had to the cite of Turnay.

The. v. to release all the homages of all other persones within the sayd countreys.

The. vi. to withdrawe his army out of Italy.

The. vii. to forsake the ayde of the Swyches against the Emperour.

The. viii. to take no more the part of Robert de la Marche against the Emperour.

The. ix. neuer to ayde the kyng of Nauaine against him, although he had married the kynges sister.

The. x. neuer to ayde f duke of Gelder nor to chalenge thesame duchy.

The. xi. to ayde the Emperour with shippes and men to his coronacion

The. xii. to mary lady Elinor the quene of Portyngale sister to the Emperour.

The. xiii. that the Dolphyn should mary the sayd quenes daughter.

The. xiiii. that if the French kyng had any children male by the sayd quene, then the duchy of Burgoyne to remayne to the sayd child being a male.

The. xv. that the French kyng should be frende to the Emperour & his frendes, and enemy to his enemies.

These with many other articles which wer not openly knowen wer sent to the bishop of Tarby and the vicount of Thorayn ambassadors to the Emperour from the French. kyng

And

And other articles wer sent to the kyng of Englandes ambassadors beyng in Spayne. fyrst to moue the Emperour to take a reasonable peace with the French kyng.

Also that the kyng of England would release to him all the summes of money due to him aswell by themporor Maximilian his graüdfather as by himselfe, and take the French kyng as detter for thesame

Item if the Emperour would not therto agree, then the French kyng should mary the lady Mary daughter to the king of Englañd and they both to be enemies to the Emperour.

When all these thinges wer concluded, the Cardinall toke his leaue of the French kyng and his mother (whiche tolde him that a noble ambassade should be shortly sent again into England from the realme of Fraunce for fortifying of all conclusions) and so the sayd Cardinall with great rewarde returned with all his traine & by iorneyes the last day of September he came to Rychmond to the king of England and there ascertained the kyng of all his doynages, but so could no lord that then was in Cōmission with him, for they knew nothing of all his doynages, whiche sore greued their stomackes.

The Cardinall which much reioysed in this peace, came y first day of the terme into the staire chamber & there by his cōmaundement wer present the lordes spirituall and temporal of the kynges counsaill, and the Maior and Aldermen of the cite of London, and the iudges of the law, & all the Iustices of peace of all shyres then beyng at Westminster. And then he sayd, how much is the realme of England bounde to God for the high peace that now is concluded? A high peace, yea such a peace as was neuer cōcluded betwene no realme, for by my labor and industry I haue knit the realmes of England and Fraunce in suche a perfite knot y it shall neuer fayle, for the thre estates of Fraunce (which here we cal a Parliamt) haue affirmed thesame, and therfore now my lordes be mery for the kyng shal neuermore charge you with waieres in Fraunce, nor the Mayer and other marchantes shall neuer be charged farther with expences, so that with exaccious for warres of Fraunce you shall no more be charged, for the kyng shall haue no nede, because that he by this league shalbe the richest prince of the world, for I assure you he shall haue more treasure out of Fraunce yerely then all his reuenewes and customes amount to, yea and count his wardes, forfeites and all suche casualties. Now syth you haue suche an honorable peace & suche a profitable peace how much be you bound to him which hath brought this peace about for this is a peace in *secula seculorum*. And because this peace is so noble it is sealed with a seale of golde, and so he caused all there present to looke on the seale, which was the veyre great seale of Fraunce printed in fine gold at this tale many a man after laughed to thinke how the Cardinall lyed for they knew that that he sayd was for his owne glory, and nothing should folowe as he sayd

The Frenche kyng accordyng to his appointment sent the lorde Annas of Momoraucy great master of his house and after that high Constable of Fraunce, and the bishop of Bayon, the chiefe president of Roan and Mounsire de Hunyers, as his Ambassadors to the kyng of England accompanied with. lx gentlemen well appointed, whiche the xiii day of October lided at Douer whose seruantes demeaned theselves so in passing through Kent that much busines was to lodge the in Lōdon, but the Cardinall cōmaunded corporacions of the cite to prouide lodging for them which was neuer seen before, wherat the people murmured sore saying that the Cardinall was all Frenche. So on the xx. day of October the sayd Ambassadors wer met on Black heth by y Marques of Exeter, the bishop of London, the Vycount Rocheford and lorde Moūtiouy with many men of honor & gentlemen to the number of v. C. hoises and more. The Maior and Aldermen of the cite of Lōdon and the chief comminers on horsebacke in their gounes mette the said ambassadors at S. Georges bar & there was made to them a solempne Oracion, & so frō thence they wer conueyed through Lōdon to y bishop of Londons palays & there and nere there about they wer well lodged.

The citezens of London presēted them with v fat oxen, xx. shepe, xii. Swannes, xii. A present  
Cranes, given by the



erte to the  
French am-  
bassadors.

Crapes, xii. Pesantz, iiii. dosyn Patriches, xx. loaues of Suger, Comfettes & other spyce and waxe, and. viii. hoggesheades of wyne with many other thinges whiche I cannot reherse.

On tuesday being the. xxii. day of Septēber, the said ambassadors wer conueyed by water to Grenewyche, where before the kyng sitting vnder his clothe of estate the foresayd Mounsre Bayon president of Roan made an eloquent proposicion in the whiche he much thaked the kyng for sendyng so high an ambassador as the Cardinall was, a man of such prudence & wit as it appeared by y knytting of the league, that like to him could none be found, for by his only mediacion the. ii. princes wer accorded so surely as neuer wer princes before that time, so y by this cōfederacion the Pope & his Cardinals whiche wer in captiuitie & thraldome should by the power of these. ii. princes be deliuered & all the Emperors power should be cleue banished & druen out of Italy, and the Pope should be restored to his olde estate and dignitie again.

When this Oracion was done & an answere made to thesame, the kyng weloomed al the gentlemen of Fraunce & then they had wyne and spyce brought to them, wherof they toke part and dranke & so departed to their barge. Daily these ambassadors repaired to y Cardinals place and there wer highly entertained, & the morow after S. Symons day & Iude the bishop of Bayon & a great number of y French gentlemen dynd at the Maiors feast, & so they taried in London til Alhalonday, on whiche day the kyng accompanied with the Ambassadors of Fraunce & all his nobilitie rode to the Cathedral church of S. Paule wher the Cardinal sang Masse, & after masse done y people wer desired to pray, that by their prayers Pope Clement might the soner be deliuered out of captiuitie: and when that was done the kyng of England before the aulter sware to kepe and performe the league. The cōmon people sayd what nede all this swearyng, the French kyng was once sorne and all his nobilitie, yea & all his good townes, but yet they brake with vs, and so will they againe when they see an auantage.

The  
French  
kyng knight  
of the  
Garter.

For the more loue to be engendered betwene these two princes it was concluded y the kyng of England should elect the Frēche kyng knight of the noble order of the Garter, and that the French kyng should elect the kyng of England companion of his order of saint Mychel, whiche eleccions passed on both parties. Wherefore in all spede y kyng sent sir Arthur Plantagenet Vycount Lysle & bastard sonne to king Edward the fourth, Doctor Taylor Master of the Rolles, sir Nycholas Carew knight Master of y kynges horses, and sir Anthony Broune knight, & sir Thomas Wrythesley knight being Garter kyng of armes of the order, with the whble habite collar and habilmentes of y order, which order he receiued on sonday the. x. day of Nouēber in the cite of Paris & rode in the sayd habit frō the house of saint Poule to our lady church and there heard a solempne Masse & dyued in his robe of the order, hauyng with him thambassadors of Englād, and thesame night he made to them a banquet & so the next day they departed. In likewyse the selfe same sonday the kyng at Grenewiche receiued y order of saint Mychel by the handes of the great Master of Fraunce and Mounsre Humers compaignions of thesayd order: and they al there ware the Mantles of the sayd order which were of cloth of siluer embroidered with Fraūces knottes & koele shelles & the color was of thesame deuse hauyng hangyng before the brest the image of saint Mychel, and in these Mantels they went doune to the chapel to Masse and there heard Masse, whiche was song by a bishop, & after Masse they returned to the kinges chamber where was made a great feast, and after diner which was late they wer conueyed into the tyltyard and there were Iustes of pleasure xii. against xij. whiche valiauntly furnished their courses til they had broken C. stauces, and then they departed, for night was sodainly come. Then the kyng brought the Ambassadors to the newe banket chamber whiche was hāged with a costly verdor all new, the ground thereof was all gold and the flowers were all of Sattyn siluer so that by the brightsomenes of the gold, the flowers appered so fleshy that they semed as they were growyng in dede, the capberdes of gold and gylte plate with the eweryes, thesame I ouer passe because you haue herd thereof in the beginnyng of this yere. Then the king, quene and ambassadors satte  
doune

The kyng  
of England  
knight of  
the order  
of saint  
Mychel.

decune to supper & were serued with lxxx. dishes, all the galleryes and chambers were full of lordes, knightes & gentlemen, & the garrates aboue full of French lackays & veilettes whiche wer pleteously serued.

After supper was done, the kyng led the ambassadors into the great chamber of disguisinges, & in the ende of thesame chamber was a foutaine, and on the one side was a <sup>The faw-</sup>hawthorne tree all of silke with white flowers, and on the other side of the fountaine was a Mulbery tree ful of sayre beryes all silke, on the toppe of the Hawthorne was the armes of England compassed with the collar of the garter of S. Mychel, & in the toppe of the Moulberie trec stode the armes of Fraunce within a garter. This fountaine was all of white Maible grauen & chased, the bases of thesame were bailes of golde supported by rampyng beastes wounde in leues of golde. In the first worke were gargylles of gold fiersly faced with spoutes running. The second receit of this foutaine was environed with wynged serpentes all of golde whiche gryped the second receite of the fountaine, & on the soumt or toppe of thesame was a sayre lady out of whose biestes ran abundantly water of merueilous delicious sauer. About this foutaine were benches of Rosemary fretted in braydes layde on gold, all the sydes sette with roses in braunches as they wer growyng about this fountaine. On the benches sat viii fair ladies in straung attire & so richely appareled in cloth of gold embroderyed and cut ouer siluer, that I cannot expresse the connyng workemaship therof. Then when the kyng and quene were set, there was playd before <sup>A play.</sup> them by children in the Latin tongue in maner of Tragedy, the effect wherof was that y pope was in captiuitie & the church brought vnder the foote, wherfore S. Peter appeared and put the Cardinal in authoritie to bryng the Pope to his libertie and to set vp the church againe, and so the Cardinall made intercession to the kinges of England and of Fraunce, that they tooke part together, and by their meanes the pope was deliuered. Then in came the Frenche kynges childien and complayned to the Cardinal how the Emperour kept them as hostages and would not come to no reasonable point with their father, wherfore they desired y Cardinal to helpe for their dehuerauce, which wrought so with the kyng his master and the French kyng that he brought the Emperour to a peace, and caused the two yong prynces to be deliuered. At this play wisemen smiled & thought that it sounded more glorious to the Cardinal then true to the matter in dede.

When the play was done and iii. companies of maskers daunced, the king, the great master of Fraunce, the duke of Suffolke, the Marques of Excester, sir Edward Newell and other thre appareled in cloth of gold and purple Tynsell sattyn set with cut warkes of cloth of siluer plyghted gould flet and folded eche cloth vpon other, and one plucked vnder another very richely they had also mantels of crimosyn Sattyn cast about their Bauderike wise, so that the other garmentes might largely appeare, and then they entered with noyse of mynstrelsie and toke the ladies that sat about the fountaine and daunced with them very lustely, and when they had daunced inough then they put of their visers and were knowen, and so with disport al this night passed.

The next day the great master and all his company toke their leaue of the kyng (except the bishop of Bayon whiche abode as Ambassador in England) and were highly rewarded and so passed to Douer and toke ship there and landed at Bullein. <sup>The ambas-</sup>

After that the Frenchmen wer departed y comons spake sore agaynst the Cardinal & sayd that the Frenchmen did neuer good to England, and for the Cardinals pleasured we should forsake our old frēdes and receiue our olde enemies. When the Cardinal heard of these saynges he was not content, wherfore he sent a Comission to the Maior of Lodon to commaunde al men not to talke of y kinges affayres & busines or of y quene, or of the kynges couisail. And if any person spake or talked of any of these matters, then he to be taken & brought to the Cardinal. When this commaundement was once knowen, euery man mistrusted other and noman durst breake his mynde to other.

In this moneth of Nouember the Cardinal as legat called y whole clergie before him at Westminster & there he sayd that all the abusions of the church should be amended, but



Arthur,  
Bilney, Geffery Lome  
and Garret

he did nothyng therto, but abiured Arthur, Bynney, Geffery Lome, and Garret that spake against the Popes aucthoritie and his pompe and pride.

A great  
deth of  
wheate.

By reason of the great raypes whiche fell in the sowing time & in the beginning of the last yere, now in the beginning of this yere corne began sore to fayle throughout the realme, insomuche that in the cite of London, bread for a while was very skant and people did starue daily for bread, for wheat so failed that none could be gotten for money. Sauyng that the king of his goodnes sent to the cite of his owne prouision. vi C. quarters, or els for a weeke there had been litle bread in Lōdon, yet was the scarcitie more then  $\frac{1}{2}$  deth. For then wheate was only at xv. s. the quarter & frō thēce it rose to xx. s. and after to. xxvi. s. viii d the quarter. Men sayd that the negligēce was in sir Thomas Seymer knight then Maior. Many substantial men would haue made prouision for their houses, but they feared lest the cōminaltie would haue taken it from them. Then were cōmissions sent into all shyres and commissioneis appointed to se what wheat was in the realme, and the commissioners ordered that no wheate should be conueyed out of one shyre to another, which cōmaundement had like to haue iaysed trouble, and specially the cite of London & the same was sore agreed, for they had no arable ground to sowe, but must make prouision with money, which prouision was them denyed in diuers shyres by that cōmaundement, whereat the citezens grudged, so the Maior and Aldermen seyng that the people began to murmur, came to the Cardinall & moued him of the mischief that was like to ensue: either the people must dye for famyne or els they with strong hand will fetche corne from them that haue it. To whō he answered  $\frac{1}{2}$  they should haue wheat inough out of Fraunce, for the French kyng sayd to me q<sup>d</sup> the Cardinall that if he had but thre bushels of corne in all Fraunce, England should haue twayne so muche he loueth & regardeth this realme: with this answer they departed & euery day looked for Frēche wheate but none came and farther such wheat as  $\frac{1}{2}$  marchaūtes of England had brought and shipped in Normandy and other places wer there restrained, so that the relefe there failed, but the gentle marchaūtes of  $\frac{1}{2}$  Styliard brought frō Danske, Breme, Hamborough and other places great plētie, & so did other marchaūtes from Flaunders, Holand, and Friesland, so that wheat was better chepe in Lōdon then in all England ouer. Then the people sayd, see how we had been serued by the Frenchmen in our necessitie if themperors subiectes had not holpen vs. For this kyndnes the cōmon people loued themperor the better & all his subiectes. The kyng of his goodnes hearyng that  $\frac{1}{2}$  wheat in Fraunce was stopped, mused not a litle, & so for comfort of his cite of Lōdon he lent M quarters, for the whiche they both thāked him and prayed for him. Then within short space the marchauntes of London so diligently made prouision in all places for Wheat & Rye, that after C hristmas they lacked none, and all the parties adioynyng to them wer fain to fetchē wheate of them and none to them was denied notwithstanding their vnkynd cōmaundement geuen that the Londoners should none haue of them.

Now let vs speake of the army  $\frac{1}{2}$  the lorde Lawtrick had into Italy at  $\frac{1}{2}$  charges of the king of England & the Frenche kyng for  $\frac{1}{2}$  deliuerance of pope Clement. The lord Lawtrick after that his whole army was come to him to Lyons, & that al thinges necessary wer in readines, then he set forward with great diligence: but or he had passed  $\frac{1}{2}$  mountaines  $\frac{1}{2}$  Venicians army was come into Lōbardy abidyng  $\frac{1}{2}$  cōmyng of the Frenchmen, & in the meane season they marched toward themperors army whiche lay at  $\frac{1}{2}$  cite of Myllain. Wherof hearing Anthony de Leua with viii. C. Almaines and Spaniardes on foote, & as many Italians marched forward to mete w<sup>th</sup> thē, & by force caused thē to take the toune of Meligna for refuge, where he hearyng  $\frac{1}{2}$  Ihon de Medices with a great nomber wer cōmyng toward the Venicians, he in the euenyng or his enemies were aware sodainly set on the sayd Ihon de Medices, whiche began to set his men in an order, but he was so enclosed that he could do nothing, but tooke his horse and fled and left his company alone, which were slaine almost all, and lost. iii. great pieces of ordinaunce, whiche Anthony de Leua carried with him to Myllain. In which season the lorde Lawtrick with his army was passed the

the mountaines and was come to the cite of Aster abiding the Swyches, where he heard tell how that Lewes Erle of Lodron with a great crew of Almaines was come to the toune of Boske nye Alexādry with money and vitail to ayde the Almaines that kept Alexandrye wherfore he sent his horsemen to stoppe them that they should not passe to Alexandry, and after them he folowed with his whole army and beseged them in Boske which a certain daies defended, but at the last they yelded the toune, & became souldiers to the lord Lawtrick. In this same season Andrewe Dorye admyral of the Frenche nauy lay before the haven of Gene and kept the Genowayes from al marchaundise and vitales which to the cite might repaire, & in especial he lettred certain shippes of corne whiche lay at Pont de Ferry betwene Gene and Sauona to come to Gene. The Genowayes whiche lacked corne and were on the land side besieged by a citezen of their own which was on the Frenche part called Cesar Fulgosus, imagined how to bring the shippes of corne into the cite, and when they sawe that Andrewe Dorye had but xvii. Galeys They prepared vi galeyes to fight w<sup>th</sup> Andrewe Dorye. Duiyng which fight the shippes with corne shuld entre y<sup>e</sup> haven. When the galeys wer abode, a sodain tempest rose with such a violence, that Andrew Dorye was fayne to take y<sup>e</sup> port of Sauona for his succor, and so the shippes of corne came safe into the haven of Geane, & all the galeys in safetie. this good was fortune. to Geane at this tyme.

When the citezens of Geane were thus vitailed, they tooke to them good courage and in warlike maner issued out agāst Cesar Fulgosus which knew well that thei had litle more then iii. C. Spaniardes that could skylle of the war, & as for the remnant were neither of stomacke nor of experience in warre, wherfore he boldly set on them, and whyle they were fighting without, the citezens within which be euer mutable, sodainly cried Fraunce Fraunce, which clamour came to the eares of Adurnus whiche was imperial, wherfore he retired backe into the cite to appeace the rumor, but their enemies folowed them in such hast that both entred together and so Geane was become Fienche. Then thither came the lord Lawtrick and put there a capitaine with a retinue for y<sup>e</sup> safe keepyng of the cite. Then Adurnus duke of Geane whiche was in the castle with diuers of the Emperors frendes and lacked vitail & saw no comfort of reskue, yelded the castle vpon condicion to depart with bagge and baggage & so they did. In the meane season certain Fienchmen which were left at Boske defaced the toune and then came before Alexandrie, & there kept a siege volant that no ayde nor succor should come to the toune, till the whole army wer assembled to besiege y<sup>e</sup> toune. But for al that purpose, by the Dounes of Alexandrie, Alberieke Barbian with v. C. souldiers came into the toune whiche much comforted the garrison there which was in maner dismayed because their ayde at Boske had fayled them. The Frenchmen besieged the toune and bet it with ordinaunce and they within manfully defended it and made new countermures so that their enemies could not enter without reopardy. But at the last y<sup>e</sup> Venicians brought thither great pieces of ordinaunce which so sore bet the walles that Baptisť Lodryn the capitaine saw that he was not able to defende it & so he deliuered the toune vpon this cōposicion that he & his should depart with bagge & baggage, & he nor his to weare no harnys agāst the Frēche kyng nor his confederates by y<sup>e</sup> space of vi. monethes. Then the lord Lawtrick deliuered the toune to Fraūces Sforcia according to y<sup>e</sup> league, which Fraūces put there a cōuenient garrisō. Thēce y<sup>e</sup> army remoned to Belgrasse which to thē was yelded & also deliuered to y<sup>e</sup> duke of Myllain, & frō thēce they remoued toward y<sup>e</sup> cite of Myllain, wherof hering Anthony de Leua fortified y<sup>e</sup> castle of Myllayn and sent Lewes Barbian to defende the cite of Pauye. When the lord Lawtrick was within vii. myle of Myllayn, he sodainly returned toward Pauy, whiche men iudged to be done for y<sup>e</sup> displeasure that was done there to the Frenchemen when their kyng was taken, & so the. xix. day of September they besieged Pauye, and daily betwene them wer great skirmishes, but at last they bet the walles so with great ordinaunce that they made the toune assautable. Then the Frenchmen threwe into the dyches fagottes and emptye pipes and shortly entered the toune. The capitaine perceiuyng the toune entered, opened the gate and yelded himselfe prisoner.



Then the Frenchmen slewe and kylled on euery side, robbed and spoyled houses and churches & spared no person nor place, and of crueltie raūsoned one man v or vi. tymes, & the Gascoynes whiche were moste cruel set fyre in the fayre houses & had brent the whole cite if the lord Lawtrick after vii. dayes spoilyng had not commaunded them to cease. When Pauye was thus taken & spoyled the lorde Lawtrick determinned with the Cardinal Innocent Legate of Bonony, which was come for the deliuerance of the Pope incōtinent to passe to Rome and to diue away al the Emperors power frō thence, and to restore the pope to libertie.

Fraunces Sforcia duke of Myllayn hearing of this determinacion came to the lord Lawtrick to Pauye and required him first to rid the duchy of Myllayn of thempers souldiers, rather then to go forward and leaue his enemies behynd him. The lord Lawtrick answered that he was of thesame opinion, but the cōmission that he had of the French kyng and the kyng of England was, that with all spede he should go forward to deliuer the bishop of Rome, which done he faythfully promised that he would returne and expulse all the Emperors power out of Lombardy, and in the meane season he would that the duke and the Venicians should besiege Anthony de Leua in the castle of Myllayn. Duke Fraunces semed to be content with this answer, but yet he perceiued that the French kyng cared not for his restoryng lest he should be empeial. So for that tyme the duke dissembled the matter & tooke possession of the cite of Pauye. When the lorde Lawtrick had layen xvi. dayes at Pauy, he dismyssed ſ Swyches whiche in no wise would go with him to Rome, wherefore he marched forward w his owne army & came to Plesance where he cōcluded a league with Alphons duke of Farrer & Frederike marques of Mantua, so ſ then he knew wel that he might wel passe in safte & then ingood order of battail he marched toward Rome for ſ finishing of his enterprise. But or he was passed out of Lōbardy themperor had sent letters to ſ B. of Rome & excused himself that he neither willed nor commaunded such mischief to be done, & straightly cōmaunded his capitaines to deliuer him. The prince of Orenge & other capitaines of themperors hearing his cōmaudemēt, toke agreēmēt w the pope & his Cardinals, & so he & xii. Cardinals wer bōūd to performe certain articles to ſ nōber of xi. & then he was deliuered out of the Castle saint Angell the x. day of December and was conveyed to Oruyet, where after he had paid certaine money for the souldiers wages he was put at full libertie & the Emperors people departed from him, and thence he remoned to Ancona. When tidynges was brought into England of his deliuerance the Cardinal ingreat hast caused *Te deum* to be song on Newyeres day in the kinges chapel and declared opely that he was escaped & sayd not deliuered, which made many men to muse: and on sonday the. v. day of Ianuary the Cardinal with great triumph came to the churche of saint Paule in London, and on him attended diuers prelates of the clergy and there *Te deum* was song again, and after that doctor Capon opely declared how that bishop Clement had been long kept in distres by faulte of tyrānes and infidels and so kept as prisoner to the behoſe of Charles the Emperor, tyll now of late through the praiers of good Christen people he was escaped the hādes of his enemies, for whiche cause he wylled all men to geue thanks to God: That night were great fyers made in the kynges court and in all London. Shortly after this trueth was knowen, that the Pope was deliuered by composicion and not frely, escaped as the Cardinall had blowen abroad, but men sayd that he could not leaue his lyng

Clement  
pope deli-  
uered.

Whye the lorde Lawtrick was cōuuallys goyng forwarde to deliuer pope Clement, he was credibly enſoamed at Bonnony that he was deliuered and at his libertie, wherefore he thought his iorney voyde to go to Rome to do nothing; he therfore determinned to turne toward Naples and to take the cite if it were not fortified or replenished with men of war, & so according to this purpose he iorned forward with great diligence. The Emperors capitaines perceiuyng the Frenchemennes entent, caused all their souldiers to depart out of Rome in the beginnyng of February (which was against the minde of the souldiers) and so came into the realme of Naples and fortified certain townes as they passed, and so came to

to a toun called Troy and there they taried: This remouyng was to them very profitable. For if they had taried at Rome they had been set on with the Itahans on the one side, & the Frenchmen on the otherside, that by euery mans iudgement they should all haue been taken or slaine. The lorde Lawtrick departed from Bonnonny to Inmole and so to Fayance Forlicke Pezere, Senegal, Ancone, Rauenna, Loret and to Ferne which is at the foote of the mountaines of Sybylles in the duchie of Bresse percell of the realme of Naples, in whiche toun were certain nobles of that cōtrei whiche seyng the army so puissant departed thence to Naples. As the armye passed the mountaines in the Lent season, there died of very cold v. C. Gascoynes and mo, and so with much paine they came nere to Troy in Puyllie the xv. day of Marche where the Spaniardes and the Emperois army lay. Sir Robert Iernynghā of England which was capitain of the light horsemen, knowing their enemies so nere, desired the lorde Lawtrick that he with his company might assay the Spaniardes. The lorde Lawtrick (whether it was for lacke of coiage, or that he were corrupted by money) in no wise would suffre sir Robert Iernyngham to fight, but saied he would take them at a more auantage shortly, which answeere sore greued sir Robert, in so-muche he saied he would accuse hym, to both the kynges their Masters.

The Spaniardes whiche laie at Troy, thought to entre Naples before the Frenchmen, and so on the. xxi. daie of Marche beeyng Saterdaie, thei remoued and came to Naples, & fortified the citee, whiche was happie for the Emperor, for surely if the Frenchmen had come first, they had been Masters of the citee. After the Emperois people were departed from Troy, as you haue hard, the Frenchmen besieged it, and within a xi. daies it was to them yelded, and from thence thei remoued to Melphe, a strong litle toun, where thei clewe & put to flight. iiii. M. Spaniardes but thei lost many of their men ther, so that this toun was not to them very profitable. Sith the armie was entered into the realme of Naples there was euer some sickenes emongest them, and in especial there raygned emongest the a sore hote feuer, of the whiche many gentlemen died or thei came to Naples, for at the toun of Verse there died sir Richarde Iernyngham, & Ihon Carew of Hackam, two valiant capitaines, sent thether by the kyng of Englande and diuise other, whiche two gentlemen be there buried.

When the Frenchmen had taken Melphe, thei remoued to Bouiuēt and from thence to Magdelon, where thei laye all Easter. and after Easter thei came before the citee of Naples, and firste they tooke the palace that standeth without the citee, very pleasant to behold, and after that was taken, thei planted their siege round aboute the citee, and cast trenches, and made fortificaciōs, for the defence of sodain inuasiōs of their enemies. All the whole armie laye in an open plaine ground, without couerture very nere the citee, by reason whereof, thei wer sore cūbered with hete and droughth, whereupon ensued greates mortalitie and death, for if thei had lien on the hill side nere couerte, thei had lien more wholesomly, but their intent was to lye nere the citee, to the intent to kepe their enemies straight, and thertore thei planted their siege in the playne, whiche turned them to much displeasure and disease. Thus was the siege plāted before Naples, in the beginnyng of Aprill, & continued till the. xxvi. daie of August nexte insuyng, and then by meane of mortalitie they remoued as you shall here.

While the lord Lawtreck was thus passing toward Naples, sir Frāces Poynes Knight, which was sent with Clarenceaux kyng of Arines into Spain to the Emperour, returned into England before Christmas, in thende of December, and left Clarenceaux behynde, to bryng farther answeere frō thempor of thynges demaunded, wherof he said he would take longer auice or he would answeere. This sir Frances reported that the Emperour so muche fauored and esteemed the kyng of England, that at his onely request and contemplacion, he had released and discharged twelue articles, whiche wer moste greuous & disprofitable to the Frēche kyng, not for the French kynges sake, but at the intercessiō of the kyng of Englande: yet this notwithstanding, the Cardinall so inuegled the kyng, that he so highly fauoured



uoured the French kyng, that all his causes he tooke and reputed as his awne, and did all that he might, to bryng the Frenche kynges purposes aboute

The Emperour before this time had written to the Frenche kyng, and also aduertised thereof the French Ambassadors, that laye in Spaine, that he would that the Frenche kyng should sende to hym a definitive answere, if he would withdrawe his people out of Italy or not, and lett the Duchie of Millain alone, and to cease of all Inuasions or not, and this answere to be geuen the last day of Ianuary folowyng, and if the said French kyng answered not by that day, then the lacke of answere to be taken for a defaunce. Then the French Ambassadors before the day, shewed to the Emperour, the proffer which the Frenche kyng offered to hym in articles, as you haue harde before in the conclusion taken at Amias by the Frenche Kyng and the Cardinall in August laste passed. Which profers when the Emperoure had hard and seen, he saied to the Ambassadors, we thought surely that our cosin the French kyng and we, had been at a full conclusion, when the league and appoyntmēt was agreed at our toune of Madrid: for when he sued for his deliuerance to vs, he and his counsaill offered vs certain profers, whiche wee neuer demaunded, but we of pitie hauyng compassion of his affliction, accepted thesaied offers, and agreed to his deliuerance, whiche Articles he promised in the othe of a Kyng, & also on the holy Euangelistes, to performe to the vttermoste, and thē muolaily to obseue and kepe. Whervpon wee clerely remitted, and deliuered hym into his countrey, of all which promises he hath performed none, wherfore we take him as periured, and not worthy to be trusted, and now he offereth newe offers, which he cannot performe, as for the money we beleue he is able to pay, but as for money dewe for the kyngdom of Naples, we knowe no suche dutie, for it is our inheritaunce, although kyng Charles the seuenth, by sotletie once vsurped thesame, which he lōg not enioied as to release his title to Millain, that release is voyde, for the Duthe is Imperiall, and in our gifte as many other seignories be: and as touchyng Tournay, ours it is of right and now in our possession. So that in all these thynges he would release and iendie thynges that he hath not: and as to the withdrawing of his armie out of Italy, he shall not nede, for we truste that our armie shall expell them all Italy, maugre their baies. And as touchyng the Kyng of Nauair, the Duke of Gelder, and Robert de la Marche, we of pitie let them alone till we se our tyme, and then they shall knowe our puyssaunce. And as touchyng his offre to aide, vs with a nauie, we trust we haue such a nauie provided, that we shall nede none of his. and where he saith he will mary our sister quene Aelienor, daughter to the kyng of Portyngall, if he had been true, that he might haue dooen or this, but now wee entende not to geue her to our enemy: and as touchyng her daughter to bee married to the Dolphyn, that wee leaue in suspence for this tyme. But where he saith that he will defend vs, that toucheth our honour, for well knoweth he that our awne might and puyssaunce, hath euer defended vs, and him and his power hath defaced and vanquished wherfore we nede not of his defence, which is not able to defend hymself: and as touchyng the kyng of Englandes debt, we shall reasonably answere his Ambassadors, for that toucheth not the Frenche Kyng. But now my Lordes Ambassadors, saied the Emperour, let the French Kyng your Master, fulfill the promise that he was sworne to, as a true Prince ought to do, and then he shall haue his children deliuered, nor els accordyng to his othe, let hym yelde hymself prisoner again, and so shal his honor and truthe be sauēd, or els not, so with this answere the Ambassadors departed. Neuerthelesse they daily sued to the Emperour and his Counsaill to take the offers whiche were profered by the Frenche kyng, and emongest other thynges, the warre was sore laied to the Frēche Ambassadors charge, for that that the Frenche kyng made warre on the Emperours possessions, without cause and without defaunce, to whiche accusation they answered that that armie was procured by the Cardinall of Englande, when he was at Amias, for the deliuey of Clement Bishop of Rome, and that the kyng of England bare the moste charge. When the Emperour hard this answere, he sent for the Ambassadors of Englande, and to hym saied: My Lorde Ambassadors, I muche maruaill why the kyng your Master, hath so great loue

Themperours  
answer to  
the foremed  
Articles

to the Frenche kyng, his newe reconciled frende, and withdrawn his loue frō me, that am his cosyn and alye. How fortuneth this that your olde auncient enemies bee now in fauoure, and your olde fiendes cast out of fauoure. I se well there is indignaciō had at our estate, and waies sought to greue vs, whiche-wee hope to withstande. But who would haue thought that our Vncle of Englande, would haue made warre on vs. How would he haue vs graunt his requestes and desires for the Frenche kyng, seying he sheweth himself ouer open enemy. Then the Ambassadoure discretly answered, that he neither heard nor knewe of suche dooynges, on his faith and honour. Well saied the Emperoure, if it bee true that is reported, myne Vncle is not the Prince that I haue taken hym for, and if he be myne enemy, I muste withstande hym, and in a greate fury, the Emperoure withdrewe him from the Ambassadoure, to his priuie chamber.

Daily the Ambassadors, bothe of Englande and of Fraunce, solicited the emperor and his counsaill, to accept the French Kynges offers, which made euery answere, that they would not truste to the newe promise, seying that the olde promise which was sworne, was not obserued and kept. Nowe whosoever indifferently shall consider the Articles which were offered in the treatie of Madryll, and the Articles offered now at Amias, shall openly perceiue, that the greatest thyng which the Frenche kyng refused to do, was the deliuey of the Duchie of Burgoyne and the Countie Charoloys, for declaracion whereof, the French kyng sent for all the nobles of bothe the countieys, and declared to them this promise and concord, taken with the Emperor, which answered that no realme or dominion could be transferred to any forrein prince or person without the sentence, agreement, and submission of the nobles, and commons of thesame countrey, and therefore they would neuer assent to that alteraciō. This answer was deliuered to lorde Charles de la Noe Viceroy of Naples, then Ambassador for the Emperor in Fraunce, which thereof certified the Emperours counsaill. But the Emperoure and his Counsaill thought this to bee but a decepte, in so-much as the French kyng had onely called suche of Burgoyne, as hym pleased, and not the substanciall of the countrey. And farther the Emperor so much desired the Duchie of Burgoyne, because he was the very heire there of bloude descended from duke Philip, sooone to kyng Ihon of Fraunce, that by no meanes he would haue that article broken, but he would haue that Duchie. The French kyng perceiued his mynd, & offered to hym greate sommes of money for the redemyng of that article, the kyng of Englād also offered to be suretie for the payment. but all this could not moue the Emperoure, but he would haue Burgoyne, and all thesaid treatie and agreement performed.

The kyng of England considering how much he had doen for the Emperor, and calling to his remembraunce, bothe that the Lordes and Commons of Spaine, would not haue taken hym as kyng, his mother huyng (although she were Lunatique) because she was heire, without his greate labour and intercession, and also that he holpe hym to be elected Emperour, which the Frenche kyng had obtayned, if he had not put thereunto his aide, and sent Doctoe Richard Pace his Secretary to the Electors to Franckeford, and moste of all that he at all tymes, had succoured thesaid Emperoure with money, and was not paid, wherefore he was not a litle displeased with the Emperours wilfulnes, but more with his un-kyndnes, and perceiued clerely, that sith by his meanes he was so exalted, that now he had forgottē all the kyndnes to him shewed wherefore he thought to make hym to knowe hymself by warres, the soner to bryng hym to accomplishe his request, and to make him to remēber his olde kyndnes, and so by the auiſe of the Cardinal of Yorke (which loued not the Emperour, for the Bishoppe of Romes case) and other of his counsaill, he sent woorde to Clarenceaux Kyng of armes, to make defiaunce to the Emperour, and so Guyan Herault for the French kyng and thesaid Clarenceaux for the kyng of Englande, the xiiii. daie of Ianuary, in the citee of Burgues in Castile, came before the Emperour beyng nobly accompanied with Dukes, Marqueses, Erles, and Barons, in his greate hall, and there made their defiaunce.

Defiaunce  
made to the  
Emperour.

When the defiaunces were made by bothe the Kynges of Armes, as you haue heard, all the



the nobles which were present, as the Constable of Castell, the Duke of Massedonia, the Duke of Inuancaso, the Duke of Alberkirke, the Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Nassaw, or Nazaretn, the Duke of Aluoy, the Marques of Sturgus, the Marques of Agular, the Marques of Villafranca, the Erle Barcelon, the Erle of Salamatero, the Erle Boniucent, the Erle Arowen, the Erle Agular, the Erle Salienas, the Erle Geneucr, with sixe great Lordes Commendatories Crossed, and many other noble menne and gentlemen, for a truthe to the number of seuen hundred at the least. all these drewe out their swerdes, and sware that the defiaunces then made should be reuenged, and saied to the Emperoure. Sir, if the dispite of this defiaunce be vnreuenged, the infamy & rebuke thereof, shall remain to vs and our heires for euer, wherefore our landes, lifes, and lordshippes, shalbe at your commaundement, and while any lyen of your succession remain, this ignomie shalbe euer newe and not dye, till you haue obteigned the double honor, against all your enemies.

When the Emperor was thus defied, the warre was Proclaimed in Ciuill, in Valedolite, in Buigus, & in other places through all Spain. But when the common people heard of this defiaunce, they wrong them selves by the berdes and sware, that all their landes and goodes should be spent, for the honor of the Emperor, and to bee reuenged on the French kyng, whom they called perjured Prince, and so the common people cried in the stretes, now is come the tyme, that Spain shalbe renoumed, and reuenged on the Frenchmen for their falsenes and wrong doynges. But alas saied they, why should we make warre with the Englishe nacion, which euer loued vs, and neuer offended vs, but this defiance procedeth not of them, but onely of the French kyng, and of the Cardinall of Englande, whiche is sworne French, thus the Spanyardes talked, and euer excused the kyng of Englande, and accused the Cardinall and saied, that he had a great pencion out of Spain, and that notwithstanding, because he might not haue the bishoprike of Toledo, he caused all this warre. This Proclamacion of warre, was proclaimed with baneis displayed, in the which were painted a redde swerde, and a Ciesset burning, against the French kyng and his parte takers, not meauyng the kyng of Englande, by expresse name, but it was rehersed in the Proclamacion, that the Kyng of England had manaced, and defied the Emperour, in the French kynges queiell. Then wer the Englishe Merchantes in Spain attached, and their goodes put in safe custody, and to this was saied that they were staid onely, till the Emperour was aduertised, how his subiectes were ordered in England.

The Eng-  
lishe Mer-  
chantes ar-  
rested in  
Spain.

Tidynges of this was first knowen in Fraunce, and from thence letters were sent to the French Ambassadors in London, how bothe the Ambassadors of Fraunce and of Englande, beyng in Spain, and Guien and Clarenceaux officers of Armes, wer retained by the Emperour as prisoners, which report was false, for they were at libertie, and well cherished, and in especiall the Englishe Ambassadors and Clarenceaux wer frendly enterteined in all places. When the Cardinall hard this report, he was to light of credence (which he forthought afterward) and was sore therewith moued, and in his fury the. xii. day of February, he caused Don Hugo de Medosa, the Emperors Ambassador, to be taken out of his house, in saint Swithunes lane in London, and to be brought to sir Ihon Daunces place in Marke lane, as a prisoner, & his house with his goodes were kept by the Cardinales seruantes, till the kynges pleasure wer farther known.

The morowe after beyng the. xiii. daie of February, the Cardinall beyng in the Starre chamber, called before hym al Iustices of the Peace, and other honest personages to a great number, and to them said: My lordes and all you the kynges louyng subiectes, his graces pleasure is that I should declare to you, howe that his highnes, not of his awne sekyng, but rather against his will and intent, is entered into warre: For the cleete Emperor Charles the fifth, hath hym so hundeled and moued, that he must of necessitie with hym make war. First, it is not vnknown to you all how good the Kyng hath been to hym, siue his infancie, how he hath defended his lowe countreis during his noneage? Ye, what pain the king toke by his Ambassadors, to sollicite the lordes of Spain, which refused to take him as their kyng, while his mother liued, and by the kynges onely labor, he came to the kyngdom of

Spain,

The Card-  
nall saying  
in the Starre  
Chamber.

Spain, what it cost the kyng to helpe him to be Emperour, we that be his counsaillers can tell, for if the kyng had not been, surely the Frēch kyng had been Emperour. Beside all these kyndnesses, he hath lent to thesaid Emperour, diuerse great sommes of money, to defend his countreys, & what profite his countreis haue by the resort of Englishmen thether, ye that be Merchauntes can tell: for these thynges with many mo profittes, commodities, and gratuities, the kyng of him is so litle regarded, that I am balse ashamed to report it. True it is that Frances the Frenche kyng, was to hym prisoner (whiche chaunce hath happened to many high princes) the kyng our master, highly regarding the peace of Christen princes, by which peace God might the more be glorified. disuied the Emperour to take some resonable ende for his deliuerance, and for that purpose hath sent to him sondery Ambassadors, which gaue them eares, but dalied with thē, and nothyng would do at all, and regarded no more his requestes, then I would the desire of my seruauent (and perauenture not so much) so that for all gratuities and frendshippes to hym, by the kyng our soueigne lorde, at all tymes shewed, he sheweth himself ingrate and vngentle, and for kyndnes rendereth vnkyndnes: as for the Frenche Kyng I assure you, he hath hūbled hymself asmuche as a prince maie, his honor saued. He hath offered hym so great offers, that excepte he should geue hym his realme and Crowne, he can offer no more larger, which offers I assure you, sore minishe the beautie of his Crowne, whiche I shall breuely declaie vnto you. For he offereth to paie five hundred thousand poundes sterlyng, whereof three hundred thousande, to be paid in hand, for the remnaunt sufficient Bankers to be bound, and farther to discharge the Emperour, of all suche sommes of money, as he oweth to the Kyng of Englande, and to deliuer hym a sufficient aquitaunce for thesame. Also where the French kyng should haue, out of the kyngdome of Naples an hundred thousande Crownes yerely, the Frenche kyng will release thesame pencion, with all the arerages whiche are no small some. Also he will release his whole title and right, which he hath to the Duchie of Millayne, his very enheritaunce, and he neuer to chalenge or claime thesame nor his posteritie. Also where the Countie of Flaunders maie lawfully appeale to the Parliametes of Fraunce, from iudgementes geuen by the Emperour or his Iustices, he is content to release thesame superioritie and resorte, which is a greate minishment to the pierogative royall of the Realme of Fraunce, for whiche of you (said the Cardinaal) would conceit that the kyng should release his Seigniorie or superioritie of Wales, Irelande, or Cornewall, I dare saie you would rather spende your lues and goodes.

Farther where the Frenche Kyng bought of the Kyng the Citce of Tournay, for sixe hundred thousande Crownes and odde, yet he is content to yelde and release thesame Citce to the Emperoure for euer, yea; and beside this he offereth to take to wife, Ehanor Quene Dowager of Portyngall, without any dower, yea, in hei kittell, & to endowe her with tenne thousande Markes sterlyng by the yere, and farther that the child if it be a male, whiche shalbee gotten of them two, shalbee Duke of Burgoyne, and be partetaker of all the honours of Fraunce, whiche is a greate thyng. Also that the Dolphyu his sonne and heire, shall mary the daughter of thesaid Lady Ehanor, without any treasure to bee receiued for thesame, whiche proffer is worthe two hundred thousand Markes sterlyng.

Farther more, he woll lende the Emperour Shippes and Manners, to conuergh hym to Roine, and also defende him against all menne, yea, what woll he doo more, although the Kyng of Nauerr haue married his awne sister, whose Kyngdome the Emperour kepeth by force, yet he offereth neither to ayde nor comforte hym against the Emperoure, but in his querel to be fagaint him. Also he offereth to forsake his old and approued frendes, Sir Robert de la Marche, and the Duke of Gelders, whiche faithfully hath serued the realme of Fraunce, and all for the Emperours sake. But the Emperoure saied he, is so indurate, so vnkynde and wilfull, that he neither regardes these reasonable requestes, nor yet the Kynges praiers nor requestes, but answered and saied that if the Frenche kyng can dooe all this, he shall haue his children. So that the Emperour woll truste no manne, but euery manne must truste hym. Yet the French Kyng offereth farther, to withdrawe the puyssaunt armye of the Lorde Lawtrecke in Italy, and yet thesame passeth prosperously forwarde, and is like to doo  
the



the Emperour more disauantage, then I will now reherse: but the Emperour is so proude, and his people so cruell, that he nothyng regardeth these offers for what a crueltie was this, to pull doune Goddes Vicar of Rome, and persecute the holy fathers by extreme tyranny, violated the holy Sacrament, and threwe the hostes doune on the aultar, and like robbers toke the Pixe and farther in the Church, they violated Virgins, and stupred matrones, and dispoyled the holy Reliques of the citee of Roine. And like as the Kyng in huntyng tyme hath slayn in C. dere, and the garbage and paunches bee cast round about, in every quarter of the Parke, so (saied the Cardinal) every strete laye full of the priue members and genitures of the Cardinales and holy prelates. the whole history were to abhominable to tell. Yet notwithstanding all these offers mocioned, and nothyng regarding this detestable tyranny, the whiche every good Christen man abhoireth, he will eucline to no reason, I am sure that I could shewe you. xx. articles of promises, which he hath broken with the Kyng so that I assure you, he kepeth no promise with our souereigne lorde, also *contra ius Gentium*, whiche I am sure the greate Turke would not dooe, he kepeth prisoner the kynges Ambassador Doctor Lee, the French Ambassador, and the Ambassadors of Venice and for asmuche as the Emperour refuseth these offers, which amount to eight kynges ransomes, I trust by this warre we shall bidle hym, and bryng him to peace, and this occasiō of warre, I would all you should declare in your country.

The mur-  
mur of the  
pepple

When the Cardinal had saied, some knocked other on the elbow, and said softly he lieth, other said, that euil wil said neuer wel, other said that the French crounes, made him speake euill of the emperor, but thei that knewe all that you haue hard before saied, that it was shame for hym to lie in suche an audience. The common people much lamented, that war should arise betwene the Kyng and the emperor, and especiall their consideration was, because the Emperours dominions, had holpen them with corne, and releued them with grain, whē thei could haue no corne, or litle out of Fraunce. And in this rumour wer diuerse ships come out of Flaunders and that parties, laden with Heryng, Sturgeon, & all other victale necessary beside eight fane shippes, whiche wer laden with corne, all thesaied shippes, and all the shippes of Spain, wer staid and arrested, and their sailes taken from them, and put in safe custodie. This doying was much talked of by Merchantes, whiche frequented the Emperours dominions, for thei knewe and openly saied, that the let of the entercourse of Merchantes, should turne to the greate losse of the Princes, but yet Englishemen were content, to obeye their kyng and his counsaill.

Shippes ar-  
rested

The declaracion of warre in Englande against the Emperoure, and the restraint of Shippes of the Emperoures Subiectes, were shortly known to the Lady Margaret daughter of Sauioy, and aunte to the Emperour, which was gouernor of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland and of all the Lowe Countreys. wherefore she by the avice of the Emperoures Counsaill to her associate, caused all the Englishemen and then goodes and Shippes to be restrained, and thei and their goodes were put in safe keepyng. Thus the poore Merchantes suffered greate losse, for the doynges of their Princes, as Horace saeth. *Quicquid delirant Reges, plebsuntur acturi* whatsoever kynges do, the Commons be punished. Now after this sodain stoime whiche the Cardinall had moued openly against the Emperour, for euil entreating of the kynges Ambassador, he had perfect knowledge that the Emperour, bothe did the kynges Ambassador greate honour, and also that he neuer restrained hym from his libertie, wherupon he caused the Emperours Ambassador, which before was restrained of his libertie, to be sent to his awne lodgyng again, and saied that by the repoit made by the French Ambassadors, he hym restrayned, and now sithe he knewe the truthe, he mocioned the Kyng for his deliuerance.

The Emperours Ambassador, called Don Hugo de Mendosa, dissimuled the matter by apparant signes and the Cardinall the more to auoyde suspicion on his behalfe, towarde all the worlde, saied. the kyng was enforced by the French Ambassadors, that the Ambassadors of bothe Princes were put in prison, and farther he saied that Clarenceaux had made the defiance of the Emperoure without the kynges commaundement, but only did it by the mocion of the French Ambassadors, to accompaigie the French Heirault, and for this presumptuous,

presumptuous act, he should suffre death at Calice at his returne: all these excuses the Cardinall shewed to the Emperours Ambassador, which certified the Emperour of euery poynt, and sent the letter by poste into Spain, which letters were opened & copied, by the capitaine of Bayon, as the poste passed that waie. And when Clarenceaux returned homeward out of Spain, the Capitaine gently shewed to hym the copie of the letters, that the Emperours Ambassadeur had written. Thynke you not but Clarenceaux was dismayed, to here his daies so shorte: yet he trustyng in his truth, and grace of his Prince, passed forward and came to Bullein, where he hard worde again of the danger that he was in, wherefore like a wise man he lefte Calice, and tooke a Ship at Bullein, and landed at Rye, and came secretly to Hampton Court, where the kyng laie, and by frendship of sir Nicholas Carew, one of the kynges priue chamber, he was brought to the kynges presēce, or the Cardinall wist of his returne, and to hym shewed the three Letters, whiche the Cardinall had sent to hym, charging hym to make the defiaunce, or he did intimate the war. He declared farther, that neither the Ambassadors of the kyng, nor the Frenche kyng nor he wei neuer sequestered from libertie, but gently entertained, and to the kyng he shewed a chayne, to the value of seven hundred Ducates, whiche the Emperoure had geuen hym, and shewed also the copie of the Emperours Ambassadors letters, whiche he had at Bayon. When the kyng had heard all the circumstance of his declaracion, he mused a great while, and said. O Lorde Iesu, he that I trusted moste, tolde me all these thynges contrary, well Clarenceaux I will be no more of so light credence hereafter, for now I see perfectly, that I am made to beleue the thyng that was neuer doen.

Clarenceaux  
made a  
fear

The wise  
saying of  
kyng

Then the Kyng sent for the Cardinall, and priuily talked with hym, but whatsoeuer he said to hym, the Cardinall was not very mery, and after that tyme, the Kyng mistruſted hym euer after. When the Kyng and his Counsaill, had well digested the Emperours answere, and his gentle demeanor toward the kynges Ambassadors, and also had pondered that the lowe countreys of the Emperour, wer glad to please the kyng of Englande and his Subiectes: wherefore the kyng commaunded, to sir Ihon Stile knight, to discharge all the Duchemen and their Shippes, and deliuered their Sailes, and gaue them license to returne. Naye said the Duchinen, the Spanyardes and we be the Emperours Subiectes, why should not thei be also discharged? sir Ihon Stile answered the, that his Commission was onely to discharge them. The Duchinen fearyng that the Frenchemen, would take the seas before the, and so to stop the, departed hastily, cuſſyng the Cardinall as aucthor of this war.

When the Lady Margaret heard tell, howe the Duchie nacion with their Shippes and goodes were released, and not the Spanyardes, she sent for the Englishe Merchautes, and to them said: Sirs, sithe the Kyng your Master, hath deliuered onely the Duchie men, and not the Spanyardes, we relesse your bodies free, to go at your libertie, but your goodes shall remain, till we knowe what shal become of the Spanyardes, and when they be deliuered, come for your goodes, and you shall haue them deliuered, thus the Englishemen departed, and came to the kyng and declared to hym and his counsaill, how thei were entreated.

This warr with the Emperour was displeasing, both to Merchantes and Clothiers, for the Merchautes durste not auenture into Spaine, sithe Aprill last past, and now was come the xi. daie of March, wherefore all biode Clothes, Kerseis & Cottons, laye on their handes. In somuch as when the Clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wiltshire, Suffolke, & other shires which vse Clothmaking, brought clothes into Blackewell hall of London, to be sold as thei wold to do: fewe Merchantes or none bought any cloth at all. When the Clothiers lacked sale, then thei put fro them their spinners, carders, tuckers, & such other that liue by clothworking, which caused the people greatly to murmur, and specially in Suffolke, for if the Duke of Norfolk had not wisely appeased them, no doubt but thei had fallen to some riotous act. When the kynges counsaill was aduertised of this inconuenience, the Cardinall sent for a greates number of the Merchantes of London, and to them said: Sirs the kyng is informed, that you vse not your selves like Merchantes, but like Crisiers and artificers. for

Complaynte  
of the Clothiers.



where the Clothiers do daily bryng clothes, to your market for your ease, to their greate cost, and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulnes will not bye them, as you haue been accustomed to do what maner of men be you saied the Cardinall? I tel you that the kyng straighly commaundeth you to bye their Clothes, as before tyme you haue been accustomed to do, vpon pain of his high displeasure.

The Merchantes answered, my lord you knowe well, that we haue had no trade outward this twelue monethes past, and we haue so many clothes in our handes, that we knowe not how to vtter them, therefore it were greate losse to vs to bye any more: wherefore we trust you will not moue vs to bye the thyng, whiche we cannot vtter, for in all places our vent is stopped and forbidden. Well saied the Cardinal, if you will not bye the clothes at Blackewell hall, they shall be brought to the White Hall at Westminster, and so you of London shall lose the libertie, and the kyng shall bye them all, and sell them to Merchant strangers. Then answered a wise Merchant, my lorde, the kyng maie bye them aswell at Blackewell hall, if it please him, and the strangers will gladlyer receiue them there, then at Westminster. You shall not ordre that matter, saied the Cardinall, and first I will sende into London, to knowe what Clothes you haue in your handes, and that doen the kyng and his counsaill shall appoynt who shall bye the Clothes I warrant you, with this answer the Londoners departed.

When the Clothiers hard that the Cardinall toke their part, they waxed proude, and spake euill of the Merchantes, and when the Merchâtes came to bye Clothes, the Clothiers set them hire, then they were accustomed to be solde: but at length they were fain, bothe to abate the price, and also to seke of the Merchant men, for all the Cardinales sayng.

If this warre was displeasaunt to many in Englande (as you haue hard) surely it was as much or more displeasunt, to the tounes and people of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, and Zelande, and in especiall to the tounes Andwarpe and Barrow, where the Martes wer kept, and where the resorte of Englishmen was, for they saied that their Martes were vndoed, if the Englishmen came not there, and if there were no Martes, their Shippes, Hoyes, and Waggones might rest, and all artificers, Hostes, and Brokers might slepe, and so the people should fal into miserie and pouertie, of these thynges daily complaints were made to the lady Margaret, and the Emperors counsaill, whiche wisely pondered the complaints, and after long consultation had, they appoynted certain Ambassadors to go to the kyng of Englad, and to entreate for a truce, or abstinence of warre, which Ambassadors came into Englad, and associated themselves with Don Hugo de Mendosa, Ambassadoure there for the Emperor: the one Ambassador was Prouost of Cassell, and the other Master Ihon Lay souereigne of Flaunders these iii Ambassadors came to the kyng, the. xxix. day of Marche to Richemond, & after reuerence doen, the lord Hugo de Mēdosa said to the kyng,

The sayng  
of Hugo de  
Mendosa.

sir themperours Maiestie so much knowlegeth hymself bound to your grace, for manifolde kynde actes and beneuolences, doen and shewed to hym sith his tendre age, that he in no wise wold take the defiaunce, dooen by your Herault as a paremptory intimacion of warre, till he had heard farther of your pleasure, and therefore his counsaill hath sent hether these two noble persones and me, to knowe your determinate answer, and final resolution in that behalfe. The Kyng after a good auisement had, answered and saied. Of warre I am nothing ioyfull, and of warre I am lesse fearefull. I thanke God I haue no cause to care for warre, for I haue bothe men and money, and all thyng ready prepared for thesame, (whiche thynges I knowe y other princes lacke, for all their high wordes) and therefore to that question of warre, I could sone agre, but or I make you a determinate answer, some part of my mynd I will declare to you, and I tell you although your Master be a greate Emperor, and a mightie Prince, I cannot nor maie not suffre hym, to bere doune & destroye the realme of Fraunce, whiche is our true inheritance, and for the whiche our brother and alie the French kyng, payeth vs yerely a great pencion and tribute, wherfore we of Iustice and equitie, muste maintein that lande, out of whiche we haue so faire a rent and suche a profite.

The Kynges  
answer.

Then

Then said the Prouost of Cassell, yea sir, and it please you to call to your remembraunce the olde and aunccient loue and familiaritie, whiche hath been betwene your Realme, and the houses of Burgoyne and Flaunders, and the lowe countreys, I assure you the people of all those cōtreis will liue and dye with you, aboue all men next their souereigne Lord, wherfore moste noble Prince neuer concent, that olde loue that hath so long continued, be now broken and seperated: we saie this for no feare, for we be well furnished for war, both of men and strong castles, all whiche before this tyme hath been at your cōmaundement, and therfore the loue that we haue euer borne you, we continue & offer you nowe to continue: and where we offre you choyse of war or peace, at your pleasure, surely the Emperour meaneth that for your honor, as though you should commande which you would and if you chose warre, we haue commission to entreate for peace, and you chose peace, we haue like commission to thanke you, and to offie vs and ours at your cōmaundement. Then said the Lorde Hugo de Mendosa to the kyng, sir of very right the Emperour and his countreys, ought to haue your loue and fauor, before the French kyng and his nacion. for the Frenchmen in the tyme of their affliction, made humble sutes and requestes to your grace, which thei neuer would do in the tyme of their prosperitie, but the Emperoure hath euer continued one man at all tymes, wherfore he is better to be trusted, then they whiche neuer wer long true to you. Wel said the kyng with I haue well perceued the intent of your comyng, I woll be aused, and then I will make you an aused answer, and in the meane season I am content, that there be an abstinence of warre for a tyme, so the Ambassadors departed for a season, and the Prouost of Casselles, departed to the lady Margaret with this answer.

The sayng  
of Hugo de  
Mendosa.

After this the kyng which was wise, well learned, and a farre castyng prince, consulted with his counsaill of this matter, and there after long debatyng it was considered, that the kyng was riche, strong, and puyssant inough to make warre with any prince Christen, and that no prince could hurte hym by warre or muason, therefore some thought it best to haue warre, but the kyng & the wiser sort cōsidered that if he had war with the Emperour, that his marchauntes should lese muche, and if thei lost, the clothyers and the clothworkers, of which were a great multitude should lese and be brought to extreme pouertie. For it was considered that the Emperour was lord of all Spaine, Naples, Sardinia & so southward to Epuskia, and likewise northward from Grauelyn to Rye and Reuell, so that Englishe marchauntes passyng on those costes were euer in daunger. Also no Alarme could come into England but through his dominions, by reason wherof cloth making should decay. Wherfore the kyng considered if the marchauntes lost, the porer sorte should lese, and at length he should lese in his customes. Wherfore leauyng the glorie of warre he tooke mercy on his subiectes and concluded to take a peace for a tyme till farther cōmunicacion might be had betwene his cōsaill and the Emperors. And vpo this point letters wer sent into Spayne, Fraunce, and Flaunders, and so this matter continued vndetermined till answers were brought from outward partes.

In this season the bishop of Bayon whiche afterwarde was bishop & Cardinal of Paris beyng ambassador from the French kyng & sooriyng in Lōdon, hard tell how the Emperors ambassadors made much suite to the kyng and his counsaill, where he came to ſ court and desired to speake with the kyng and so was brought to the kynges presence, to whom he sayd. pleaseth your highnes to consider the great and high peace that is cōcluded betwene you and your louyng brother and perpetual alye the French kyng my master, whiche is ratified and confirmed by the thre estates of the realme of Fraunce, by ſ whiche you haue yerely xx. M. pound sterlyng, whiche realme you haue promised to defende against all persones. Now in shewyng your loue that you beare to the Frenche kyng & his subiectes. If you would make sharpe warre on the Emperors subiectes, I assure you the whole realme of Fraunce would take it so thankfully that it should neuer be forgotten. Well said the kyng, as touchyng the league and amitie betwene my brother of Fraunce and me it shalbe immediately kept for me but sir to enter into warre it nedeth no counsaill, but how to end warre

The suite of  
the Frenche  
Ambassadors

The kynges  
answer.



with honor & profite men must nedes study. As touchyng þe defence of the realme of Fraunce I assure you it shalbe defended to my power though it be to my losse, and my studye is no lesse to haue a peace whiche might be honorable to your master then to myne owne self. With whiche saying the Ambassador held him well contented. So that you may perceiue that the great pencion and profite that the kyng of England had out of Fraunce with the great league and amitie concluded and sworne, was the very cause why the kyng of England so much helde with the French kyng & not for mere loue. For this matter was daily great counsailes, and one day themperours ambassador was present, another day the French kings ambassador was present, but the Cardinal was euer on the French part. So thus continued this daily counsels with great study.

In the same season a Fienche Crayer of. xxx. tonne manned with xxxviij. Frenchemen laye at Margate to wayte for a pray of some Flemyng that should come out of the ryuer of Thames, and by chaunce a Crayer of Armeu which was appoynted to waite the fisher botes betwene Grauelyn and Ost end, was come by North of Goodwyn sides to Northsand head and so came to Grauesend and toke in bread. This Crayer was of xxviii tonne and had in her xiiii. Flemynges: When she was vitayled she made to the sea warde, and sodainly he espyed the Frenchmen whiche hoked vnder a saile. The Flemynges mistrusted and incontinent put them selves in a readynes and came so nye that he layled the Frenchman, the Frenchman shot a piece of ordinaunce and with that layde the Flemyng aborde, there was sore fightyng, for the Frenchmen had crosbowes and the Flemynges had handgunnes. The Frenchman fell of & would haue been gone, that seying the Flemyng whysteled and after the Frenchman made sayle. Now the wynde was so straynable East that the Frenchman could sayle no whither but into the Thames, and so he did and the Flemyng folowed, and before Grauesend the Flemyng borded the Frenchman and there they fought again, but away againe went the Frenchman and the Flemyng after w<sup>th</sup> all his sayles, and so faire sayled the Frenchman that he rane along the Tower wharffe as though he would haue reuen his shippe, the Flemyng set on and entered the shippe for any thyng the Frenchman could do and cryed I haue takē the thefe. Sir Edmond Walsynghā Leutenant of the Tower was on the wharffe & saw them fight, called his men and entered the shippes and toke both the capitaines and their men. The Fleming boldly chalenged his prise, for he sayd that open warre was betwene Fraunce and Flaunders, and sayd farther that the Frenchman was a puate. The kynges counsaile tooke vp the matter and made an ende betwene them. This chaunce was much talked of that two shippes should sayle in chase from Margate to the Tower wharffe, because þe before time such a like thing had neuer been had.

Now let vs returne to the lorde Lawtrick whiche had gotten many townes in Italy, and had with his great army besieged the cite of Naples and so it happened that the prince of Orenge & other capitaines þe xix. day of April set on a great part of the French army and notwithstanding their hardynes the Emperours army obtained the victorie, so that from that tyme forth the Frenchmen lost, what by pestilence whiche then was great in Italy, and what by sodain skyrmyshes.

This yere the xxii. day of February the kyng created at Wynsor sir Pierce Buelat of Ireland, erle of Osseley.

## THE. XX. YERE.

The kyng kept the day of saint George with the companions of the order of the Garter with great solempnitie at his Manor of Rychemond, where to him came tidynges from the army of the lorde Lawtrick in Italy, which letters shewed that the lorde Lawtrick had sent the lorde Peter de Nauarro the thiid day of Marche last past to a great toun called Melfe with x. M. Frenchmen, & within the toun were viii. C. Spaniards good men of warre, the lord Peter de Nauarro besieged the toun, & after gaue to the same a great assault,

A ship chased to the Tower Wharffe.

saut, but y<sup>e</sup> Spaniardes so defended them with ordinaunce & resistences that they slew v. or vi. M. Frenchemen and caused them to retere. The lorde Lautrick hearyng this came in person with a great nombre to the toune of Smel & merueilously bet the toune with ordinaunce and then gaue to it a great and fiersse assault, and so sore that the Spaniardes were put back, yet they defended them, so that it was meruail to beholde, for they slewe and destroyed iii. M. Frenchmen. The Frenche armye entered the toune on all sides, and yet the Spanyardes kept y<sup>e</sup> market with their ordinaunce as long as they might, but at the last boyng-oppressed with multitude they all were slaine without meicy, so cruel were the Frenchmen. In this toune was taken the priuce of Melff a noble man pertainyng to the Emperoi. Thus was the toune of Melffe taken and spoyled, not greatly to the Frencheinennes profite, for they lost almost x. M. men whiche sore diminished their power.

Although that this season was an abstinence of war taken betwene the kyng of England & the ladye Margaret so that the dutche nacion might safely come & go into England, and y<sup>e</sup> Englishmen might safely repaire thither, yet betwene the Frenchmen and y<sup>e</sup> Flemynges was hot warie on the frontiers, and many a prisoner was taken, and many men slain, and likewise the one part toke the other on the seas, and sometime the Frenchmen would spoyle Englishe shippes, sayng that they had Flemynges goodes or Spaniardes goodes, and likewise the Flemynges would enter the Englishe shippes, and say they had Frenchemens goodes, so the Englishmen lost till the king sent shippes to kepe y<sup>e</sup> sea. But for a tieweth the Spanyardes were strong on the sea, and to the Frenchmen did muche haime. The kyng perceiuyng that there was nothing cōcluded betwene thempor & him, thought not to be behynd hand, wherfore he ordained that the lord Sādes should passe to Guisnes with a M. souldiers that was v. C. archers and v. C. horsemen, and that the duke of Suffolke should passe ouer after with a great army to inuade Flaunders. These lordes made much preparation & mustered their men at y<sup>e</sup> Mantels beside saint Ihones & was redy to depart, but the Emperours ambassador & thambassador of Flaunders so much did with the kyng & his cōsail (& the Frenche kyng also assēted) that truce was taken betwene England, Flaunders, & the countreys of Picardy on this side the water of Some for viii. monethes, the peace to begin y<sup>e</sup> first day of May, and to endure to y<sup>e</sup> last day of February. This peace was proclaymed in Lodon the xix. day of Iune, so y<sup>e</sup> now all Englishmen might lawfully passe into the low countreys but not into Spain, which sore grieved marchauntes that haunted that parties. In y<sup>e</sup> same proclamacion was farther contained, that if a final peace wer not fully agreed betwene the sayd iii. princes within y<sup>e</sup> sayd viii. monethes, that then all marchaūtes should haue two monethes after to passe into their owne countreys with their wares and marchaundises in safetie. The Emperoi sone enclined to this peace, for he saw that by y<sup>e</sup> Marte many of his frendes in high Dutchland and other places toke great profite and especially his owne low cōtreys, wherfore he thought not to hurt his frendes for the displeasure he bare to his enemyes of Fraunce, and also to shew himselfe louyng to the king of England he was content to take this peace.

In this season the duke Charles of Gelders perceiuyng y<sup>e</sup> Emperoi was at war with Fraunce, raised a great power of horsemen & came to a great toune of Holland called the Hage where the lawe and iustice is kept for that countrey, by reason wherof the towne was very riche, and sodainly he entred the toune without resistance and spoiled and robbed the toune and slew diuers persones and with much riches laded their wagons and so departed and caryed with him diuers rich prisoners. The lady Margaret gouernesse of the low countreys hearing of this raised a great power vnder the conduct of the lord Isylsteinge, which lord with a great puissance entered Gelderland and gat the toune of Hatton, the castle of Howtyng, and forsaied and destroyed the cōtreys lastly on Whitsunday beyng the last day of Maye the Gelders gaue battel to the lord Isylsteinge and fought valiauntly as any men could do, but yet by fortune of warre they were ouercome and fled & wer chased a great way and many slaine. This chaunce was while the treatie of peace was in England.



The sweat-  
yng sicknes.

In the very ende of May began in the cite of London the sickenes called the sweating sickenes, and afterward went all the realme almost of the which many died within v. or vi. houres. By reason of this sicknes the terme was adorned and the circutes of Assise also. The king was sore troubled with this plague, for diuers dyed in the court, of whō one was sir Fraunces Poynes which was Ambassador in Spayne, & other, so that the kyng for a space remoued almost euery day, till at the last he came to Tytynhanger a place of the abbot of saint Albones, & there he w a few determined to byde the chaunce that God would send him, whiche place was so puiged daily with fyers and other preseruatiues, that neither he nor the quene nor none of their company was enfectod of y disease, such was the pleasure of God. In this great plague dyed sir Wyllyam Compton knight & William Cary esquier whiche wer of the kynges priuy chamber, and whom the kyng highly fauored and many other worshipful men and women in England.

By reason of this plague the watches whiche were wont to be kept yerely in Lōdon on saint Ibons euen at Mydsommei and saint Peters eue were by the kyng and his counsail commaunded to be left for that yere, wherfore the Armoiers made great suite to the kyng and declared their great hynderaunce, whiche was not so muche considered as the mischief that might haue ensued if that so great a nomber should haue assembled together in that hote tyme & the plague of sweating raynyng. Now let vs leaue England all this Sommer season troubled & vexed with this sweating sicknes, and let vs returne to the affayres of Italy.

The Emperor which knew how the lord Lawtrick was in Italy w a great army, thought it not for his profite to leaue his army theie vsuccored, wherfore he sent y lorde Henry the yonger duke of Brūswyke with a great cōpany of Almaynes both on fote and horsebacke. Wherfore the Venicians set Fraunces duke of Orbyne to kepe the straytes and to stoppe him the passage. But when he heard of the puissaunce of the duke of Brūswyke and the great municions & prouisions of warie that the Almaynes brought, he turned his iorney, and by aduise of the Venicians determined to fortifie the tounes & to defende them against the Almaynes, and so the duke of Brūswyke with his armye passed the mountaines and entered Italy burnyng, rasyng & raunsomyng tounes as he passed, and euer he marched toward Myllain, wherof hearyng the Mylleners whiche were brought to extreme pouertie by these waies, beganne to lament and waile for the great tyranny that they iudged to solowe whiche folowed in dede. For when the Almaines came to Myllain and demaunded money of the Citezens, they that had nothyng to paye, were tyed in chaynes and kept miserably in prison tyll they had made some prouision for the payment, whiche caused the Citezens to flec out of the cite and to leaue it in maner desolate; whiche thyng Anthony de Leua perceiuyng moued with great compassion for the desolacion of the cite called the Citezens together and promised them that if they would paye the wages of the souldiers for xx. dayes onely, he would cause all the whole army to remoue out of the cite, the poole citezens made shyft and payed the souldiers, and so they all departed frō Myllayne and came to the cite of Pauye and tooke it with litle labor and after that tooke diuers other tounes.

Anthony de Leua knewe well the Duke of Brunswyke would in the spryng of the yere set forward toward Naples to ayde the Emperors armye against the lorde Lawtrick, therefore he desired the Duke that or he passed out of the duchye of Myllayne, he would put all the Frenchemen out of suche fortresses as they kept, whiche thyng he sayd might be easely done consideryng the great puissaunce of the Almaynes and the debilitie and lacke of power of the duke of Myllayne, and in especiall consideryng that the Venicians kept their tounes and would not ayde the Frenche parte, to the whiche persuasions the Duke agreed and went toward the cite of Lawde to the which thei gaue the assault, but they within so well defended it that the Almaynes lost more then they wanne, wherfore the duke determined to famishe them within for he knewe by their great nomber that their vitale must nedes fayle and so it did in dede, so that no creature but men of war had any vitale and therefore the

the poore Citezens were compelled either to go into the hādes of their enemies or to dye for fainyn.

In this season was through all Italy a vniuersal warre, samyn and pestilence or a moreyn wherof the people died in euery place, & in especially in the Dukes armye whiche caused the moste part of the Almaynes to returne into their countrey, wherfore the duke wisely considered the chaūce and saw that his army was greatly minished by death, and saw farther that for lacke of vitale and money he was not able to conuey the remnaunt of his armye to Naples, by the aduise of Anthony de Leua concluded to returne and so shortly after in good order returned and lost more by the pestilence then by his enemies

The Frenche kyng was aduertised by the lorde Lawtrick how his people decayed sore before Naples, and how the Duke of Brunswyke was commyng to raise the siege & reskue the cite, wherfore the French kyng sent lorde Fraunces erle saint Poul brother to the duke of Vandosme with. viii. M. men to folowe the duke of Brūswyke to Naples, and if he went not to Naples, then he should ioyne himselfe with Fraūces Storcia duke of Myllayne and the Venicians and so to expel Anthony de Leua and all the Emperors souldiers out of Lombardy.

The Spaniardes within Naples were aduertised that new succors were commyng to the Frenchmen, wherfore they determined to fight with them or their new ayde came, and so one day they issued out of the cite and fought with the Frenchemen and slewe many of them, but by force they were compelled to returne. The lorde Lawtrick knew well that the cite could not hold long for lacke of vitale (for a suertie if vitale had not come by sea, the toun had been yelded) wherfore the lord Lawtrick suffered his armye to lye still in the plaine felde all the heate of the Sommer and brought them not to the shadow, by reason wherof there fell suche a disease amongst his armye that they dyed daily in great number and he himselfe fell sicke and lefte the armye and lay at Verse, of the whiche mortalitie there dyed in the Frenche campe aboute xxiii. M. men besyde the moste part of all their horses and beastes, of whiche number as diuers wryters do agree there dyed aboute v. M. gentlemen, amongst whom there dyed the lorde Vandemont brother to Anthony duke of Lorraine, the lorde of Grauntmount, the capitaine Molyac, the lorde Lauall of the Dolphenye, the capitaine Luper, the lorde Charles Vyuone lorde of Chataygneray sonne to the lorde Andrewe of Vyuone Seneschal of Poytew, and many other noblemen of name.

Duryng whiche plague the toun of Cappe (whiche moste of all the tounes in the realme of Naples helde on the Frenche part) became imperiall and turned to the Emperors part. Whereof hearyng the lorde Lawtrick made therfore great sorowe, and beyng somewhat amended of his disease, tooke his horse and came to visite the Campe, and when he saw his number so minished and his Campe so desolate of people that he perceived that his enterprise could not be performed, he fell into suche a malencoly & his sickenes toke him more feruētly then before, so that within two daies after, which was the xxi. day of August he died at \_\_\_\_\_ and his body was sered and conueyed after into Fraunce.

The Marques of Saluco whiche was Liuetenaunt vnder the lord Lawtrick called to counsel the Erle Guy of Rancon and Peter de Nauar and other capitaines that wei left, and after long consultacion they considered their number to be too small either to kepe the siege or to abide battel, for they passed not v. M. in all. Wherfore they concluded to leue the siege and to returne, and so the xxv. daye of August they brake vp their Campe and returned toward Fraūce, in whiche returne the Spaniardes euer costed them, and when they tooke any Frenchemen at aduantage, they either slewe or tooke them. Thus was the ende of this journey by reason of the great mortalitie, whiche if it had not happened, the cite and the whole realme of Naples had been recovered. For the cite of Naples could not haue holden x. dayes, after the army removed as they confessed after.

The Erle of saint Poul (whiche was appointed to passe into Italye as you haue heard before) knew nothyng of the mortalitie at Naples. Wherfore with all spede he passed the mountaines the same season that the duke of Brūswyke returned & came into the duchy of Myllain



Anthony de  
Leua enco-  
rages his  
souldiers.

ACcommodo.

Myllain and tooke certaine fortresses which the Emperors power had wonne, and after that the aydes of the Venicians and duke Fraunces Sforcias were ioyned with him, he besieged the cite of Panye and within a fewe dayes the cite was taken by force and the walles beaten doune to the ground for dispite that the Frenche kyng was taken before the toun. These doynges were not so muche pleasaunt to the Frenche kyng as the losse of the cite of Geane was to him displeasaunt. For the same season Andrew Dorye whiche was all the doer for the Frenche kyng on the sea, & had before tyme in the Frenche kynges quarel vanquished the lord Hugo Viceroy of Naples, & had taken f Marques of Gnasto & Ascayne de Columna & othei capitaines belonging to the Emperor, whiche prisoners the Frenche kyng comaunded him to deliuer into his hādes, which thing Andrew Dory thought not reasonable, cōsidering that he tooke him, and for that cause and because his wages was not payed, he tooke his Galeys and sayled to Geane where he was borne and also was there of great authoritie and estimacion, and there he so perswaded the people that they became imperial and tooke Tienulsius the Frenche kynges frende and put him in warde, and prepared to defende the cite against the Frenche kynges power, whereof hearyng the Erle of saint Poule sent in al hast his light horsemen to succor the cite but or they came the citezens wer so fuisished that the Frenchmen had no hope of recouery, wherfore they returned to Alexādry, and there thei counsaied together how to take the cite of Myllayne which was sore desolate of people and brought to great mischiese by the crueltie of Spaniardes and Almaines, but when they heard tel that the Emperor had sent in M Spaniardes to ayde Anthony de Leua, they chaunged their purpose and determined to recouer the cite of Geane againe. For which purpose the erle left the Venicians at Casyan, and the power of duke Fraunces Sforcie he left at Panye to kepe the passages that the Spaniardes should not stia farie abrode, and also to kepe the passages that no vitayle should come to f Spaniardes whiche at that tyme had onely the cite and castle of Myllain and none othei fortresse to resorte to. And therle himselfe lay at a village called Landryan, and for the more spede of his enterpryse he sent his forward with all his artillery before toward Geane, hauiyng with him his middle warde and rereuarde. Of all these doynges Anthony de Leua hying at Myllayn by his espyals was truly from tyme to tyme aduertised, wherfore he like a polletike capitaine considered how the erle had done folishly to sende his ordinaunce and forward before, he therfore determined to take the auauntage of the Frenchemen if he might, and so called to him all his capitaines and to them sayd. Felowes in armes and souldiors to the Emperor our master, see and considr what a great occasion of victory is offered to vs this present day, for the Venicians and the Sforcias be seuered from the Frenchemen, and theile of saint Poul with part of his army lyeth at Landryan and hath sent his forward & his ordinaūce toward Geane, wherfore we will set on him sodainly if you agree, and if we ouercome him the praise shalbe ours, and if he flye at our cōmyng yet folowyng him we shall get a great pray and botie. To this entent all the othei souldiers agreed (for they wer very nedey and glad to haue somewhat) and so he caused it to be proclaymed that all his men should be redy at an houre, and that eueye man should haue a white shyrt above his apparel that one in the darke might know another, and when eueye man was ready and the euenyng appoached, Anthony de Leua accordyng to his enterpryse set forward and was all armed and satte in a chayre carryed by iii strong persones.

When f citezens of Myllain saw him thus armed & boine in a chayre and knew wel that he had a cōnyng gout and could not styrre himself, they meruailed much of his audacite, but by f experience of other thynges by him done, they iudged that he entended some great enterpryse, but because the number of his people was so lytle they doubted the sequele of his aduventure. But for all their imaginations he with his people secretly issued out of Myllain and passed forward without any noyse, and in the mornyng sodainly set on theile of saint Poul and his army, so that the erle had no leysure to send for his ordinaunce and forward but was fayne to trust to such as were then with him. And at the fyst brunte the Almaynes fled, and the Frenche horsemen also, & with a litle fight all the other fled, and

as the Erle himselſe was ſleyng ouer a great diche on horſebacke, he with the erle Guy of Raucon and the lord Caſtillon and many other nobles and gentlemen wer taken priſoners and all their vitall, purueiaunce & artillerie wer prayes to themperors ſouldiers which much reſheſhed the After this iorney ſ French kyng had no army in Italy, wherfore Fraunces Sforcia ſeyng himſelſe deſtitute of ayde, made meanes to the Emperior by Pope Clement for the appointment both of the duchy of Myllain and alſo for his answer of certain treaſons of the which he was accuſed to the Emperior, to whom themperior answered that the next ſommer he would come into Italy to receiue his Imperial crowne, and then he would take ſuch an order as right and equitie ſhould require. This was the ende of the warres begon betwene the king of England & the French kyng on ſ one partie and the Emperior on the other partie, in the xix yere of the king as you haue heard before. For after this iorney the lady Margaret duches of Sauoy & aunt to themperior, and the lady Loyſe duches of Anguleſime and mother to the French kyng continually labored for a peace, ſo that by their meanes a treatie was appointed to be kept at Cābray in Iune folowyng as you ſhall heare after.

Now let vs returne to the kyng of England which was in a great ſcuple of his conſcience & not quiet in his mynde, becauſe that diuers diuines well learned ſecretely enformed him that he liued in aduſtry w his brothers wiſe to the great peil of his ſoule, and told him farther ſ the court of Rome could not diſpence w Gods cōmaūdement & piecept. Theſe thinges were talked among the cōmon people ſith the fyrſt day of his maniage as you haue heard before, inſomuch that now the kynges counſailors aduiſed him to know the trueth. Wherfore he like a wiſe prince for quietyng of his cōſcience called together the beſt lerned of the realme which were of ſeuerall opinions, wherfore he thought to know the trueth by indifferent iudges leſt perauenture ſ Spanyardes in fauor of ſ quene would ſay that his owne ſubiectes wer not indifferent iudges, wherfore he wrote his cauſe to Rome becauſe the beſt clerkes in Chriſtendome wer there, and alſo he ſent to al the vniuerſities of Italy and Fraunce and to the great clerkes of al chriſtendom to know their opinions, and deſired the court of Rome to ſend into his realm a legate to heare the cauſe debated whiche ſhould be indifferent and of a great iudgement At whoſe request the whole conſiſtorie of the college of Rome ſent thither Laurence Campeius a preſt Cardinal, a man of great wit & experience, but more lerned in ſ papal law then in diuinitie which was ſent as legate into England in the x yere of this king as you haue heard in the ſayd yere, & with him was ioyned in cōmiſſion ſ Cardinal of Yorke & legate of England, & ſo this Cardinal Campeius by long iorneyes came into England & much preparacion was made to receiue him triumphantly into Lōdon, but he was ſo ſore vexed with the goute that he reſuſed all ſuche ſolempnities, & deſired hartely that he might without pompe be cōueyed to his lodging for his more quiet & reſt, & ſo the ix. day of October he came from ſaint Mary Ouereys by water to the biſhop of Bathes place without Temple barre where he lodged the laſt tyme he was in England. Where he was viſited of the Cardinal of Yorke & diuers other eſtates & prelates. And after he had reſted him a ſeaſon & was ſomewhat releued of his pain, he was brought to the kynges preſence then lying at Brydewel by ſ Cardinal of yorke and was carried in a chayer of Crimoſyn veluet borne betwene iii. perſones for he was not able to ſtand, and the Cardinal of yorke and he ſat both on the right hand of the kynges throne, and there one Fraunciſco ſecretarie to Cardinal Campeius made an eloquent oraſion in the Latin tongue, in the whiche he reheſed, fyrſt with what cruelty the Emperois ſouldiers had handeled the pope, what tyranny they had ſhewed to the Cardinales and prieſtes, what ſacrilege & ſpoyle they had cōmited in ſaint Peters church, how they had violat virgins, rauiſhed mennes wyues, & in conſclusion ſpoyled, robbed & tormēted all the Romaines & inhabitantes in the cite of Romē and farther he ſhewed what frēdſhip the college of Rome found at the kynges handes & the French kinges in the tyme of that tribulacion, that if they had not ioyned together, the cite of Rome w all their gouernors had been brought to vtter ruine & decay, for ſ which he ſayd that pope Clement & al his college of cardinals & the Senators

The cardinal Campeius cōmyng to London

The oraſion.



of þe cite & al the citezens rendered to the king their hartie thākes, & promised him their loue, fauor & amitie perpetual

This oracion (as cōcerning the trouble of Rome) was set forth with such lamentacions, such abhominable actes & tyrānyes that the most part of the heareis thought it more eloquent then true. To the which Oracion doctor Fox Prouost of Cambridge made a discrete answer, & as to the fyrst point he declared that the king much lamented to heare his frendes yea or any other christen men to be ordered or hādeled with such tyrāny and oppression: and as touching the second point he sayd that the kyng did but the duetie of a christen prince to releue his frēdes beyng in captiuitie, for the which he would þe whole cite of Rome should geue thanks to God and not to him. After whiche answeire made the two legates communed secretly with the king a long space and after departed to their lodgyng.

Of the cōmyng of this Legate the common people beyng ignorant of the truth and in especial women & other that fauored the quene talked largely, & sayd that the king would for his own pleasurē haue another wife & had sent for this legate to be deuorsed frō his quene, with many folishe wordes, insomuche that whosoever spake against the mariage was of the cōmon people abhorred & reprobued, which cōmon rumour & folishe cōmunicacions wer related to þe king, wherfore he like a prudēt prince & circumspect doer in all his affaires, & willing all men to know his entent and purpose, caused all his nobilitie, Iudges & counsaillors with diuerse other persons to come to his palace of Brydewell on sonday the viii day of Nouēber at after noone in his great chamber and there to them sayd as nere as my witte could beare away these wordes folowyng

Our trustie and welbeloued subiectes both you of the nobilitie and you of the meaner sort, it is not vnknownen to you how that we, both by Goddes prouision and true & lawfull inheritance haue reigned ouer this realme of England almost the terme of xx. yeres. During whiche time we haue so ordered vs, thanked be God that no outward enemye hath oppressed you nor taken any thyng from vs, nor we haue inuaded no realme but we haue had victory & honor, so that we thinke that you nor none of your predecessors neuer liued more quietly, more wealthy, nor in more estimacion vnder any of our noble progenitors. But when we remember our mortalitie and that we must die, then we thinke that all our doynges in our life tyme are clerely defaced & worthy of no memorie if we leue you in trouble at the tyme of our death. For if our true heyre be not knownen at the tyme of our death, se what mischiefe & trouble shall succede to you and your children. The experience therof some of you haue sene after the death of our noble graundfather kyng Edward the. iii. and some haue heard what mischiet & manslaughter continues in this realme betwene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, by þe which discencion this realme was like to haue been clerely destroyed. And although it hath pleased almighty God to send vs a fayre daughter of a noble woman and me begotten to our great comfort & ioy, yet it hath been told vs by diuers great clerkes that neither she is our lawfull daughter nor her mother our lawfull wife, out that we liue together abhominably and detestably in open adultry, insomuch that when our ambassade was last in Fraunce & mocion was made that the Duke of Orleance should mary our sayd daughter, one of the chief counsaillors to the French kyng sayd, It wei well done to know whither she be the kyng of Englād his lawfull daughter or not, for well knownen it is that he begat her on his brothers wife whiche is directly against Gods law & his precept. Thinke you my lordes that these wordes touche not by body & soule, thinke you þe these doynges do not daily & hourly trouble my conscience & vex me spirites, yes we doubt not but & if it wer your owne cause euery mā would seke remedy when the peril of your soul & the losse of your inheritance is openly layde to you. For this only cause I protest before God & in the worde of a prince, I haue asked counsaill of the greatest clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this legate as a man indifferent only to know the truth and to settle my conscience and for none other cause as God can iudge. And as touching the quene, if it be adiudged by þe law of God that she is my lawfull wife, there was neuer

thyng

The answer

20

The kynges  
Oracion  
concernyng  
his first ma-  
riage

thyng more pleasaunt nor more acceptable to me in my life bothe for the discharge & cleryng of my conscience & also for the good qualities and condicions the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of the whiche she is descended (as all you know) she is a woman of moste gentlenes, of moste humilitie and buxumnes, yea and of al good qualities appertaining to nobilitie, she is without comparison, as I this xx. yeres almoste haue had the true experiment, so that if I were to mary againe if the mariage might be good I would surely chose her aboue all other women. But if it be determined by iudgement that our mariage was against Goddes law and clerely voyde, then I shall not onely sorowe the departing from so good a Lady and louyng cōpanion, but muche more lament and bewaile my infortunate chaunce that I haue so long liued in adultry to Goddes great displeasure, and haue no true heyre of my body to inherite this realme. These be the soies that vexe my mynde, these be the panges that trouble my cōscience, & for these greues I seke a remedy. Therefore I require of you all as our trust and confidencē is in you to declare to our subiectes our mynde and entent accordyng to our true meaning, and desyre them to pray with vs that the very trueth may be known for the discharge of our conscience and sauynge of our soule, and for the declaracion hereof I haue assembled you together and now you may depart.

The praise  
of the  
quene.

To see what countenaunce was made amongst the hearers of this Oration it was a straunge sight, for some sighed and sayd nothyng, other were sory to heare the kyng so troubled in his conscience. Other that fauored the quene much sorowed that this matter was now opened, and so euery man spake as his heart serued him, but the kyng euē labored to know the trueth for discharge of his conscience,

Shortly after this the two Legates came to the quene at the same place of Brydewell, and declared to her how they were deputed iudges indifferent betwene the kyng and her to heare and determyne whether the mariage betwene them stode with Goddes lawe or not. When she heard the cause of their cōmyng, no merueil though she were astonished for it touched her very nere. And when she had paused a while she answered: Alas my lordes is it now a question whether I be the kynges lawfull wife or no? When I haue been married to him almost xx. yeres & in the meane season neuer questiō was made before? Dyuers prelates yet beyng aloue & lordes also & priuie cōsailors with the kyng at that tyme, then adjudged our mariage lawfull and honest, and now to say it is detestible and abhominable, I thynke it greate maruell. and in especiall when I consider, what a wise prince the kynges father was, and also the loue and natural affection, that Kyng Fernando my father bare vnto me. I thynke in my self that neither of our fathers, were so vncircumspect, so vnwise, and of so small imaginacion, but they forsaue what might folowe of our mariage, and in especiall the Kyng my father, sent to the Courte of Rome, and there after long suite, with greate cost and charge obtayned a licence and dispensacion, that I beyng the one brothers wife, and perauenture carnally knowen, might without scrupull of conscience, mary with the other brother lawfully, which license vnder lead I haue yet to shew, which thynges make me to say and surely beleue, that our mariage was both lawfull, good, and Godly: But of this trouble I onely make thanke you my lorde Cardinal of Yorke, for because I haue wondered at your high pride & vainglory, and abhorre your voluptuous life, and abhominable Lechery, and hille regard your presūptuous power and tyranny. therefore of malice you haue kindled this fire, and set this matter a bioche, & in especial for the great malice, that you beare to my nephew the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he would not satisfie your ambition, and make you Pope by force, and therefore you haue saved more then once, that you would trouble hym and his frendes, and you haue kept hym true promise, for of all his warres and vexaciōs, he onely may thanke you, and as for me his poore aunte and kynswoman, what trouble you put me to, by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth. The Cardinal of Yorke excused himself, saying, that he was not the beginner, nor the mouer

The sayyng  
of the Legate

The quenes  
answere



of the doubte, & that it was sore against his will, that euer the mariage should come in question, but he said that by his superior the Bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a Iudge to heare the causz, which he swaie on his profession to heare indifferently, but whatsoever was said, she beleued hym not, and so the Legates toke their leaue of her and departed. These wordes were spoken in Frenche, and written by Cardinall Campeius secretary, which was present, and by me translated as nere as I could.

The kyng notwithstanding that his mynd was inquiet, yet he kept a good countenance toward the Quene, with as much loue, honor, and gentlenes, as could be shewed to such a Princess, but he abstained from her bed, till the truth was tried, accordyng as his Ghostly counsaill had auided hym; whiche was to hym no litle pain, for surely he loued her as well, as any Prince might loue his wife, and she him again, and therefore it was great pitie, that their mariage was not good.

He more to quicken his spirites and for recreation, the Kyng kepte his Christmas at Grenewiche, with muche solempnitie and great plentie of viandes, and thether came the two Legates, which wer receiued by twoo Dukes, and diuerse Erles, Barons and Gentlemen, to whom the kyng shewed great pleasures, bothe of Iustes, Tornay, Bankettes, Maskes and disguisynes, & on the xii. daie he made the lawfull sonne of Cardinal Campeius, boine in wedlocke, knight, and gaue hym a collar of S. S. of golde. but the Quene shewed to them no maner of countenance, and made no great ioye of nothing, her mynd was so troubled

This doying in England, was spred ouer all Christendom by letters, and in every region except Spain, and the Emperors dominions, thei adiudged the kyng a wise, a vertuous, & a prudent prince, for tryng out of the truthe, considering that the question was not onely doubtfull to learned men in Diuinitie, but vpon the vncertaintie of thesame, depended the ruine of his realme and the successiō of thesame, whiche was a waightie thing to consider, and no wisdom to let so great a doubt lye vndiscussed

After Christmas and all Lent till Easter, was none other thyng commoned of, but onely of the kynges mariage, the Archebishop of Cantorbury sent for the famous docters, of bothe the Vniuersities to Lambeth and there were euery day disputacions, and comonynges of this matter, and because the king perceiued & knewe well, that the quene was wedded to her awne opinion, and that he would that she should do nothyng without counsaill, he bad her chose the best clerkes of his realme, to be of her counsaill, and licensed them to do the best on her part that thei could accordyng to the truthe. then she elected Willyam Warhā Archbishop of Cantorbury, and Nicholas West bishop of Elie, docters of the lawes, and Ihon Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish bishop of saint Asse, docters of Diuinitie, and many other docters and well learned men, whiche for a suetie like men wel learned, defended her cause as far as learnyng might defend it, as you shall here in the yere folowyng.

This yere was sir Iames Spenser Maior of Londō, in whose tyme the watche in London en Midsomer night was laied doune.

## THE. XXI. YERE.

IN the beginning of this yere, in a greate Hall within the black Friers of London, was ordeined a solempne place for the two Legates to sit in, with two cheyers couered with cloth of gold, and cussions of thesame, and a Dormant table railed before, like a solempne Courte, all couered with Carpettes and Tapissery: on the right hand of the court was hanged a clothe of estate, with a Chayer and Cussions of riche Tissue, for the kyng, and on the left hand of the Courte was set a riche chayer for the Quene. When the place was redy, the Kyng and the Quene wer ascited by Docter Sampson, to appeere before the Legates, at the forenamed place, the twentie and eight day of May, beyng then the morow

after

The xxi.  
yere.

The Courte  
at the  
Blacke  
Friers.

after the feast of *Corpus Christi*, in proper persō, or by their Proctors. At the daie assigned, the Legates came to the forenamed place, with Crosses Pillers, Axes and all the Ceremonies belongyng to their degrees, and after that they wer set (the Cardinal of Yorke sitting on the right hand) their Commission was redde, and the cause of their comyng thether openly declared, the effect whereof was, that the Courte of Rome was instructed, that greate Clerkes and learned men, had enformed the King, that his mariage with his brothers wife, was vnlawfull, dāpnable, and directly against the Law of God, wherefore they were directed and appoynted by thesaied Courte, to be iudges in the cause, and to here what on both parties could be alleged after this was done the kyng was called by name, for whom two proctors appeered, then the Quene was called, whiche within short space, beyng accompaigned with the foure Bishoppes, and other of her counsaill, and a greate compaignie of Ladies and gentle women folowyng her, came personally before the Legates, and after her obeisance, sadly and with greate grautie done, she appeled from them as Iudges not competent for that cause, to the Court of Rome, and after that done she departed again. Notwithstādyng this appele, the Legates sat wekely, & every day were argumentes on bothe partes, and nothing els done

The Quene  
appealed

The king which onely desued, to haue an ende in this matter, for discharge of his conscience, came to the Courte the of Iune, and the Quene also, where he standyng vnder his cloth of estate, saied these wordes in effect folowyng My lordes, Legates of the Sea Appostolike, whiche be deputied Iudges, in this great and waightie matter, I most hartely beseeche you, to ponder my mynde and entent, which only is to haue a final ende, for the discharge of my cōscience for euery good christen man knoweth what pain, & what vnquietnes he suffieth, which hath his conscience greued, for I assure you on myne honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, & troubled my spirites, that I can scantely study any thyng, whiche should be profitabile for my Realme and people And for to haue a quietnes in body and soule, is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I haue marièd for I dare saie that for her womanhode, wisdom, nobilitie, and gentlenes, neuer Prince had suche another, and therefore if I would willyngly chaunge I wer not wise wherefore my suite is to you my Lordes at this tyme, to haue a spedie ende, accordyng to right, for the quietnes of my mynde and conscience onely, and for no other cause as God knoweth.

The Kynges  
Oracion

When the Kyng had saied, the Quene departed without any thyng sayyng, then she was called to know whether she would bide by her appeale, or answer there before the Legates, her Procter answered, that she would byde by her appeale, that notwithstanding, the Counsaillers on bothe sides every day almoste met, and debated this matter substancially, so that at the last the Diuines were all of opinion, that the mariage was against the Lawe of God, if she were carnally knowen, by the first brother (which thing she clerely denied) but to that was answered, that Prince Arthur her husbāde, confessed the act done, when he called for drynke earely in the mornyng, sayyng: that he had been in Spaine that night, whiche was a hote countrey, meanyng that he had carnally vsed her, farther at the tyme of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and iudged that she was with childe, and for that cause, the King was deferred from the Title and Creacion of the Prince of Wales, almoste halfe a yeare, whiche thyng could not haue been iudged, if she had not been carnally knowen.

Also she her self caused a Bull to be purchased, in the whiche were these woordes, *Vel forsā cognitam*, whiche is asmuche to say, as perauenture carnally knowen, whiche woordes were not in the first Bull graunted by Iuly at her seconde mariage to the Kyng, which seconde Bull with that clause was only purchased, to dispence with the second Matrimony, although there were carnall copulaciō before, whiche Bull neded not to haue been purchased, if there had been no carnall copulacion, for then the first Bull had been sufficient.

When the Diuines on her side, were beaten from that ground, then they fell to perswasions of Natural reason, how this should not be vndoē, for three causes: One was because if it should be broken, the onely childe of the Kyng, should be a Bastarde, whiche were

Tone

a greate



a greate mischief to the realme: Secondly, the separacion should be a cause of great vnkyndnes, betwene her kyndred and this realme. And the third cause was, that the continuance of so long space, had made the Mariage honest: These perswasions with many other, were set furthe by the Quenes Counsaill, and in especiall by the Bishop of Rochester, which stode stiffe in her cause, but yet Gods precept was not answered, wherefore they left that ground and fell to pleading, that the Court of Rome had dispensed with that Mariage: To this some Lawyers saied, that no yearthely persone is able to dispenche with the positue Lawe of God

When the Legates had heard the opinions of the Diuines, and sawe that their opinion for the moste part, was against the Matrimony, and that now the question was brought to dispute the auctoritie of the Court of Rome, they beganne a litle to quicken: For they considered that if they should saie and deteimyne, that the Court of Rome might not dispence in that case, that few menne would thynke, that they might dispence in any other case, which should be to them, a greate losse and hurt. Wherefore they dissimuled the matter, and euer told the King, that he should haue an end shortly, and tracted furthe the tyme with Oracions and Sophistical argumentes, till August began to approche: then Cardinall Campeius saied, that they might not sit after Iuly, till October, all whiche season was a vacacion in the Courte of Rome, and then Court beeyng a member of the Courte of Rome, they must nedes do thesame. this sayng was reported to the kyng which, by that sayng knewe perfectly, that he should then haue no ende, and then he complained to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other nobles of his counsaill, how he was delayed, and willed them at the next Session, to require them to make an end of the cause, and what Iudgement soeuer they gaue, he would gladly accept it, for the quietnes of his conscience.

These noble men came to the place, where the Legates sat, the. xxx. day of August, beeyng Friday, where as Cardinall Campeius, declared in eloquent Latin, and sware on his honor and faithe that he bare to the church of Rome, that the course of the courtes there be, at thende of Iuly, to suspende all causes, till the. iiii. daie of October, and if any cause be treated, and iudged in the meane season, that iudgement to be clerely voyde and thefore he required the kyng to take patience, till that time, trusting that then they should procede toward sentēce, so that he should be contented: the noble menne desired them to make an ende, whatsoever it were, that day or the next day, which was the last daie of Iuly. but they answered that they could sit no more till October, whiche answere sore displeased the noble menne, whiche the king had sent thether, in so much that Charles Duke of Suffolke, seeyng the delay, gaue a great clappe on the Table with his hande and said: by the Masse, now I see that the olde saied sawe is true, that there was neuer Legate nor Cardinall, that did good in Englande, and with that sayng all the Temporall Lordes departed to the King, leauyng the Legates sitting one lookyng on the other sore astonned, because they saw the Temporall lordes depart in anger.

You may be sure, that the king was not well content, when he hard of this delay, but yet like a wise Prince, he tooke it patiently, trustyng to haue an ende in October ensuyng. But when he heard tell, that a letter was sent for the Cardinall Campeius, that he should with spede, retourne into Italy, and that he prouided for his iorney. Then he openly perceived, that the Legates dissimuled the tyme to haue the matter in the Courte at Rome, for the maintenaunce of their auctoritie, knoweyng perfectly, that there he should bee toded furthe with argumentes so long, that he should be in maner wey, and also all that tyme, he should bee vnquiet in his conscience, which was the greatest care, that he had, but the seconde care that he tooke, was to see the Cardinall of Yorke, (whom he so highly fauoured and trusted, and whom he had so highly promoted, both to the Archbishopprie of Yorke, and the Bishopricke of Winchester, Duresme, and the Abbay of Sainte Albones, with many other greate dignities and promotions, beside the Chauncellorshippe of Englande) so vnfaithfully to dissimule with hym, and not to open the very truthe, which caused hym clerely to cast hym out of his fauor, in the which he had long been.

Whē

Whē the nobles and prelates perceued, that the kings fauor was from the Cardinal sore-minished, euery man of the Kynges Counsaill, beganne to laye to hym suche offences, as they knewe by hym, and all their accusacions were written in a boke, and all their handes set to it, to the number of thirtie and foure, which boke they presented to the kyng. When the kyng saw the boke, he marueiled not a litle, for by the Articles conteigned in thesame, he euidently perceiued the high pride and coueteousnes of the Cardinal, and saw openly with what dissimulation and clokyng, he had handeled the kynges causes. how hé with faire lying woordes, had blynded and defrauded the kyng, moste vntuly, whiche accusacions sore moued the kyng against hym, but yet he kepte it close for a time, and so the Kyng rode on his progresse with the Quene to Woodstocke. And at the feast of the Natyuite of our Lady, he came to Grafton, beside Stony Stratforde, and thether came the two Legates, and were but meanely receiued, sayung that the Kyng made to them good semblaunce, and in especiall to Cardinall Campeius, because he came into England at his request. and after dinner the said Campeius toke his leave of the kyng, and then the kyng him coueighed to the chamber dore, and there they departed, and the Cardinall of Yorke also went with his companion to Tocester, and on the morowe he came to Grafton to speake with the kyng, which was then ryding out on hunting, and sent hym woorde by Henry Norreis, that he should accompaigne Campeius to London, and when the kyng came to London, he would more cōme with hym: thus almoste dismayed the Cardinall of Yorke, returned to his companion to Tocester, and so thei came together to London, where to the Cardinal Campeius, were deliaiered greate rewardes, and so he toke his iorney toward the sea side. Where the kynges counsaill, caused his chestes & cariages to be opened to se what letters the Cardinall of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome, & there wer but a few letters found, for they were sent before in post, but in many chestes wer found, old hosen, old coates, and such vile stuffe, as no honest man would cary to haue it, which serch much displeased Capeius, and the more because his coffers wer like wise opened in Chiepe, by the rashenes of a Moile, as you heard in the tenth yere of this kyng.

Thus departed out of England in high displeasure, the craftie Cardinall Campeius, leauyng behynde him his subtle felowe, whiche after their departyng from the kyng at Grafton, neuer sawe the Kyng, nor came in his presence. This greate Session of the legates, was continued of through Christendome, and in especiall in Spain, and other the Emperors Dominions, which sore grudged that the Quene should bee diuorced from the kyng and surely the most part of the laye people of Englande which knew not the lawe of God, sore murmured at the matter, and much the more, because there was a gentle woman in the Court, called Anne Bulleyne, daughter to sir Thomas Bulleyne, Viscount Rocheforde, whom the kyng much fauoured in all honestie, and surely none otherwise, as all the world well knew after. For this cause the Quenes ladies, gentlewomen, and seruantes, largely spake & said that she so entised the kyng, and brought him in such amours, that only for her sake and occasion, he would be diuorced from his Quene, this was the foolishhe communicacion of people contrary to the truth, as you haue heard declared before.

The kyng whiche all the twentie yere paste, had been ruled by other, and in especial by the Cardinall of Yorke, began now to be a ruler & a King, yea, a Kyng of suche witte, wisdom, and policie, that the like hath not reigned ouer this Realme, as you shall playnly perceiue here after. aswell for the setting futh of true Doctryne, as also for the augmentation of his Croune. For when he perceiued, howe the Cardinales had handeled hym, and saw plainly that the lawe of God was clere, that he might not mary his brotheris wife, he thought to sende his Ambassadors to all the Vniuersities in Fraunce and Italy, to knowe their determinacions, and for that cause he sent Doctor Stokesley, and Doctor Foxe, two greate Clerkes into Fraunce, which sped as you shall hear after declared, when the matter serueth.

The king continually studyng on this matter, called a counsaill of the chief of his nobles, to begin at Westminster, the first daie of October next ensuing, and also so-

NO  
The last time the Cardinall came to the kynges presence.

ANNE BULLEYN

NO

The Kyng begynneth to rule.



*zelle*  
 rmoned a Parliamēt, to begin the third day of Nouember, then immediatly folowynge, & declared that thesame counsaill, should devise diuerse actes, necessary and nedfull to be passed at thesaid Parliament, for reformation of certain exaccions, done by the clergie to the lay people, to which counsaill and Parliament, the Cardinal was warned and somoned, whiche muche comforted hym, that he outwardly litle abashed: and so he and al the counsaill, came to the counsaill chamber at Westminster, and there diuerse daies, communed of diuerse thynges, but nothing was fully concluded, and there the Cardinall shewed hymself, much more humbler, then he was wont to be, and the lordes shewed themselves more higher and straunger, then they were wont to be, but for all that he abashed not his countenance, but came into Westminster hall with all his trayne, the first day of the Teime but none of the kynges seruantes would go before, as they were wont to do, and so he sat in the Chauncery, but not in the Starre chamber, for all the lordes and othei the kynges counsaill, were gone to Wynsore to the Kyng, where they enformed the Kyng, that all thynges that he had done almoste, by his power Legautyne, were in the case of the Premunire and prouison: and that the Cardinall had forfected, all his landes, tenementes, goodes, and catelles to the kyng: wherefore the kyng willyng to ordre him, accordyng to the ordie of his lawes, caused his attorney Cristopher Hales to sue out a Witte of Premunire against hym, in the whiche he licensed hym, to make an attorney.

The Cardinall's pride abated.

The Cardinall in the Premunire

And farther the seuentene day of Nouember, he sent the two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Seale of Englande, whiche he was loth to deliuer, if there had been any remedy, but in conclusion he deliuered it, to the two Dukes, whiche deliuered thesame to doctor Tailor Master of the Rolles, to carry it to the kyng, which so did the next day and beside this the Kyng sent sir William Fitz William knight off the Garter, and Thresorer of his house, and Doctor Stephin Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to se that no goodes should be embesiled out of his house. and farther ordeined that the Cardinall should remoue to Ashire beside Kyngston, there to tary the kynges pleasure, & to haue all thynges deliuered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pōpeous & superfluous fashion. For all his goodes wer seized to the kynges vse. Whē the seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, with many Erles, Bishoppes and Barons, came into the Starre chamber, the xix day of October, where the duke of Norffolke declared that the kynges highnes, for diuise and sondery offences, had taken frō hym his grete Seale, and deposed him of all offices, and least menne might complain for lacke of Iustice, he had appointed him & the duke of Suffolke, with the assent of the other lordes, to sit in the Starre chāber to hear and determine causes indifferently, and that of all thynges the Kynges pleasure and commaundement was, that they should kepe their handes close, from any rewardes takynge, or maintenance, and so that weke they sat in the Starre chamber and determined causes

The Cardinall's removing from Yorke place

On the date of thesame moneth, the Cardinall remoued out of his house called Yorke place, with one Crosse sayng, that he would he had neuer borne more, meaning that by his crosse, that he bare as legate whiche degre taking was his confusion, as you se openly, and so he toke his barge, and went to Putney by Water, and there toke his horse and rode to Ashe, where he remained till Lent after.

Duryng which tyme, he beyng called on for an answer in the kynges Bench, to the premunire, for geuyng benefices by preuencion, in disturbance of mens enheritaunce, and diuerse other open causes in the premunire he accordyng to the kynges licence, constituted Ihon Scute and Edmond Jenny, apprentices of the Lawe his attorneyes, which by his awne warrant signed with his hande, confessed all thynges concernyng thesaid suite, for they wcr to opē to be cloked or hidden, and so iudgement was geuen, that he should forfeit al his lādes, tenementes goodes and catelles, and should be out of the kynges proteccō, but for all that the kyng sent him a sufficient proteccion & of his gentlenes left to him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Winchester, and gaue to him plate and stuffe conueniēt for his degree, and the Bishoprike of Duresme, he gaue to docter Tunstal bishop of London, and

and the Abbey of saint Albones he gaue to the Prior of Norwiche, and to London he promoted Docter Ihon Stokesley, then Ambassador to the Vniuersities, for the kynges marriage, as you haue heard before. For all these kyndnes shewed to the Cardinall, yet he still maligned against the kyng, as you shall perceiue here after, by his vntue doynges, which brought hym to confusion.

The twenty and three day 'of Octobei, the kyng came to his Mannor of Grenewiche, and there muche consulted with his counsaill, for a mete manne to bee his Chauncellour, so that in no wise he were no manne of the Spiritualltie, and so after long debate, the Kyng resolute himself vpon sir Thomas More knight, Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lancastre, a manne well learned in the toungues, and also in the Common Lawe, whose witte was fyne, and full of imaginacions, by reason whereof, he was to muche geuen to mockyng, whiche was to his grauitie a greate blemishe. And then on the Sondaie, the twentie and foure daie of thesame monethe, the kyng made hym his Chauncellour, and deliuered him the great Seale, which Lorde Chauncellour, the next morow after, was ledde into the Chauncery, by the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and there sworne, and then the Mace was borne before hym.

ND  
Sir Thomas  
More made  
Chauncel-  
lor.

Now let vs returne to the treatie of Cambray, whiche was appointed to be kept the last Sommer, for the conclusion of a peace, betwene the Emperoi on the one part, and the kyng of England and the French kyng on the other part, for whiche conclusion there came to Cambrey, the Lady Margaret Duches of Sauoy, Aunt to the Emperour and the Lady Loyse duches of Angulesme, and mother to the Frenche kyng and Docter Tunstall bisshope of London, and after bisshope of Duresme, and sir Thomas More knight, after made Chauncellour of Englande, and diuerse other for the Kyng of Englande, all these mette there in the beginning of Iuly, accompaigned with diuerse great princes and Counsailers, on euery parte, and after long debating on bothe sides, there was a good conclusion taken, the fifth day of August, in the which was concluded, that the treatie of Madrill, should stande in his full strength and vertue, sauynge the thirde and fourth, and the leuenth and fourteenth articles, which touch the Duchie of Burgoyne, and other lordshippes.

Item, it was agreed that the French kyng should haue his children deliuered again, payng to the Emperoure two Millyons of Crounes of gold, whereof he should paie at the deliuerynge of the children, twelue hundred thousand Crounes.

Item, that the Frenche kyng should acquite the Emperoure, against the Kyng of Englande, of foure skore and tenne thousande Crounes, whiche the Emperoure ought to the king of England, and the kyng of Englande to deliuer all suche bondes and gages, as he had of the Emperours

Item, as touching the remnant, which was fye hundred and tenne thousand Crounes, the Emperour should haue. xxv. thousande crounes rent yerely, for the which he should haue the landes, of the Duches of Vandosme, liyng in Flaunders, and Brabant bounde.

Item, that Flaunders and diuerse other couñtreys, should not behold in chief, nor haue resort to the croune of Fraunce

Item, that the realme of Naples, the Duchie of Millain, & the countie of Ast, should for euer remain to the Empeior.

Item, that the French Kyng should with drawe all such souldiers as he had, out of Italy.

Item, that the Lady Elianor should be brought into Fraunce, with the French Kynges children, and in tyme conuenient should be married to the Frenche king.

Item, that the French Kyng should aide the Emperour with twelue Galhes to go into Italy

Item, that all prisoners on both parties should be acquitted.

Item, that the French Kyng should not ayde Robert de la Marche, against the bishop of Luke



Item, that al the goodes moueable and vnmoueable, of Charles late Duke of Burbon, should be restored to his heires, they payng to lorde Henry, Marques of Dapenete, and Erle of Nassaw, Lorde Chamberlayne to the Emperoi, teene thousande Ducates, which he lent to the saied Duke of Burbon

Item, that Ihon Erle of Pantheure, should be reinitted to all such goodes, as were Erle Rene his fathers

Item, the Lord Laurence de Gorowod, great Master to the Emperoure, should be restored to the Lordeshippes of Chalmount, and Monteualle, whiche he bought of the Duke of Burbon, or els to haue his money again.

Item, Phillip de Chalon Prince of Orenge and Viceroy of Naples, to be restored to all his landes in Buigoyne.

Item, that the Duches of Vandosme, and Loys Erle of Nauers should haue all such right and accions, as they should haue had, before the warre began.

In the Emperours countreys, when all thynges were written, sealed and finished, there was a solempne Masse song in the Cathedral church of Cambrey, the twoo ladies Ambassadors of the king of Englāde, sitting in greate estate, and after Masse the peace was Proclaimed, betwene the three princes, and *Te deum* song, and money cast to the people, and greate fires made through the citee. Thesame night the Frenche Kyng came into Cambrey, well and nobly accompanied and saluted the Ladies, and to them made diuise bankettes, and then all peisones departed into their countrey, glad of this concord

This peace was called the womennes peace, for because that notwithstanding this conclusion, yet neither the Emperoure trusted the Frenche kyng, nor he neither trusted nor loued him, and their Subjectes were in thesame case. This Proclamacion was proclaymed solempnely, by Herauldes, with trôpettes in the citee of London, whiche Proclamacion much reioysed the Englishe Merchantes, repairing into Spain, Flaunders, Briabant, Zelande, and other the Emperours dominions, for duiyng the warres, Merchantes were euill handeled on both partes, which caused them to be desirous of peace.

Here is to be remembred, that at this present time, William Tindale had newly translated and imprinted the New Testament in Englishe, and the bishop of London not pleased with the translacon thereof, debated with himself, how he might compasse and deuise, to destroy that false and erroneous translation, (as he saied). And so it happened that one Augustine Packington, a Mercer and Merchant of London, and of a great honestie, the same tyme was in Andwarp, where the Bishope then was, and this Packyngton was a man that highly fauored William Tindale, but to the bishop vtterly shewed hymself to the contrary. The bishop desirous to haue his purpose brought to passe, commoned of the New Testamentes, and how gladly he would bye them. Packyngton then hearyng that he wished for, saied vnto the bishop, my Lord if it be your pleasure, I can in this matter dooe more I dare saie, then moste of the Merchauntes of England that are here, for I knowe the Dutche men and straungiers that haue bought them of Tindale, and haue them here to sell, so that if it be your lordshippes pleasure, to pay for them, for otherwise I cannot come by them, but I must disburse money for them, I will then assure you, to haue euery boke of them, that is imprinted and is here vnsolde. The Bishop thinking that he had God by the too, when in deede he had (as after he thought) the Deuell by the fiste, saied, gentle Master Packington,, do your diligence and get them and with all my harte I will paie for them, whatsoever they cost you, for the bokes are erroneous and naughtes and I entend surely to destroy them all, and to burne them at Paules Crosse. Agustine Packyngton came to Wilyam Tyndale and saied, Wilyam I knowe thou art a poer man, and hast a hepe of newe Testamentes, and bokes by thee, for the whiche thou hast bothe indaungered thy frendes, and beggered thyself, and I haue now gotten thee a Merchaunt, whiche with ready money shall dispatche thee of all that thou hast, if you thinke it so profitable for your self. Who is the Merchant saied Tindale? The bishoppe of London saied Packyngton, O that is because he will burne them saied Tyndale, ye Mary q<sup>d</sup> Packyngton, I am

the

The womennes  
peace.

Cuthard  
Tistral  
bishop of  
Londō  
bought  
Newe Testa-  
mentes to  
burne.

Augustyne  
Packyngton  
the Bishop  
of Londōs  
merchaunt.

the gladder said Tyndale, for these two benefites shall come therof, I shall get money of hym for these bokes, to bring my self out of debt, (and the whole world shall cry out vpon the burning of Goddes worde) And the ouerplus of the money, that shall remain to me, shall make me more studious, to correct thesaid New Testament, and so newly to Imprint thesame once again, and I trust the second will much better like you, then euer did the first And so forward went the bargain, the bishop had the bokes, Packynton had the thankes, and Tyndale had the money

Afterward when mo newe Testamentes were Imprinted they came thicke and thieftold into England, the bishop of London hearyng that still there were so many Newe Testamentes abrode, sent for Augustin Packington and saied vnto him: Sir how commeth this, that there are so many New Testamentes abrode, and you promised and assured me, that you had bought al? then saied Packyngtō, I promes you I bought all that then was to bee had but I perceiue they haue made more sence, and it will neuer be better, as long as they haue the letters and stamper, therefore it wer best for your lordeshippe, to bye the stamper to, and then are you sure. the bishop smiled at him and said, well Packyngton well, and so ended this matter.

Shortly after it fortunēd one George Constātine, to be appiehended by sir Thomas More, which then was lord Chauncellor of England, of suspiciō of certain heresies. And this Constantine beyng with More, after diuerse examinacions of diuerse thynges, emong other, Master More said in this wise to Constantine. Constantine I would haue thee plain with me in one thing that I will aske of thee, and I promes thee I will shew thee fauor, in all the other thynges, whereof thou art accused to me. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Ioye, and a great many mo of you, I know thei cannot liue without helpe, some sendeth them money and succoureth thein, and thyself beyng one of them, haddest parte thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it canie I pray thee who be thei that thus helpe them? My lorde q<sup>d</sup> Constātine, will you that I shal tell you the truth? Yea I pray thee q<sup>d</sup> my Lord. Mary I will q<sup>d</sup> Constantyne, truly q<sup>d</sup> he it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen vs, for he hath bestowed emong vs, a great deale of money in New Testamentes to burne them, and that hath and yet is our onely succoure and comfort. Now by my trothe q<sup>d</sup> More, I thynke euē thesame, and I said so much to the bishop, when he went about to bye them

George  
Constan-  
tyne

While this treatie was thus in comunicacion at Cambrey, thempeior which knew that his people lacked aide in Italy, and also perceiued that the people of Germany and Italy, had him not in suche honor as they would, if he wer once crowned Emperor, for in al writings thei called hym onely Charles elected Emperor, wherefore he determined to go into Italy with a great puyssaunce, bothe to receiue his Imperial Croune, and also to aide his people, which there remained, and so accōpaigned with many Princes and noble men of Spain, and men of war, he toke ship at Barcelona, and sailed to Geane, where he was receiued with the seignorie of the citee, with great triumphe and honor, & great presentes geuen to him Pope Clement hearyng that the Emperor was come into Italy, with all his Cardinales and whole court, came to his citee of Bononie, and there tained the Emperors conynng.

The Pope  
came to  
Bonony

While the Emperor laie at Geane, thither came to him diuerse great Princes of Italy, with greate powers, and when all thynges wer redy, he set forward in good ordre of battaill toward Bononie, and in euery toun he was receiued, & presented with great giftes and feasted, and so by long iorneyes, he came nere to Bononie, where firste met with him, all the Clergie of the Cite with procession, then all the vniuersitie in there habites, al on horsebake, then came all the Children of the citee, in white sattin fringed with gold, after them the marchaūtes of the citee, all in crimson Dainaske, then folowed the potestates & gouernors of the citee all in crimson veluet, & within a myle of the citee thei met hym foure and twentie Cardinales with this triumph thempeior was cōueighed to the Cathedrall church, wher on the steppes of the west dore in a chair sat Pope Clement, and then the



Themp-  
rour kisseh  
the Popes  
fete.

Empeirour a lighted and kissed his fote and then they embraced together, and went into the church together and after went in to the pallace where they wer lodged both, and daily képte great counsayles together. While the Cardinall lay at Bononie, ther came to him Fraunces Sforse Duke of Millane, to excuse hym selfe of all thynges to hym<sup>r</sup> objected, and by muche entreating at the Popes request he pardoned hym his offence, and restored him to his dignitie and possession, payng to hym nine hndreth thousand Ducates, & till they wer paid, the Castel of Millayne, and the toun of Crome, should abide in thempeirours possessiō. After this agrement the Emperour sēt for Anthony de leua, and made him capitayne of his ordinaunce, and so now the duchy of Millayne was brought to quiet. In the same season the kyng of Englād sent sir Nicholas Carew knight master of his horses, & Doctor Sāpson to Bouonie for the ratification of the league concluded at Cambray, to the performance whereof the Emperour was solempne sworne, and so the Ambassadors departed: lykewise themperour sēt into England, Peter Lord of Rosebec, which likewise sawe the kyng of England sworne to performe the same.

An Oracion

According to the somons the kyng of Englāde began his high court of parliamēt, the third day of Novembre. On which day he came by water to his place of Bridewell, and there he & his nobles put on there robes of parliamēt, and so came to the blacke Freers church, wher a Masse of the holy ghost was solempne song by the kynges Chappell, & after the Masse, the kyng with all the Lordes of the parliament, and Commons which wer somoned to apere at that day came in to the parliamēt chābre, wher the kyng sat in his Thione or seate royal, and Sir Thomas More his Chauncelor standyng on the ighthand of the kyng behynde the barre made an eloquent Oracion, declaryng that like as a good shepard whiche not alonely kepeth and attendeth well his shepe, but all so forseeth & provideth for althyng, which either may be hurtful or noysome to his floke, or may preserue and defende thesame agaynst all peryles that may chaunce to come, so the kyng whiche was the sheaperd, ruler and gouvernour of his realme, vigilātly forseyng thinges to come cōsidered how diuers lawes before this tyme wer made nowe by lōg cōtinuance of tyne and mutacion of thinges, very insufficient, & vnperfight, and also by the frayl condicion of man, diuers new enoimities were spiōg amongst the people, for the which no law was yet made to reforme thesame, which was the very cause why at that tyme the kyng had somoned his high court of parliament. and he resembled the king to a shepard, or heard man for this cause, for if a prince be compaired to his riches, he is but a richeman, if a prince be compared to his honouir, he is but an honourable man but compare him to the multitude of his people and the numbre of his flocke, thē he is a ruler, a gouernor of might and puissance, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of shepe, commeth the name of a shepherd: and as you se that emongest a great flocke of shepe some be routē and faulty which the good shepard sendeth from the good shepe, so the great wether which is of late fallen as you all knowe, so craftely, so scabedly, ye & so vntruly iuggeled with the kyng, that all men must nedes gesse and thinke that he thought in him self, that he had no wit to perceiue his craftie doyng, or els that he presumed that the kyng woulde not se nor know his fraudulent Iuggehing and attemptes: but he was deceiued, for his graces sight was so quike and penetrable, that he saw him, ye and saw through him, both with in and without, so that all thing to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction, which small ponyshmet the kyng will not to be an example to other offendoures, but clerly declareth that whosocuer here after shall make like attempt or commit like offence, shall not escape with lyke ponyshment and because you of the common house be a grosse multitude, and cannot speake all at one tyme: Thertore the kynges pleasure is, that you shall resorte to the nether house, and there emongest your self accordyng to the olde and aunient custome to chose an able persō to be your cōmon mouth & speaker, & after youre election so made to aduertisc his grace therof, which wyl declare to you his pleasure what day he wil haue hym presēt in this place.

After this done, the commons resoit to the nether house, & they chose for there speaker

er Thomas Audelev Esquier & attorney of the Duchie of Lancaster, and the same day was the parliament adiourned to Westminster. On the sixt day of the same moneth the king came in to the parliament chambie and all the Loides in there robes, and ther the commons of the nether house presented there speker, whiche there made an eloquent Oracion which cōsisted in two poyntes, the first poynt was that he muche praysed the kyng for his equitie and Iustice, mixed with mercy and pitie, so that none offence was forgotten and leit vn-punished nor in the punishment the extremitie nor the rigor of the lawe not cruelly extended, which shuld be a cause to bridel all men from doing like offences, and also a comforte to offenders to confesse there crime and offence, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliation.

Thomas  
Audelev  
chosen  
speaker  
An oracion

The second poynt was, that he disabled him selfe, both for lacke of wit, learnyng and discreciō to so high an office beseching the kyng to cause his commons to resort eftsones to ther common house, and there to chose an other speaker for that parliament

To this the kyng (by the mouth of the Loid Chauncelor) answered that where he disabled hym selfe in wit and learnyng, his awne ornate oracion there made testified the contrary, and as touching his discreciō and other qualities, the kyng him selfe had well knowē him and his doynge, sith he was in his seruice, to be both wise and discrete, and so for an hable man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him admitted

When the commons were assembled in the nether house, ther began to common of their grefes wherewith the spirituallie had before tyme greuously oppressed them, both cōtrarie to the lawe of the realme, & cōtrarie to all righte, and in especial ther were sore moued with sixe greate causes

The first for the excesse fynes, which the ordinaries toke for probat of Testamentes, in-somuche that Sir henry Guilford knight of the gartir and comptrollor of the kinges house, declared in the open Parliament on his fidelitie that he and other beyng executors to Sir William Compton knight paid for the probate of his wil to the Cardinal & the Archbishop of Cauntorburie a thousand Marke sterlyng after this declaration were shewed so many extorciōs done by ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to muche to rehearse.

1

The second cause was the great polling and extreme exaccion, which the spirituall men vsed in takyng of corps presentes or mortuaries, for the children of the defunct should al dye for hunger and go a beggyng rather then ther would of charitie geue to them the sely kow which the dead man ought if he had but only one, such was the charitie then

2

The third cause was, that priestes beyng surueiours, stuardes and officers to Bishoppes, Abbotes, and other spirituall heddes, had and occupied Fermes, Graunges, & grasing in euery contrey, so that the poore husbandmen coulde haue nothyng but of them, and yet for that they should pay derely

3

The fourth cause was that Abbotes Priors and spiritual men kept Tanne houses, & bought and soulede woll, clothe and all maner of marchaundise as other temporall marchauntes did

4

The fift cause, was because that spiritual persones promoted to great benefices, & hauyng there huyng of ther flocke, were lyng in the counte in loides houses, & toke al of the parishoners, & nothing spent on thē at al, so that for lack of residēce both the poore of the parish lacked refreshyng, & vniuersally all the parishoners lacked preaching, & true instructiō of Gods worde, to the greate perell of there soules.

5

The sixt cause was to se one priest beyng litle learned to haue tenne or twelue benefices and to be resident on none, and to know many well learned scholers in the vniuersitie which wer able to preche & teache, to haue nether benefice nor exhibicion.

6

These thinges before this time might in nowise be towched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made an heritike, or lese al that he had, for the bishopes were chauncelors, and had all the rule about the kyng, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their proffit, or commoditie.

But now when God had illumined the eies of the kyng, and that ther subtell doinges was



once espied then men began charitably to desyre a reformation, and so at this Parliamēt men begā to shew ther grudges

Where vpon the Burgesses of the Parliament, appoincted suche as were learned in the law being of the common house, to drawe one bill of the probates of Testamētes, another for Mortuaries, and the thirde for none residue, pluralities, and takyng of Fermes by spiritual men.

The learned men toke muche payne, and histe set furthe the bill of Mortuaries, whiche passed the common house, and was sent vp to the Lordes

To this bill, the spirituall Lordes made a fayre race, saying that surely priestes and curates toke more then they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable oordre, thus thei spake because it touched them litle.

But with in two daies after was sēt vp the bill concerning probates of Testamētes, at the which the Archbishop of Cauntorburie in especiall, and all other bishoppes in generall both frowned and grunted, for that touched ther profite, insomuch as Doctor Ihon Fisher bishop of Rochester, saied openlie in the Parliament chambre these woordes my Loides, you se daily what billes come hither from the cominō house and all is to the destruction of the chunche, for Godes sake se what a Realme the kyngdome of Boheme was, and when the Chuich went doune, then fell the glory of the kyngdome, now with the Commons is nothing but doune with the Church, and all this me semeth is for lacke of faith only.

When these wordes were reported to the Commons of the nether house, that the bishop should say that all ther doyngees were for lacke of faith, thei toke the matter greuously, for thei Imagined that the bishop esteemed them as Heretikes, and so by his slaundersous woordes would haue perswaded the temporall Lordes to haue restrained there consent from the saied two billes, whiche they before had passed, as you haue hard before

Wherefore the Commons after long debate, determined to send the speaker of the Parliament to the kinges highnes, with a greuous complaynt, agaynst the bishop of Rochester, and so on a day when the kyng was at layser, Thomas Audeley the speaker for the commons and thirtie of the chief of the common house, came to the kynges presence in his palace at Westminster, whiche before was called yorke place and there very eloquently declared what a dishonour to the kyng and the realme it was to say that they which were elected for the wysest men of all the Sheres, Cities, and boroughes within the realme of Englad shoulde be declared in so noble and open presence to lacke faith, whiche was equivalent to say, that thei were Infidelles and no Christians, as ill as Turkes or Sarasins, so that what payne or studie so euer thei toke for the common wealth, or what actes or lawes so euer thei made or stablished, shulde be taken as lawes made by Panyms and hethen people, & not worthy to be kept by christian men wherfore he most humbly besought the kinges highnes, to call the saied bishop before him & to cause him to speake more discretly of such a nombre as was in the comō house.

The kyng was not well contented with the saying of the bishop, yet he gently answered the speaker, that he would send for the bishop and send them worde what answere he made, and so they departed agayne. After this the kyng sent for the archebishops of Cauntorburie and sixe other bishopes, and for the bishop of Rochester also, and there declared to hym the grudge of the commons, to the which the bishop answered that he ment the doinges of the Bohemians was for lacke of faith, and not the doyngees of them that were in the common house, which saying was confirmed by the bishopes being present, which had him in greate reputaciō, and so by that only saying the kyng accepted his excuse and therefore sent word to the comons by sir William Fitz william knight treasurer of his househoulde, which blind excuse pleased the commons nothyng at all

After this diuers assemblies wei kept betwene certein of the lordes & certayne of the commons, for the billes of probates of Testamētes, and the mortuaries. the temporallie laied to the spiritualtie ther awne lawes and constitucions, and the spiritualtie sore defended them by prescripsion and vsage, to whome an answere was made by a gentleman of Greyes

The sayng  
of I Fisher  
B of Ro-  
chester

A com-  
playnt made  
to the kyng

The bishops  
excuse

Inne: the vsage hath euer ben of theues to robbe on shoters hill, ergo is it lawfull with answere the spirituall men were sore offended, because there doynges were called robberies, but the temporall men stode still by there saynges, in so muche the saied gentle man saied to the Archebishop of Cauntorburie, that both the exaccion of probates of Testamentes, and the takyng of Mortuaries, as they were vsed were open robbery and theft. after long disputacion, the temporall lordes began to leane to the cōmons, but for all that, the billes remayned vnconcluded a while

In the meane season, there was a bill assented by the Lordes, and sent doune to the commons, the effect wherof was, that the whole realme by the saied acte, did release to the kyng all suche somes of money as he had borrowed of them at the loane, in the fiftene yere of his raigne (as you haue hard before) this bill was sore argued in the common house but the most parte of the commons were the kynges seruauntes, and the other were so labored to by other that the bill was assented to

When this realease of the loane was knowne to the commons of the Realme, Lorde so they grudged, and spake ill of the hole Parliament, for almoste euery man counted it his dette, and reconed suerly of the payment of the same, and therefore some made there willes of thesame, and some other did set it ouer to other for debt, and so many men had losse by it, which caused them sore to murnur, but ther was no remedy. The kyng like a good and a discrete prince, seing that his commons in the Parliament house had released the loane, entending somewhat to requite the same, graunted to them a generall Pardon, of all offences, certayn great offences and debtes only except also he aided them for the redresse of there greues against the spiritualtie, and caused two newe billes to be made indifferētly, both for the probate of Testamentes and mortuaries, which billes were so resonable that the spirituall lordes assented to them all though they were sore against there myndes, and in especiall the probate of Testamentes sore displeased the bishopes, and the mortuaries sore displeased the pēsones and vicars

After these Actes thus agreed, the Commons, made a nother acte for pluralities, of benefices, none residence, buyng and selling and takyng of fermes by spirituall persones, which acte so displeased the spiritualtie that the priestes railed on the commons of the common house, and called them heretikes, and scismatikes, for the which diuerse priestes were punished.

This acte was sore debated aboue in the parliament chambre, and the Lordes spirituall woulde in nowise consent. Wherefore the kyng perceiuing the grudge of his commons, caused eight lordes and eight of his commons to mete in the starre chambre at an after none, and ther was sore debatying of the cause, insomuche that the temporall Lordes of the vpper house, which were there, toke parte with the Commons, agaynst the spirituall lordes and by force of reason caused them to assent to the bil with a litle qualifiying, whiche bill the nexte day was wholly agreed to in the lordes house, to the great reioysing of the lay people, and to the greate displeasor of the spirituall persones

Duyng this Parliament was brought doune to the commons, the boke of articles whiche the Lordes had put to the kyng agaynst the Cardinall, the chief articles were these.

First that he without the kynges assent had procured to be a Legate, by reason whereof he toke away the right of all bishopes and spiritual persones

Item, in all wrytynges which he wrot to Rome or any other forayn Prince, he wrot *Ego et Rex meus*, I and my kyng, as who woulde say that the kyng were his seruaunt

Item, that he hath sclaundered the church of England in the couite of Rome, for his suggestion to be legate was to refoirme the church of Englande, which as he wrote was *Facta in reprobum censum*

Item, he without the kynges assent, caried the kynges great Seale, with hym into Flaunders when he was sent ambassad to the Emperoure.

Item, he without the kynges assent, sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cassado, knyghte,



knichte, to couclde a league betwene the kyng and the Duke of Farrai, without the kynges knowlege

Item that he hauyng the Frenche pockes presumed to come & bieth on the kyng.

Item, that he caused the Cardinales hat to be put on the kynges coyne.

Item, that he woulde not suffer the kynges clarke of the market, to sit at Saint Talbons

Item, that he had sent innumerable substaunce to Rome, for the obtaynyng of his dignities to the greate enpouderishment of the realme

These Articles with many more, red in the common house, and signed with the Cardinales hande, was confessed by hym, & also ther was shewed a writyng sealed with his Seale, by the whiche he gaue to the kyng all his mouables and vnmouables

On the day of the conception of oure Lady, the kyng at Yorke place at Westminster, in the parliament tyme created the vicount Rochforth Earle of Wilshire, and the vicount Fitzwater, was created Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Hastynges was created Earle of Huntington

When althynges were concluded in the Parliament house, the kyng came to the Parliament chambre the seuentene day of Decembre, and there put his royall assent, to althynges done by the Lordes and commons, and so proroged his court of Parliament, tyll the next yere

After the Parliament was thus ended, the kyng remoued to Grenewiche and there kept his Christemas with the quene in greate triumph with great plentie of viaundes, and diuerse disgisynges and Enterludes, to the greate reioysyng of his people

You haue harde before how the Emperour and the Pope was at Bononie, wher the Emperour made great preparation for the solempnysyng of his coronacion, which was appointed to be of Saint Mathias day, or the foure and twentie day of February, on whych day, he was borne, and that day also the French kyng was taken, and because that that day had ben euer fortunate to him he appointed his coronacion on that day: he appointed it also at that place, because he woulde the soner passe into Almayne, to appece suche strifes and debates as was risen betwene the princes there.

And so whā the day came & euery thing was redy, he was crowned Emperour, in the church of S. Peter, in the cite of Bononi by pope Clemēt the vii with al the ceremonies therto belōging. At this coronacio wer present the Dukes of Sauoy and Millayn, duke Frederik brother to the Palatine of Rine, and the deputies to all the seuen Electors and the moste parte of al the nobles of Italy, and Spayne. This coronacion was done with great solemnities, there was feastyng, iustyng and torney, and althynges that might sounde to honoure was there shewed, bothe in apparell, and viaunde and after that the Emperoure and the Pope, with the hole college of Cardinales, and al the noble men beyng present rode in procession through the hie stietes of Bononi, with suche a pompe and triumph as had not bene sene in Italy many yeres before.

While the Emperour lay thus at Bononie, the kyng of Englande was aduertised by his ambassadours, whiche he had sent to diuers vniuersities for the assoluynge of the doubte cōcernyng his marriage, that the saied vniuersities wer agreed and had clely concluded, that the one brother to inary the other brothers wife, carnally knowe was directie against Gods lawe, and that the pope nor the court of Rome could in no wise dispence with the same.

Wherefore the kyng knowyng themperour and the bishop of Rome to be together at Bononie, determined to send thether a solempne ambassade, both to declare to them the law of God, and the determinacion of the vniuersities, and also to require the bishop of Rome to do Iustice accordyng to the treuth, and also to shewe to the Emperoure that the kyng did not moue this matter for any displeasure that he bare to him or the quene his awnt, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and for the quietnes of his Realme

When this purpose was agreed by the kynges counsayle, the kyng appointed Sir Thomas Bulleyne

Bulleyne late created Earle of Wylshier and Doctor Stoksley elected bishop of London, and Doctor Edward Lee, his almoner, two great Clarkes, for his ambassadours & with them he sēt diuers doctors both of the lawe & diuinitie These ambassadours made greates preparation, and about the begynnynge of Februarie thei set forward, and so muche thei traualled that they came to Sauoy wher the Duke in the fayre toun of Cambrey, caused them honorably to be receiued and tested

So they passed the Mountaynes, and so through the duchie of Millain & by long iornes thei came to Bononie in lent, wher they wer honorably receiued by the master of the Emperours house, and diuers Loides and Gentlemen belongynge to the Pope, and within short space the saied ambassadours were first conueighed to the Pope, and there declared ther message and shewed the determinacion of the great Doctors and famous vniuersities Pope Clement whiche was a man of no learning but of a great wit made to them a gentle answer, and saied that he woulde here the matter disputed when he came to Rome and according to right he woulde do Iustice. But his entent was all contrarie, for he knew well that if he should geue sentence, that Pope Iuly coulde not dispence with the breache of Goddes lawe, that then the auctoritie of the court of Rome woulde litle be regarded, and also he feared the Emperours displeasure if he shoulde geue sentence againste his awnte, so that for feare of losing auctoritie, & of the Emperours displeasure, bishop Clement, durst not Iudge according to Goddes lawe After they had bene with the Pope, they came to the Emperour, whiche them gently receiued, and after they had done their message, he answered them that he in no wise woulde be agaynst the lawe of God, and if the court of Rome woulde adudge that the matrimonie were not good, he woulde be cōtēt, but he thought all otherwise, for he solicited the pope & all the Cardinales which wer his frendes to stād by the dispēsaciō, which he iudged to be as strong as Goddes law. After this answer they toke ther leaue of the Emperour, which the nexte weke after departed out of Bononie towardes Almayne in good ordie of battail, he him selfe in gilt harnes, and his nobles in white harnes with riche cotes and trappers very curiously besene

The Popes answer

After that temperour was gon out of Bononie, the ambassadours of England toke there leaue of the bishop of Rome, whiche went toward Rome agayne, and returned toward England, through the Duchy of Millayn, whiche was receiued by the Earle Lodouick, great counsaylōr to the Duke of Millain, which earle cōducted them through the whole Duchie of Millayne, & paid all their charges by the dukes cōmaūdemēt. And whē these ambassadors wer passed the mountaynes, they receiued letters frō the kyng, which apointed the Earle of Wylshire to go ambassade to the French king, which then lay at Bourdeaux makynge prouision for money for the redemyng of his childien. and the bishop of London was apointed to go to Padua, and other vniuersities in Italy to know their opinions in the kynges case, and the kynges almoner was apointed to retorne into Englād, and so he did, thus was the end of this ambassad.

You haue hard before how the Cardinall was attained in the premunire and how he was put out of the office of the chauncellor and lay at Asher: In this Lent season the kyng by the aduice of his counsaile licenced him to go into his diocesse of Yorke, and gaue him commaūdemēt to kepe hym in his diocesse and not to returne southwarde without the kynges speciall licence in writynge

So he made great prouision to go Northwarde and appareled his seruautes newly & bought many costely thynges for his houshold & so he might wel enough, for he had of the kynges gētlenes the bishoppricks of Yorke & Winchester, which wer no small thynges, but at this time diuers of his seruaūtes departed from him to the kynges seruice, and in especial Thomas Cromwel one of his chief counsaile and chefe doer for him in the suppressiō of abbeyes After that al thynges necessarie for his iornay wer prepared, he toke his iorney northward til he came to Southwel which is in his dioces & ther he cōtinued this yere euer grudgynge at his fall as you shall here after but the lādes which he had geuē to his Colleges in Oxforde & Ypswyche, were now come to the kynges handes, by his atteinder in the premunire,

Thomas cromwell came into the kynges seruice.



and yet the kyng of his gentlenes and for fauour that he bare to good learnyng erected agayne the College in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinales College, he called it the kynges College, and endewed it with faire possessions, and put in newe statutes and ordinaunces, and for because the College of Ypswich was thought to be nothing profitablie, therefore he left that dissolved.

The last Somer while the peace was treated at Cambray as you haue hard before, Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, recouered certayne townes whiche the Turkes had taken from hym in Hungary, and put to flight his enemy Ihon the Vaiuoda, whiche falsly named him selfe kyng of Hungary. This Vaiuoda destitute of all succoure fled to Sultan Soliman the great Turke, desirynge hym of succor, to recouer Hungry againe. The Turke being glad to haue an occasion to distroy Hungry, assembled a puissaunt army, and entred into Hungry, and made proclamacion that what toun or Cite would not obey kyng Ihon as ther kyng, should be put to fire and sworde. This proclamacion so fearid the Hūgarians, that al in maner yelded thē self subiectes to the Vaiuoda, the cite of Bude onely except: whych at the last was yelden, by composition that thei shuld depart with bag and baggage, but for al there safe conduit signed wythe the great Turkes hand, they were firste robbed of the Iauizeres, and after that shamfully slain.

Crueltie of  
ye Turkes.

When the Turke had thus Bude in possession, he left there the Vaiuoda, and Lewes great bastard sonne to the Duke of Venice, with fife thousand fotemen, and two thousand hotsmen, and he with all haste entred into Austrice, wher his people committed such crueltie and tyranny, as neuer hath been hard nor witten, for of some thei put out the eies of other they cut of the noses and eares, of other thei cut of the priuy mēbers, of women thei cut of the pappes, and rauished Virgins and of women great with child, thei cut ther bellies and brent the children. beside this, as thei passed thei brent corne, trees, howses, and al that would be brent to make the contry desolate, and at the last the two and twentie day of Septembre, the turkes armye came nye to Vienne, a riche and a famous Cite in Austrice.

The fame was that he had two hundred and fiftie thousande men in his armie, and fife and twentie thousande tentes in the sighte of the cite.

At the begynnyng of the siege certain Christian men were taken of the Turkes, which turkes cut of the heddes of foure lepers in a lazer cote, without the citié & put them vpon poles, & made christen prisoners presēt thē to the great turk, which thei of toke great ioy: of y which prisoners he released certain and bad them go to the captaynes and to tell thē that if they would yeld the cite to hym, they should depart with bag and baggage, and if thei would kepe it by force, he would suerly haue it & put thē all to the sword. Now in the cite was captayn duke Phillip of Bauer, Earle Palantine of the Rine, and nephew to the Palsgrau elector, a young man, but of noble corage, and with him were twentie thousand Almaynes, and two thousand horsemē, which nothing feared the Turkes threatnynges. The Turke perceuyng ther boldnes bent his greates ordinaunce, which were thre hundred peces agaynst the walles, and commaundyd the towne to be assaulted. the Turkes gaue a great assault, but the christen men valiantly defended them, so that the Turkes were compelled to fle, and many of them were slaine.

The fourth day of Octobre, the Turke bent all his Ordinaunce against the wal which so shoke the wall that all men within supposed that the walles would haue fallen doune, but thei did litle harme, whiche was sone amendid. The sixt day of Octobre, eight thousand christen men issued out of the toun, and came wher the Turkes miners wer working and slew a gret nombre & destroyed the mines. The same day the Turkes gaue a great assaute to the citie. the christyan men valiantly them defended, and threw doune great logs and barres of Iron, and slew many Turkes. Thus the Turkes assauted the cite a leuen times, & somany times they wer betē away, but the great & terrible assault was the twēlue day of Octobre, at which assault the christyan men so valiantly defended them selfe and slewe and hurt so many of the Turkes, that after that day, for no commandement that the Turke could geue, they would nomore geue assaute.

The

The Turke perceiued well bothe the strength of the Citie and the corage of the capitaines with in, and also the winter there was muche more colder then in his contreys, which sore troubled hym and his people, wherfore he called his counsaill and concluded to breake vp his siege and to depaite, & so the fouretene day of Octobre he shot greate stones into the cite all day till night. and aboute tenne of the clok in the night he caused his tentes to be takē vp, and set fire on the strawe, and such other stuffe, and so remoned all his armie, towarde Bude, sauing fiftie thousande horsemen whiche taried all the next day behynde, caryng with hym a greate nombre of Christyan prissoners, whiche he put to the mines and suche other vile seruice.

At this siege the Turke loste by Murder, Sicknes, and cold, aboute fourescore thousande men, as one of his bassates did afterwarde confesse.

The nombre  
of the turkes  
that died.

Thus was the cite of Vienne defended agaynst the greate Turke, and all his power whiche was to him a greate displeasure, and in especially because he neuer beseged Citie before, but either it was yelden, or taken, of the tyme of this siege a metrician made these verses.

*Cesar in Italiam quo venit Carolus anno  
Cincta est ripheis nostra Vienna getis.*

In this yere themperour gaue to the lord master of saynt Ihones of Ierusalem, and his bretherne the Iland of Malto lyng betwene Scicile and Barbarie, there to employ them selfe vpon Christes enemies which lorde master had no place suer to enhabite there sith he was put from the Rhodes by this Turke that beseged Vienne, as you haue hard before.

## THE XXII. YERE

IN the beginnyng of this two and twentie yere, the kyng like a politike & a prudent prince, perceived that his subiectes and other persons had diuers times within foure yeres last past brought into his realme, great nombre of printed bokes, of the new Testament, translated into the English tongue by Tyndall, Ioy, and other, which bokes the common people vsed and dayly red priuely, which the clergie would not admit, for they punnished suche persones as had red, studied or taught thesame with greate extremitie, but bycause the multitude was so great, it was not in their power to redresse there grefe: wherfore they made complaint to the Chauncellor (which leaned much to the spirituall mennes part, in all causes) where vpon he imprisoned and punished a great nombre, so that for this cause a great rumour and controuersie rose daily emongest the people: wherfore the kyng cōsideryng what good might come of readyng of the new Testament with reuerence and folowyng thesame, and what euell might come of the readyng of thesame if it were euil translated, and not folowed came into the starrie chambre the fve and twentie day of May, and there commoned with his counsaile and the prelates cōcernyng this cause, and after long debatyng, it was alleged that the traslacion of Tyndall and Ioy were not truly translated, and also that in them were prologues and prefaces which sounded to heresie, and rayled against the bishopes vncharitably, wherfore all suche bokes were prohibited and commaundmēt geuen by the kyng to the bishoppes, that they callyng to thein the best learned men of the vniuersities should cause a new traslacion to be made, so that the people should not be ignoraunte in the law of God: And notwithstanding this commaundement the bishopes did nothing at all to set furth a new traslaciō, which caused the people to stody Tindalles traslacion, by reasō where of many thinges cam to light, as you shall here after.

The newe  
testamēt for-  
bidden.

In this yere in Maye, the bishop of Londō caused all his newe Testamētes which he had bought with many other bokes, to be brought into Paules churcheyarde in London and there was openly burned.

In the ende of this yere, the wilde Irishmen knowyng the Earle of Kildare to be in England, entred his lande, and spoyled and brent his cōutrey, and diuers other contreyes, and



the Earle of Ossery beyng the kynges depute made litle resistaunce, for lacke of power, wherefore the kyng sent the erle of Kildare into Ireland, and with him sir Wylliam Skeu- yngton knight, Master of the kynges ordinaunce and diuers Gunners with him, whiche so polittickly ordered them selfe that their enemyes were glad to offre amédes and to treate for truce, and so sir Wylliam Skeu yngton the nexte yere returned into England leuyng there the Erle of Kildare for the kynges depute.

Now I wyll retorne to y<sup>e</sup> execucion of the treatie of Cambray in the which it was agreed that the Lady Elianor and the Frenche kynges children should be deliuered when the raunsome appointed was paid as you haue heard in the last yere. Wherefore y<sup>e</sup> French kyng gathered money of his subiectes w<sup>th</sup> all spede, and when the money was ready he sent the great Master of Fraunce called Annas de Memorancey and diuerse other nobles to Bayon with the money, and to receiue the lady and the children. And thither came to them the great Constable of Castle and Mounsire Prat for the Emperor, and there the crounes were wayed and touched, and what fault soener the Spaiyardes found in them they would not receiue a great number of them, and so then caried the children backe frō Foüt- raby into Spayne. Thus the great master of Fraunce and his company lay still at Bayon without hauyng his purpose performed from Marche till the ende of Iunē, and lenger had lyen if y<sup>e</sup> king of England had not sent sir Fraunces Bryan to Bayon to warrant the pay- ment: whereupon the day of deliuerance was appointed to be on saint Peters day in Iune. At whiche day the great Master with xxxi. Mullettes laden with the crounes came to y<sup>e</sup> one syde of the riuier of Auday whiche riuier departeth Spayne and Fraunce & there taried till the first day of Iuly. on whiche day the lady Elianor & the children were put in two great boates, hauyng onely xii gentlemen of Spayne with them. and in like maner the great Mas- ter with two great boates in the which the money was and xii. gentlemen with him. All these boates met at a brydge made in the middes of the riuier. The Constable of Spayn and his xii. gentlemen met with the great Master of Fraunce and his xii. gentlemen on the bridge; and after a litle salutacion the Frenchmen entered into the ii. boates where the Lady and the two children were, and the Spanyardes into the two boates where the money was, and then eche part hasted to land. Thus were the Frenche kynges wife and children deliuered into his handes, for whiche deliuerance was great ioy & triumph made in Fraunce & also in Iuly were fyres made in London & diuers other places for thesame con- sideracion and cause.

The deliuer-  
ance of the  
Frenche  
kynges  
children.

The Emperor as you haue heard the last yere, passed out of Italy into Germany and was receiued with great honor and triumph into the cite of Ausborough or August, where in Iune were present all the electors and almoste all the princes of the Empire. there was kept a great counsail, for the princes of Germany were of two seuerall opinions and of seuerall names, the part that fauored the pope and all thynges done by his auctoritie were called Catholical, and the other part which folowed and preached only the gospel of Christ were called euangelical. Of these and other thynges concernyng our sayth there wer many counsailes: but Cardinal Campeius the Popes legate would not suffer the Euau- gelical persones (whom he called Lutherans) to argue against y<sup>e</sup> Catholical men (whō y<sup>e</sup> Euāgelical persones called papystes) lest by the openyng of the scripture the auctoritie of the court of Rome should haue been damned, and therefore the Emperor put of the matter till another tyme. But this matter was not so let slyppe, for of this mocion men so seiched the law of God that within a few yeres after, many people refused the Pope for the head of the Churche and forsoke him and his pardons.

A procla-  
macion.

On the xix day of September in the cite of Lōdon was made this Proclamacion. "The kynges highnes straitly chargeth and cōmaundeth that no maner of person of what estate, degree or condicion soener he or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase frō y<sup>e</sup> court of Rome or els where, nor vse & put in execucion, diuulge, or publishe any thyng here- tofore within this yere passed purchased or to be purchased hereafter, containyng matter preiudicial to the high auctoritie, iurisdiction and preiogative rōyal, of this his sayd realm,

or

or to the let, hynderaūce or impechement of his graces noble and vertuous entended purposes in the premisses, vpon payne of incurring his hignes indignacion & imprisonment & farther punishment of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dreadfull example of all other."

This Proclamacion was muche mused at and euery woorde of thesame well noted. Some sayd that it was made because that the quene had purchased a new Bull for the ratificacion of her mariage, other sayd that it was made because the Cardinall had purchased a Bull to curse the kyng if he would not restore him to his old dignities, and that the king should suffer him to correct the spiritualtie and lie not to meddle with thesame. This inuencion sounded moste to the trueth as you shall here afterward.

In October the riuer of Tyber was of suche an heighth that in Rome and other places about Rome almoste xii M. persons were drowned, & in the next moneth zeland, Holland and Brabant were sore noyed with waters and many people and much cattell were drowned.

You haue heard in the last yere how the Cardinal of Yorke was attainted in the premunire and that notwithstanding the king had geuen him the bishoppricks of Yorke and Winchester with great plentie of substaunce, and had licēsed him to lye in his dioces of Yorke. He beyng this in his dioces grudgyng at his fall & not remembryng the kynges kyndnes shewed to him, wrote to the court of Rome and to diuers other princes letters in reproche of the kyng, and in as much as in him lay, he stirred them to reuenge his cause against the kyng and his realme insomuche that diuers opprobrious wordes of the kyng were spoken to doctor Edward Keerne the kynges Orator at Rome, and it was sayd to him that for the Cardinals sake, the kyng should haue the worse spede in the suite of his matrimony. The Cardinal also would speake fayre to the people to wynde their heartes and declared euer that he was vnjustly and vntruely ordered, whiche fayre speakyng made many mē beleue that he sayd true. and to gētlemen he gaue great giftes to allure them vnto him. And to be had in the more reputacion among the people he determined to be installed or inthronised at Yorke with all the pompe that might be, and caused a throne to be erected in the Cathedral church in such an heighth and fashiō as was neuer seen, and sent to all the lordes, Abbottes, Priors, knightes esquiers and gentlemē of his dioces, to be at his Manor of Cawod the vi. day of Nouember and so to bryng him to Yorke with all maner of pompe and solempnitie.

The pride  
of the Car-  
dinal

The kyng whiche knew his doynages and priuie conueyaunce, all this yere dissembled the matter to see what he would do at length, till that he saw his proud heart so hyghly exalted that he would be so triumphantly installed without making the kyng priuie, yea and in maner in disdayne of the kyng, thought it not mete nor conuenient to suffer him any lenger to continue in his malicious and proude purposes and attemptes. wherfore he directed his letters to Henry the vi. Erle of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the Cardinal and to deliuer him to theire of Shrewsbury great Stewarde of the kynges housholde. When the erle had seen the letter, he with a cōuenient number came to the Manor of Cawod the xiii. day of Nouember, and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, my lord I pray you take patience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me sayd the Cardinal, yea sayd the erle I haue a commaundement so to do. you haue no such power sayd the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal and a Legate de Latere and a pere of the College of Rome & ought not to be arrested by any temporal power, for I am not subiect to that powē, wherfore if you arrest me I will withstand it. well sayd the erle here is the kings Commission (whiche he shewed him) and therefore I charge you to obey, the Cardinal somewhat remembred himselfe and sayd, well my lord, I am content to obey, but although that I by negligence fell into the punishment of the Premunire and lost by the lawe all my landes and goodes, yet my person was in the kynges proteccion and I was pardoned that offence, wherfore I meruail why I nowe should be arrested & specially considering that I am a member of the sea Apostolike on whō no temporal man ought to lay violent

The Cardi-  
nal arrested.



violent handes, wel I see the king lacketh good counsaill: wel sayd the erle when I was sworne Warden of the Marches, you your self told me that I might with my staffe arrest all men vnder the degree of a kyng, and now I am more stronger for I haue a cōmission so to do whiche you haue seen. The Cardinal at length obeyed and was kept in his priuie chamber and his goodes seized and his officers discharged, and his Phisician called doctor Augustyne was lykewise arrested and brought to the Tower by sir Walter Welshe one of the kynges chamber. The vi day of Nouember he was cōueyed from Cawod to Sheffelde castle and there deliuered to therle of Shrewsburies keepyng till the kynges pleasure were knowne. Of this attachement was muche comunyng amongst the common people, wherfore many were glad, for surely he was not in the fauor of the cominaltie.

When the Cardinal was thus arrested the kyng sent sir Wyllyam Kingston knight capitaine of the Garde and Constable of the Tower of London with certain of the yomen of the Gard to Sheffelde to fetch the Cardinal to the Tower. When the Cardinal saw the capitaine of the garde, he was sore astonnyed and shortly became sicke, for then he perceived some great trouble toward him, and for that cause men sayd that he willyngly toke so muche quāttie of strong purgacion that his nature was not able to beare it: but sir William Kyngston comforted him, and by easy iornayes he brought him to the Abbay of Leicester the xxvii. day of Nouember, wher for very feblenes of nature caused by purgacions and vomites he dyed the second night folowyng, and in the same abbay lyeth buried. This Cardinal as you may perceiue in this story was of a great stomacke, for he compted himselfe egall with princes, and by craftie suggestion gatte into his handes innumerable treasure: He forced litle on symony & was not pityful and stode affectionate in his owne opinion. In open presence he would lye and say vntiuth and was double both in speche and meanyng. He would promise muche and performe litle. He was vicious of his body and gaue the clergie euil example: He hated sore the cite of London and feared it. It was tolde him that he should dye in the way toward London, wherfore he feared lest the cōmons of the cite would arise in riotous maner and so sley him, yet for all that he dyed in the waye toward London. The authoritie of this Cardinal set the clergie in such a pride that they disdained all men, wherfore when he was fallen they folowed after as you shall heare. To write the life and doynge of this Cardinal, it were a great worke, but whatsoeuer he did God forgeue his soule his bodyes misdodes.

After the Cardinal was dead, the king remoued frō Hampton court to Grenewiche where he with queene Katherine kept a solempne Christmas, and on the twelfe night he satte in the halle in his estate, where as were diuers Enterludes, riche Maskes and disportes, and after that a great banquet. And after Christmas he came to his Manor of Westminster, which before was called Yorke place, for after that the Cardinal was attainted in the Premunire & was gone Northward, he made a feoffement of thesame place to the kyng, and the chapiter of the Cathedral church of Yorke by their writing cōfirmed thesame feoffement and then the king chaūged the name and called it the kynges Manor of Westminster and nomore Yorke place.

The whole clergie of England euer supported and maintayned the power legantyne of the Cardinal, wherfore the kynges counsaill learned sayd plainly that they all were in the Premunire, the spiritual lordes were called by proces into the kynges Benche to answer, but before their day apperaunce they in their Conuocacion concluded an humble submission in writyng and offered the kyng a C. M. pound to be their good lorde, and also to geue them a pardon of all offences touching the Premunire by act of Parliamt. & which offer with much labor was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the Clergie called the kyng supreme head of & church of England, which thing they neuer confessed before, wherupon many thinges folowed after as you shall heare.

When the Parliamt was begōne the vi day of Ianuary, the pardon of the spiritual persones was signed with the kynges hand & sent to the lordes, which in tyme conuenient assented to the bill and sent it to the cōmons in the lower house, and when it was red,  
diuers

The Cardinal dead and buried at Leicester

The description of the Cardinal.

The kyng first named supreme head.

diuers froward persones would in no wyse assent to it except all men were pardoned, saying that all men which had any thyng to do with the Cardinal wei in the same case: the wyser sort answered that they would not compell the king to geue them his pardon, and beside that it was vncharitably done of them to hurt the Clergie and do themselves no good, wherefore they aduised them to consent to the bill and after to sue to the kyng for their pardon, which counsaile was not folowed, but they determined first to send the Speaker to the kyng or they would assent to the bill, whervpon Thomas Audely speake for the commons with a cōuenient number of the common house came to the kynges presēce and there eloquently declared to the king how the commons sore lamented and bewayled their chaunce to thynke or imagine them selves to be out of his gracious fauor, because that he had graciously geuen his pardon of the Premunire to his spiritual subiectes and not to them, wherefore they most humbly besought his grace of his accustomed goodnes and clemency to include them in thesame pardon.

The kyng wisely answered that he was their prince and soueraigne lorde & that they ought not to restraine him of his libertie, nor to cōpel him to shewe his mercy, for it was at his pleasure to vse the extremitie of his lawes, or mitigate and pardon thesame, wherefore sith they denied to assent to the pardon of the spiritual persones, which pardon he said he might geue without their assent by his great seale, he would be well aduised or he pardoned them, because he would not be noted to be compelled to do it: with this answer the speaker and the commons departed very sorowful and pensieue and some light persones sayd that Thomas Crumwell whiche was newly come to the fauor of the kyng had disclosed the secretes of the commons, which thing caused the kyng to be so extreme.

The kyng like a good prince considered how sorowfull his cōmons were of the answer that he made them, and thought that they were not quiet, wherefore of his owne mocion he caused a pardon of the Preiunire to be drawen, and signed with his hand and sent it to the cōmon house by Christopher Hales his attorney, whiche bill was sone assented to. Then the commons louyngly thāked the king and much praised his witte that he had denyed it to them when they vnworthely demaunded it, and had bountyfully graunted it when he perceiued that they sorowed and lamented

While the Parliament sat, on the xxx. day of Marche at after noone there came into the common house the lord Chauncelor and diuers lordes of the spiritualtie and temporaltie to the number of xii and there the lorde Chauncelor sayd, you of this worshipful house I am sure be not so ignorant but you know well that the kyng our soueraigne lorde hath married his brothers wife, for she was both wedded & bedded with his brother prince Arthur, and therefore you may surely say that he hath married his brothers wyfe, if this marriage be good or no many clerkes do doubt. Wherefore the kyng like a vertuous prince willing to be satisfied in his conscience and also for the suretie of his realme hath with great deliberacion consulted with great clerkes, and hath sent my lord of London here present to the chiefe vniuersities of all Christendome to knowe their opinion and iudgement in that behalfe. And although that the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford had been sufficient to discusse y<sup>e</sup> cause, yet because they be in his realme and to auoide all suspicion of parcialtie he hath sent into the realme of Fraunce, Italy the Popes dominions, and Venicians to knowe their iudgement in that behalfe, whiche haue cōcluded, written and sealed their determinacions according as you shall heare red Then sir Bryan Tuke toke out of a boxe xii. writynges sealed, & red them word by word as after ensueth translated out of Latin into the Englishe tongue.

The determinacion of the vniuersite of Orliaunce.

Not long syns there were put forth to vs the College of doctors, regentes of the vniuersite of Orliaunce, these two questions that folow. The fyrst, whether it be lawfull by the lawe of God for the brother to take to wyfe that woman whom his brother hath left? The second if this be forbidden by the lawe of God, whether this prohibition of the law of God



God may be remitted by the Pope his dispensacion? We the foresayd College of doctors regentes accordyng to our custome and vsage came many times together and did sit diuers tymes vpon the discussing of these foresayd doubttes and questions and did examine and way as muche as we might diuers & many places both of the old testament and new, and also the interpreters and declareis both of the law of God and the Canon lawe. After we had wayed and considered all thynges exactly and with good leysure and deliberaciō, we haue determind and cōcluded that these foresayd mariages cannot be attempted nor enterprised except a man do wrong and plaine contrary to the law of God yea and that although it be done by pardon and suffeauce of the Pope And in witnes of this cōclusion and determination we haue caused this present publike writing to be signed by our Scribe of our sayd vniuersitie, and to be strenghted and fortified with the seale of the same: Enacted in the chapel of our lady the Annunciacion, or the good tidynges that she had of Christes commyng in Orleauce, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xix. the v. day of April.

The determinacion of the facultie of Decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris

Lawers of  
Paris

In the name of the Lord so be it. There was put forth before vs the Deane and College of the right counsaillful facultie of Decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris this question Whither that the Pope might dispence, that the brother might mary the wyfe that his brother hath left, if mariage betwene his brother now dead and his wyfe were once consummate? we the Deane and College of the sayd facultie after many disputacions and reasons made of bothe sydes vpon this matter and after great and long turnyng and seichyng of bokes, bothe of the lawe of God and the Popes lawe and of the lawe Ciuil, we counsaill and say that the Pope hath no power, to dispence in this foresayd case. In witnes whereof we haue caused this present writing to be strenghted with the seale of our facultie and with the signe of our Scribe or chiefe Bedle. Geuen in the congregacion or assemble at saint Ihon Laterenense in Parys the second day of May M.D.xxx.

The determinacion of Ciuilians and Canonistes of the vniuersitie of Angew.

Angew

Not long tyme syns there wer purposed vnto vs y<sup>e</sup> Rector and doctors Regentes in lawe Canon & Ciuile of the vniuersitie of Angew these ii questions here folowyng, that is to wete, whether it is vnlefull by the lawe of God and the lawe of nature for a man to mary the wyfe of his brother that is depaied without children so that the mariage was consummate? And againe whether it is lawfull for the Pope to dispence with such mariage? We the aforesayd Rector and doctors haue accordyng to our custome and vsage many tymes communed together and sytten to dispute these questions, and to synde out the certainte of them. And after that we had discussed and examined many & diuers places aswell of the law of God as of the law of man, whiche semed to pertaine to the same purpose, and after that we had brought for bothe parties and examined them All thynges saythfully and after good cōscience considered and vpon sufficient deliberacion and auisement taken, we defyne and determyne that neither by the lawe of God nor of nature it is permitted for any christen man, no not euen with the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, or with any dispensacion graunted by the Pope to mary the wife that his brother hath left, although his brother be departed without children, after that the mariage is once finished and consummate And for witnes of these aforesayd thynges, we haue cōmaunded our Scribe of our sayd vniuersitie to signe this present publike instrument, & it to be fortified with the great seale of our vniuersitie, Enacted in the church of saint Peter in Angew, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxx. the vii. day of May.

The determinacion of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris.

Paris

The Deane and the facultie of the holy diuinitie of the vniuersitie of Paris, to all them to whom this present writing shall come wysbeth safetie in our sauor Iesu Christ which is the very true safetie. Where of late there is risen a great controuersie of great difficultie

vpon the marriage betwene the most noble Henry the viii kyng of England defender of the fayth and lord of Ireland &c. and the noble lady Katherine queene of England doughter to the Catholike kyng Ferdinand, which marriage was not onely contract betwene her and her former husband, but also consummate and finished by carnall intermedelyng. This question also was purposed to vs to discusse and examine accordyng to iustice and trueth, that is to say, whether to mary her that our brother dead without children hath left being so prohibited by the law of God and nature, that it cannot be made lefull by the Popes dispensacion, that any christen man should mary the wife that his brother hath left? We the foresayd Deane and facultie callyng to our remembreunce how vertuous and how holy a thing and how agreeable to our profession, vnto our duetie of loue and charitie, it is for vs to shewe the waye of iustice and right, of vertue and honestie to them whiche desne to leade and passe ouer their life in the law of our Lord with sure & quiet conscience could not but be ready to satisfie so honest and iust requestes wherupon after our old wont, we came together vpon our othe in the church of S Matuync, & toere for thesame cause had a solēpne Masse with deuout prayer to the holy ghost And also we toke an othe euery mā to deliuei and to study vpon the foresayd question, as should be to the pleasure of God and accordyng to cōscience. And after diuers and many Sessions or sittynge which were had and continued in the church of saint Maturyn, and also in the college called Sarbone fū the viii day of Iune to the second day of Iuly. When we had searched and examined through and through with as much diligence as we could and with suche reueience and religion or conscience as becometh in suche a matter, bothe the bookes of holy scripture, and also the most approued interpreters of thesame. Finally the general and synodal cōsailes, decrees and constitucions of the sacre & holy Church, which by long custome hath been receiued and approbate, we the foresayd Deane and facultie disputyng vpon the foresayd question and makyng answere to the same, and that after the iudgement and full cōsent of the most part of the sayd facultie haue concluded and determined that the foresayd marriage with the brothers wife departyng without children be so forbidden both by the law of God and of nature that the pope hath no power to dispençe w such mariages whether they be contract or to be contract. And for credence, beleue, and witnes of this our Assencion and determinacion, we haue caused the seale of our facultie with our Notaries signe to be put vnto this present wrytyng Dated in our generall congregacion that we kepe by an othe at saint Matuynes, the yere of our Lorde M.D xxx the second day of Iuly

The determination of the vniuersitie of Burges in Berry or Biturs

We the Deane and facultie of diuinite in the Vniuersitie of Burges, because we will accordyng to the example of S Paule doctor of ſ Gētiles whiche doeth likewise, will begyn our wryting with prayer vnto all the beloued of God, among whom you moste dere readeris vnto whom we write he called, grace, peace, and quietnes of conscience come to you from God the father and from our Lord Iesu Christ. while we were gathered together all into one place (in the octaues of Whitsontide) both in body and mynde, and were sittyn in the house of the sayd deane, there was a question put to vs againe, whiche had been purposed to vs often tymes before, beyng no smal question, whiche was this Whether the brother taking the wyfe of his brother now dead, and the marriage once consummate and perfite doth a thyng vnlawfull or no? At the last when we had sought for the trueth of the thing and had perceiued and found it out by much labor and studye of euery one of vs by himselfe, and by much and often turning of holy bookes, euery one of vs not corrupt, wherby we might the lesse obey the trueth, began as the holy gost did put in his mind to geue euery man one arbitrement & sentence which was this I haue well perceiued in very truith wout regard or respect of any person that those persones which be reheised in ſ xviii. cha. of ſ Leuitical law, be forbidden by ſ very law of nature to cōtract matrimony together and that this lawe can in no wyse be released by any authoritie of any manne by the whiche there is made an



abhorrible discoueryng of his brothers foulnes. And this is the signe of our commen Bedyll or Notarie and the seale of our foresayd facultie put vnto his present writyng the. x. day of Iune, in the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxx. And because the foote of our writyng shall be of one forme and fashon w<sup>th</sup> the head, as we began with paiser, so let vs ende after the example of S. Paule that we spake of before, and say, the giace and fauor of our Lorde Iesu Christ, the charitie and loue of God and the comunicacion of the holy ghost be with you all. Amen

The determinacion of the diuines in the popes vniuersitie of Bonony.

Bonony.

God best and mightiest taught first the olde lawe & testament with his owne mouth, to forme and fashon accordyng to loue and charitie, the maners and life of men. And secondarely the same God did take afterwarde manhod vpon him for to be the redemer of man and so made the new lawe or newe Testament not onely to forme and fashon accordyng to loue and charitie the life and maners of men, but also to take away and to declaire doubtles the whiche did arise in many cases, which when they be once clerly determined shall helpe greatly to perfite vertue and goodnes, that is to say, to perfite loue and charitie. Wherefore we thought it euermore, that it should be our part to folowe these most holy doctrines and lawes of our father of heauen, and that we lightned by the light of God aboue and of the holy ghost should geue our sentence and iudgement in high and doubtfull matters after that we haue once leyserly and sufficiently taken aduise ment vpon the cause, & haue clerly serched out and opened the thing by many reasons and writynges of holy fathers as well for the one part as for the other, doyng nothyng as nere as we can rashly or without deliberacion. Therefore where certayne great and noble men did instantly desire vs that we would with all diligence possible loke for this case that after ensueth, and afterwarde to geue our iudgement vpon thesame, accordyng to moste equitie, right, and conscience, stickyng only to the trueth: All the doctors of diuinitie of this Vniuersitie, when we had euery one by himselfe examined the matter at home in our houses, came all together into one place and there treated vpon it many dayes with asmuche connyng & learnyng as we could, we anon loked on the case together, we examined it together, we compared all thyng together, we handelyng euery thing by it selfe, did trye them euen as you would say by lyne and rule, we brought forth all maner of reasons, whiche we thought could be brought for the contrary part and afterward solued them yea euen the reasons of the moste reuerend father Cardinal Caietane, yea & moreover the Deuteronomi dispensacion of stirryng vp the brothersse, & shortly after all other maner of reasons & opinions of y<sup>e</sup> cōtrary part, as many as semed to belong to this purpose, and this question that was asked of vs was this Whether it was forbydden onely by the ordinance of the churche or els by the law of God, that a man might not mary the wyfe left of his brother departed without children? and if it were commaunded by both the lawes not to be done, whether the Pope may dispenche with any man to make suche mariage? the whiche question nowe that we haue examined it both by our selfe secretly and also openly & diligently and exactly as we could possible, and discussed it after y<sup>e</sup> best maner that our wittes would serue: we determine, geue iudgement and say, and as stily as we can we witnes and without any doubt do stedfastly hold that this mariage should be horrible, accursed & to be cried out vpon and vterly abhorrible not onely for a christen mā but for an infidele, vnfaythfull or heathen. And that it is prohibite vnder greuous paynes and punishementes by the lawe of God, of nature and of man, & that the Pope, though that he almoste may do all thinges, vnto whom Christ did geue the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, hath no power to geue a dispensacion to any man for to contracte suche a mariage for any maner of cause, consideration or suggestion And all we be ready at all tymes and in all places to defende and maintaine the truth of this our conclusion In witnes wherof we haue made this present writyng, and haue fortified thesame both with the seale of our vniuersitie and also with the seale of our College of doctors of diuinitie and haue subscri-

deb and signed it with our general & accustomed subscripcion in the Cathedral churche of Bonony the .x. day of Iune, the yere of our Lord. M.D.xxx.

The determinacion of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Padua in Italy

They that haue written for the maintenaunce of the catholike faith, affirme that God best and mightiest did geue the preceptes & cōmaundementes of the olde law with his owne mouthe, to be an example for vs, wherein we might see how we should ordein our life and maners, and this God had done before he became manne: and after that he had put vpon him our manhod and was become redemer or byer of mankynde, He made the newe lawe of testament, and of his mere liberalitie did geue it vs, not onely for the cause aforesayd, but also to take away & declare all maner of doubttes and questions that might arise, the which once opened & declared what their very true meanyng is, to the intent that therby we might be made perfetely good which be greatly fruitful to vs & wholesome and seying that this was the mind of God in making these lawes, it hath been our entent & euermore shalbe, as it becometh christen men to folow these most solēpne ordinaūccs of ŷ most high workemaster God, & the help of his light, ŷ is aboue the capacitie of nature, to vtter our iudgement in all maner of doubttes & harde questions. After we had once considered the thing after the best maner, and had by sufficient leysure made it clere by many euident reasons of both parties, and by many auctorities of the fathers of the Church, determinyng nothyng as nere as we can, rashely or without conuenient deliberacion. Seyng therfore that certain great Orators or ambassadors did humbly require and pray vs that we would vouchesafe and serche out with all the diligence that we could this case folowyng & afterwarde to geue our sentence vpon the same, plainly & simply lokyng onely on the trueth. After the Doctors of diuinitie of this Vniuersitie came together, and after that we had euery man examined the thing particularly in our owne houses and haue beaten it with all learnyng and connyng that we were able: Anon when we wer together, we considered, examined and wayed all thynges by them selves, and brought in al maner of reasons, which we thought might by any meanes be made to the cōtrary, and without all colour or cloke did wholly & clerely dissolue them and take them away. And amongst al, the dispensacion by the lawe of Deuteronomy of styrryng vp the brothers sede, and al maner other reasons and determinacions to the contrarye, that semed to vs to pertain any thing to that purpose we vtterly confuted & dispatched them. And the question that is put to vs is this: Whether to mary the wife of our brother departed without children is forbidden only by ŷ lawe of the Church or by ŷ law of God also: and if it be forbidden by both these lawes, whither the Pope may dispençe w any mā for such matrimony or no? which question now that we haue discussed it, & as farre as we could, haue made it clere, both priuately euery man by him selfe, & after al togetheis opely, we say, iudge, decree, witnes & for a truth affirme ŷ such mariage is no mariage, yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of euery christen man, and to be abhominable as a greuous sinne. And that it is as clearely as can be forbidden vnder moste cruel penalties by the lawes of nature, of God and of man. And that the Pope, vnto whom ŷ keyes of the kyngdome of heauen be committed by Christ the sonne of God, hath no power to dispençe by the right and law for any cause, suggestion or excuse, that any suche matrimonye should be contract. For those thynges whiche be forbidden by the law of God be not vnderneath his power but aboue it, nor he is not the Vicar of God as concernyng those thynges, but only in such thynges as God hath not determined himselfe in his lawe, but hath lefte them to the determinacion and ordinaunce of man. And to mayntayne the trueth of this our sentence and conclusion, and for moste certayne and vndoubted defence of thesame, we al of one mynde and accorde shall at all tymes and in euery place be redy. In witnes wherof we haue made this writing & haue authorised it with the accustomed seale of our Vniuersitie and also of our College of diuines, Dated at Padway in the Church of the Hermites of saint Austen the first day of Iuly, in the yere of our Lord M.D xxx.



## The Determinacion of the Vniuersitie of Tholose.

There was treated in our Vniuersitie of Tholose a very harde question Whether it be lawful for the brother to marye her whiche had ben wyfe to his brother now departed, and that without chyldren? There was besyde this another thyng that troubled vs very sore Whether, if the pope which hath the cure of Chustes flocke would by his dispensacion (as men call it) suffre this, that then at the least wyse it might be lawfull? The Rector of the Vniuersitie called to counsell all the doctors regētes that were that tyme at Tholose for to shew their myndes on this question, & that not once, but twyse. For he iudged that counsell geuyng ought not to be hasted nor doone vpon head, & that we had neede of tyme and space to doo anye thyng conveniently & as it ought to bee. At the last there came together into one place all the best learned and connyngest doctors, both of holye diuinitie, and also doctors that were best learned in bothelawes, yea, and finally as many as had any experieñce in any matter & were able to do any thing either by iudgemēt & discrecion, or by eloquence or their excellent wyttes. And there dyd swere that they woulde obey the sacre & holy counsels, & would follow the Decrees of the Fathers, which no man that hath any good conscience wyll violate or breake. And so euery man sayde his mynde, and the matter was debated and reasoned diffusely & at large for bothe parties. In conclusion, we fell so fast to this poynte, that this was the sentence & determinacion that oure Vniuersitie, with one voyce of all, dyd determyne and conclude with most pure and cleare conscience and defiled with no maner of leuen or corrupcion: That it is lawful for no man, neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take her to wyfe that his brother hath lefte. And seeyng that it may not be done by the law of God nor of nature, we answered all. That the Pope can lose no man frō that lawe nor dispence with him. And as for that thing can not be contrary to our sentence & verdyct: that the brother in olde tyme was compelled by the law of Deuteronomy to mary the brothers wyfe departed without issue. For this law was but a shadow and a fygure of thinges to come, which vanyshed away assone as euer the lyght and trueth of the Gospell appeared. And because these thynges be thus, we haue geuen our sentence after this forme aboue, and haue cōmaunded the same to be sygued by our Notary which is our secretary, and to be fortified and authorised by the putting to of our autenticall Seale of our Vniuersitie aforesayde, at Tholose the Calendes or tyist day of Octobre, the yere of our Lorde a thousande. v.C.xxx.

After these Determinacions were read, there were shewed aboue an hundieth bokes drawn by Doctors of straunge Regions, which all agreed the Kynges Mariage to be vnlesfull, whiche were not read, for the day was spent. Then the Chauncellor sayd: Now you of this common house maye reporte in your countreys what you haue seen & heard and then all men shall openly perceyue that the Kyng hath not attempted this matter of wyll or pleasure, as some straūgers reporte, but only for the discharge of his cōscience & suretie of the successiō of his realme. This is the cause of our repayre hyther to you, & now we wyl departe.

When these Determinacions were publyshed, all wyse men in the Realme moche abhorred that mariage but women, & such as wer more wylfull then wyse or learned, spake agaynst the Determinacion, & sayd that the Vniuersities were corrupte & entysed so to doo, which is not to be thought. The Kyng him selfe sore lamented his chaunce & made no maner of myrth nor pastyme as he was wont to do, & dynd & resorted to the quene as he was accustomed, & minished nothyng of her estate, and moche loued & cheryshed their doughter the Lady Mary. but in no wyse he woulde not come to her bed. When Ester began to draw nere, the Parliament for that tyme ended, and was proroged till the last day of Marche, in the nexte yere

In the Parliament aforesayde was an Acte made, that whosoever dyd poyson any persone, shoulde be boyled in hote water to the death. which Acte was made because one Richard Roose, in the Parliament tyme, had poysoned dyuers persons at the Bishop of Rochesters place,

place, which Richard, according to the same Acte, was boyled in Smythfelde the Teneber wednisday followyng, to the terrible example of all other

This wynter season, on the xxvi day of Ianyuer, in the citie of Luxborne in Portyngale, was a wonderous Earthquake, which destioied many houses and towers, and slew many people by fallynge downe of the same, the Kynges Palace shoke so, that he and the Quene, and the Ladyes fled out of their Palace, without any seruantes and sought succour where they myght get it, & sodenly the quakyng ceased. Then the Rockes opened, and out sprange the water, that the shippes in the haven were lyke to haue perished. Then the earth quaked agayne, and dyd more harme then before, and at night it ceased. of whiche Faithquake, many men were murdered and destroyed

An earth-quake

When the vniuersitie aforesayd, & a great nombie of clerkes & well learned men had determined the Kynges marriage to be vnlawfull, detestable, & agaynst Gods lawe, as you haue heard, the Kyng wyllyng the Quene to haue knowlege of the same, sent to her dyuers Loides of the couñcel the last daie of Maie beyng the wednisday in Whitson weke the whiche Loides, in her chaumbre at Grenwyche, declared to her all the Determinacion as you haue hearde, & asked her whether she would for the quyettes of the Kynges conscience, put the matter to iii prelates, & iii temporall Loides of this Realme, or abyde by her appele. The Quene answered. The kyng my fater which concluded my manage, I am sure, was not so ignorant but he asked counsell of clerkes & well learned men before he mayed me the second tyme for if he had had any doute in my marriage, he would not haue disbursed so great a treasure as he dyd, & then all Doctors in maner agreed my manage to be good, in-somoch that the Pope hym selfe, which knew best what was to be dooen, dyd both dispence and ratified my second manage, agaynst whose doynge I meruayle that any persone wyl speake or wryte. And as to the Determinacion of the vniuersitie, I am a womā and lacke wytte and leanyng to aunswere to them, but to God I commit the iudgemēt of that, whether ther haue done iustly or percially for this I am sure, that neither the Kynges fater, nor my fater woulde haue condiscended to our Manage if it had ben declared to be vnlawfull. and where you say that I shoulde put the cause to viii peisones of this Relme for quyettesse of the Kynges conscience, I praye God sende his grace a quyet conscience, and this shall be your answere. That I say I am his lawfull wyfe, and to hym lawfully maryed and by the ordre of holye Chuiche I was to hym espoused as his true wyfe, although I was not so worthy, and in that poynte I will abyde tyll the cowrte of Rome which was pteuy to the begynnyng haue made theiof a determination and finall endyng. With this answer the Loides departed to the Kyng, whiche was soye to heare of her wyllfull opinion, and in especiall that she more trusted in the Popes law, then in keepyng the Piceptes of God

Message sent to the Quene

The Kyng lyke a politicke Prince, perceyued that the Merchaunt straungers, and in especiall, Italians, Spanyardes & Portyngales daly brought Oade, Oyle, Sylke, Clothes of Golde, Veluct & other Merchaūdyse into this Realme; and therefore receiued ready money, which money they euer deliuered to other merchauntes by exchange, & neuer employed the same money on the cōmodities of this Realme, so that thereby the Kyng was hyndered in his Custome outaide, and also the commodities of his Realme were not vttered to the greate hynderaunce of his subiectes wherefore he caused a Proclamacion to bee made in Mydsomer Tearnie, accordynge to an olde Estatute made in the tyme of Kyng Rycharde the second. That no persone should make any exchange contrary to the trew meaning of the same Acte and Estatute, vpon payne to be taken the kynges mortall enemy, and to forfayte all that he myght forfayte. After this Proclamacion, many clothes and other commodities of this Realme were well solde but shortly after Merchauntes fell to exchange agayne, and the Proclamacion was shortly forgotten

A Proclamation of Exchange

The Kyng after Whytson tyde and the Quene remoued to Wyndsore, and there continued tyll the xiiii daye of Iulye, on whiche daye the Kyng remoued to Woodstocke and lefte her at Wyndsore, where she laye a whyle, and after remoued to the Moore, and afterwaide to Esthamstede and after this day, the Kyng and she neuer saw together. Wherefore the Com-



men people daile mured and spake their folysh fantasies. But the affayres of Princes be not ordered by the common people, nor it were not conuenient that all thynges were opened to them.

After this, the Kyng sent certayne Lordes to the Queene to Estamstede, to aduise her to be confirmable to the lawe of God, and to shewe vnto her, that all the Vniuersities had clearely determind, that the Pope coulde in no wyse dispence with her Marriage, and therefore the Dispensacion to which she most trusted of all, was clearely voyde and of none effecte. These, with manye mo causes and aduysementes were declared to her, whiche nothyng moued her at all, but styll she sayde. Truly I am the Kynges tiew wyfe, and to hym maryed. and if all Doctors were dead, or law, or learning so farre out of mannes mynde at that tyme of our maryage, yet I cannot thinke that the couste of Rome and the whole Church of Englande would consent to a thing vnlawfull and detestable (as you call it) but styll I say I am his wyfe, and for him wyl I pray. With this answer the Lordes departed, and came to the Kyng and made reporte as you haue hearde

This marriage was not alonly talked of in England, but in Fraunce, Spayne, Italy, yea, thorough all Christendome in maner, and especially in thempetours Courte, insomuche as a great Marques of Spayne sayde to syr Nicholas Heruy knyght beyng the Kynges ambassador in thempetours Cowrte at Gaunte My Lorde Embassador of Englande, I meruayle not a lytell why the Kyng your Master dalyeth so with thempetours Aunte, she is dissended I assure you of a noble bloode and hys Parentage, thempetours Maestie may not nor wyl not suffre soche iniurye to be doone to his bloode and lynage, that she shoulde whole xxii. yeres and more serue him as his wyfe and bedfelow and now to reiecte her, what Princely maner is that, therein is neither loue nor loyalte? For if a poore veilet had so long serued a Prince, what herte coulde haue then reiecte hym or put him from hym? it can not be sayd that your Kyng is well councelled: the matter is moche meruayled at amongst Christen Princes & thinke her not to be honestly handeled nor honorably And if it be so that she be not his wyfe (because she was once his brothers wyfe) as your Doctors say & affirme, then no man can excuse your Kyng nor saye but that she hath ben euyl handeled, and kepte lyke a Concubine or Paramour for the bodely appetite, which is a great spotte, shame, & rebuke to her and to her whole lynage, which spot no wayes can be sponged out nor recompenced, for shame in a kynred can by no treasure be redeemed. If the Kyng your Maister remembre well this matter, he shall fynde that it transcendeth faire aboue the losse of erthly possessyons, I woulde he woulde be better aduysed.

The Englysh Ambassador answered My Lorde, my comission extēdeth not to answer this matter, but to enforme you of the truth, I wyl somewhat say besyde my commission. Fyrst I say to you, that the kyng my maister neuer ment in this matter but honorably, truly, and vertuously, bothe for the pleasure of God and the profyte and suerty of his Realme, nor neuer was nor shall be anye Prince that euer was better contented and pleased with a woman then he hath ben with her; nor neuer Prince more loued, cherished, nor honoured a woman, then the king my Maister hath dooen her, & would with herte, mynde, and wyll her styll keepe as his wyfe, if Goddes lawe woulde suffre it: My Lord, if you remembre well all thyng, you shall fynde that this doubt was fyrst moued in the Councell of Spayne, when the Emperour and the Kyng of Englande were agreed, that thempetoure shoulde marye the Ladye Marye the Kynges Doughter Vpon that communicacion this doubte was put to thempetours Councell, whether she were the Kynges lawfull Doughter or not, because it was well known that he had maryed his brothers wyfe.

This matter was not so secreete but it sprd into the councell bothe of Fraunce and Flaunders, to the great defamacion of the Kyng of Englande, & to the great vncertaintye of the successyon of his Realme: wherof when he was aduertised, I thinke neuer Prince tooke it more sorrowfully nor more dolently, and for satisfiyinge of his conscience, he called his Cleargie and felte their opinions, and not trustyng his owne subiectes onely (which I ensure you be excellently lerned) sent to all the Vniuersities of Fraunce, Italye, and dyuers other

Realmes

Realmes to know their iudgementes in this case, and surely the Kyng my master soie lamenteth his chaunce and bewaileth the tyme myspent if it so succede, for then is his Realme destitute of a lawfull heyre begotten of his body, which is the greatest displeasure that maye come to a Prince. The Mariage was well ment bothe of the kynges father and the Quenes father, and they married together by the aduyce and counsell of their fiendes, and so foungly continued together as man and wyfe without any scruple or doubte, till you of Spayne moued fyrst the question and put the maryage in ambiguitie, and therfore you can not with honour thynke but that the Kyng hath done lyke a wyse Prince to searche out the solucion of your doubte which so neare toucheth his soule and the suretye of his Realme. And all thyng that he hath done he hath done by great aduysement and with a great deliberacion, wherefore no reasonable man can saye but he hath done lyke a wyse and vertuous Prince. The Marques hearynge this aunswere sayde, that the Kyng dyd wysely to trye the truethe, and was somewhat ashamed of that that he had spoken, as I was informed by them that were present.

You haue hearde before howe the Cleargye in their Conuocacion had graunted to the Kyng the sōme of one hundreth thousand pounce to be pardoned of the Premunire: for leuyng of the whiche summe, euery Bysshop in his Dioces called before him all the Priestes as well cliauntrie and parysh priestes as Periones and Vycars, amongst whom, Doctor Ihon Stokesley Bysshop of London, a man of great wytte and learnyng, but of lytle discrecion and humanitie (which caused hym to be out of the fauoure of the common people) called before hym all the preistes within the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the first day of Septembre beyng fridaye, in the Chapter House of Saynt Paull, at whyche daye the Priestes appeared, and the Bysshoppes policye, was to haue onely syxe or eight priestes together, and by perswacions to haue caused them to graunte some porsion towarde the payment of the foresayde One Hundreth. M. pounce, but the nombre of the Priestes was so great, for they were syxe hundreth at the least, & with them came many Temporall men to heare of the matter, that the Bysshoppe was disapoynted of his purpose: for when the Bysshoppes officers called in certayne Priestes by name into the Chapter house with that, a great nombre entered, for they putte the Bysshoppes Officers that kepte the dore a syde. After this the officers got the dore shut agayne. then the priestes without sayde: We wyll not be kepte without, & our fellowes be within, we knowe not what the Bysshoppe wyll doo with them. The Temporall men beyng present stomaked and comforted the priestes to enter, so that by force they opened the dore, and one strake the Bysshoppes Officer ouer the face and entered the Chapter house and many temporall men with them, and long it was or any sylence coulede be made: and at last when they were appeased, the Byshop stode vp and sayde: Brethern, I meruayle not a lytell why you be so heddy and know not what shall be sayde to you, therefore I pray you to keepe sylence and to heare me patiently: My fiendes all, you knowe well that we be men frayle of condicion and no Angels, and by frailtie and lacke of wysedome wee haue misdemeaned our selfe toward the Kyng our Soueraygne Lord and his lawes, so that all wee of the Cleargye were in the Premunire, by reason wherof, all our Promociōns, Landes, Goodes and Catelles were to hym forfayte and our bodies readye to be enprisoned, yet his gracie moued with pittie and compassyon, demaunded of vs what wee coulede say why he shoulde not extende his lawes vpon vs, then the fathers of the Cleargye humbly besought his grace of mercye, to whom he answered that he was euer enclyned to mercye then for all our great offences we had lytell penaunce for where he might by the rygor of his law haue taken al our lyuelod, goodes & catels, he was contented with one hundreth thousand poundes to be payde in fyue yeres & although that this sōme be more then we maye easely beare, yet by the rygor of his lawes we should haue borne the whole burdeyne: Wherefore my brethern, I charitably exhorte you to beare your paites of your lyuelod and salary towarde the payment of this sōme graunted. Then it was shortly sayde to the Bysshoppe My Lorde, twentye nobles a yere is but a bare liuynge for a priest, for nowe victayle and euery thyng in maner is so deare, that pouertie in maner enforceth vs to

The bi-  
shopes tal-  
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saye



saye naye: besyde that, my Lord we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we medeled neuer with the Cardinals faculties, let the Bysshoppes and Abbottes whych haue offended paye. Then the Bysshoppes officers gaue to the priestes hyghe woordes, whiche caused them to be the more obstinate. Also dyuers temporall men whych were present comforted the Priestes and bade them agree to no payment. In this tumult, dyuers of the Bysshoppes seruantes were buffeted and stryken so that the Bysshop beganne to be a frayde, and with fayre woordes appeased the noyse, and for all thynges whiche were done or sayde there he pardonned them and gaue to them his blessing and praied them to departe in charitie. And then they departed thynkyng to heare no more of the matter, but they were disceyued, for the Byshop went to syr Thomas Moore then beyng Lorde Chauncellor (which greatly fauoured the Bysshop and the Cleargye) and to hym made a greuous complaynte and declared the facts very greuously, wherevpon commaundement was sent to syr Thomas Pargitor Mayer of the Cite, to attache certayne priestes and temporall men, and so xv priestes and v temporall men were arrested, of the whych, some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleet, and other Prisons, where they remained long after.

In this season were dyuers Preachynges in the Realme, one contrarye to another concerning the Kynges Maryage, and in especiall one Thomas Abell clerke, bothe preached and wrote a Booke, that the Mariage was lawfull, whiche caused many symple men to beleue his opinion. This Abell was the Queenes Chaplayne, and wrote this Booke to please her withall wherfore the Kyng caused a Determinaciō of the Vniuersities, & all the iudgementz of gret Clerkes to be compyled into a Booke and to be Printed, whiche Booke dyd satisfie the myndes of all indifferent & discrete persons. but some men were perciall that neither learnyng nor reason could satisfy them wyfull myndes

This yere the Kyng kepthe his Christemas at Grenewyche with great solempnie, but all men sayde that there was no myrthe in that Christemas because the Queene and the Ladies were absent.

After Chyustemas the xv daye of January the Parliament began to sytte, & amongst dyuers griefes whych the Commons were greued with, they sore cōplayned of the crueltie of the Ordinaries, for callyng men before theym *Ex officio* that is, by reason of ther office. For the Ordinaries woulde sende for men and ley Accusacions to them of Heresye, and say they were accused, and ley Articles to them, but no Accuser should be brought furth, whiche to the Commons was very dredeful and greuous: for the partie so Assited must either Abjure or be burned, for Purgacion he myght make none

- When this matter and other Exactions done by the Cleigy in their Courtes were long debated in the Common House, at the last it was concluded & agreed, that all the griefes which the temporall men were greued with, shoulde be putte in writyng and delyuered to the Kyng, whiche by great aduyce was done wherfore, the xviii. day of Marche the Common speaker accompanied with dyuers Knyghtes and Burgesses of the Common House came to the Kynges prsence, and there declared to hym how the temporal men of his Realme were sore agreued with the cruell demeanoure of the Prelates and Ordinaries, which touched bothe their bodyes and goodes, all whiche griefes, the Speaker delyuered to the Kyng in writynge, most humbly besechyng his grace to take soche an ordie & duction in that case, as to his hygh wysedome myght seme most conuenient. Further he beseched the kyng to consider what payne, charge and cost, his humble subiectes of the nether house had susteyned syth the begynnynge of this Parliament, and that it woulde please his grace of his Princely benignite to dissolue his courte of Parliament, that his subiectes myght repayre into their countreys

When the Kyng had receyued the Supplicacion of the Commons, he paused a whyle and then sayde: It is not the offyce of a Kyng which is a Iudge to be to lyghte of credence, nor I haue not, nor wyll not vse the same: for I wyll heare the partie that is accused speake or I geue any sentence. your booke conteyneth dyuers Articles of great and weyghtye matters, and as I perceyue, it is agaynste the Spirituall persones and Prelates of our Realme, of  
whiche

whiche thyng you desyre a redresse and a reformation, whiche desyre and request is mere contraryant to your last Peticion For you requyre to haue the Parlyament dissolued and to departe into your countreys, and yet you woulde haue a reformation of your griefes with all diligence. Although that your payne haue ben great in taryng, I assure you myne hath ben no lesse then yours, and yet all the payne that I take for your wealthes is to me a pleasure: therefore if you wyll haue profyte of your complaynte, you must tary the tyme, or els to be without remedy. I moche commend you that you wyll not contende nor stand in stryfe with the Spirituall men, whiche be youre Christen brethren, but moche more me thynketh that you shoulde not contende with me that am youre Souereygne Lorde and Kyng, considering that I seke peace and quyettesse of you. For I haue sente to you a byll concerninge wardes and primer season, in the which thynges I am greatly wronged: wherfore I haue offered you reason as I thinke, yea, and so thynketh all the Lordes, for they haue set their handes to the booke. Therfore I assure you, if you wyll not take some reasonable ende now when it is offered, I wyll seiche out the extremitie of the lawe, and then wyll I not offre you so moche agayne with this answere, the Speaker and his company departed. The cause why the Kyng spake these woordes was this: Daily men made feoffementes of their landes to their vses, and declared their wylles of their landes with soch remainders, that not alonly the Kyng but all other Lordes lost their Wardes, Mariages and relieffes, and the kyng also lost his primer season, & the profyte of the lyuerey, whiche was to hym very preudicicall and a great losse: wherfore he, lyke an indifferent Prince, not willing to take all, nor to lose all, caused a byll to be drawn by his learned counsell, in the which was deuysed, that euerye man myght make his wyll of the halfe of his lande, so that he lefte the other halfe to the heyre by descent. When this Byll came fyrst amonges the Commons, lorde how the ignoraunt persones were greued, and howe shamefully they spake of the byll and of the Kynges learned Counsell: but the wyse men which vnderstoode & sawe the myschiefe to come, would gladly haue had the byll to be assented to, or at the least to haue put the Kyng in a suretye of the thyrde or fowthe parte, which offer I was credibly informed the Kyng woulde haue taken, but many frowarde and wylfull persones, not regarding what myght ensue (as it dyd in deede) woulde neither consent to the byll as the Lordes had agreed and set to their handes, nor yet agree to no reasonable qualification of the same, whiche they sore repented: For after this, the Kyng called the Iudges and best learned men of his Realme, and ther disputed this matter in the Chauncery, and agreed that lande coulde not be wylled by the ordre of the common law. wherupon an Act was made, that no man myght declare his wyll of no parte of his land: which Acte sore greued the Lordes and Gentlemen that had many chyliden to setfurth. Therefore you may iudge what mychiefe cometh of wylfull blyndnesse and lacke of foresyght in so great causes.

This Parliament was proroged tyll the tenth day of Apryll, in the whiche Parliament was an Acte made, that Bysshops shoulde pay no more Annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope: for it was openly proued that there was payed for the Bulles of Bysshoppes, in the fourthe yere of Kyng Henry the seuenth, the Kynges father, tyll this yere, one hundredre thre score thousand pounde sterlyng, besyde all other Dispensacions and Pardones, wherof the summe was incredible.

When the Parliament was begonne agayne after Ester, there came downe to the Common house the Lorde Chauncelloure, the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Erles of Arundell, Oxforde, Northumbrelande, Rutlande, Wylshyre and Sussex, and after they were set, the Lorde Chauncellor declared, howe the Kyng was aduertised by his Counsell, and in especiall by the Duke of Norffolke, howe on the Marches betwene Englande and Scotlande was very lytell habitacion on the Englysh syde, but on the Scottysch syde was great habitacion, and the Scottes dwelled euen iust on the border, by the reason wherof they inuaded Eng- land dyuers tymes, and dyd to the Kynges subiectes great hurte and displeasure: wherfore the Kyng intended to make dwelling houses there, and also to make new diuers Pyles and stoppes to let the Scottysch men from their inuasions, to the great commoditie of all his



## THE. XXIII. YERE OF

people there dwellyng, which thynges coude not be doone without great cost: Wherefore considering the Kynges good entente, he sayde, that the Lordes thoughte it conueniente to graunte to the Kyng some reasonable ayde towarde his charges, and prayed the Cōmons to consulte on the same, and then he and all the Lordes departed.

After their departure, the cōmons cōsidering the kinges good entent, louyngly graūted to him a. xlv. toward his charges, but this graūt was not enacted at this Sessyon, because that sodeinly began a Pestilence in Westmyenster, wherefore the Parlyament was proroged tyll the nexte yere.

In this yere was an olde Tolle demaunded in Flaunders of Englyshmen, called the Tolle of the Hounde, which is a Ryuer and a passage: The Tolle is xii. pence of a Fardell. This Tolle had ben often tymes demaunded, but neuer payed insomoeche that Kyng Henry the seuenth, for the demaunde of that Tolle, prohibited all his subiectes to kepe any Marte at Antwerpe or Barow, but caused the Martes to be kepte at Calyes. at which tyme it was agreed that the sayde Tolle shoulde neuer be demaunded, so that the Englysh men woulde resorte agayne into the Dukes countrey, and after that, it was not demaunded tyll now: Wherefore the Kyng sent Doctor Knyght and other to Calyes, and thither came thempetours Commissioners, and the matter was put in suspence for a tyme

Ye haue hearde before how the Kyng had purchased the Byssshop of Yorkes place, whiche was a fayre Byssshops house, but not meete for a Kyng: wherefore the Kyng purchased all the medowes about saynt Iames, and all the whole house of s. Iames, and there made a fayre mansion and a parke, & buylded many costly and commodious houses for great pleasure.

Now must I declare to you a noble enterprise, although it were not doone in England, yet because diuers Englysh men were at that auenture, I wyll declare it as the Lorde Master of the Religion of Saynt Ihons wrote to the Lorde of saynt Ihons in Englande: The Lorde Master of the Religion, lamentyng sore the losse of the Rodes, whiche he thought not sone to be recouered, consydered that the Turke helde the towne of Modon whiche standeth on the See syde, and is a fayre Porte, and woulde haue gladly had that towne oute of the Turkes possession; called to him a trusty seruauit of his, called Caloram, which was well langaged, and to hym declared, that he woulde haue hym to sayle to Modon, and to dwell there as a Turke vnknown, and if he myght by any meanes to come into seruice with Massie de Huga, which was Capitayne there. Caloram answered, that to go thither for the accomplyshyng of the Lord masters desyre, he was very well content, but to come in seruyce and fauoure with the Capitayne, must come in processe of tyme and by continuance, and that not without great expence. The Lorde Maister promysed hym sufficient treasure and a great rewarde. When Caloram was perfectly enstructed in all thyng he toke his leaue and came priuely to Modon, & there dwelled, & within shorte space he was the Capitayns seruauit, & for his great diligence was with his master in great fauoure. Then he wrote to the Lorde Maister all thyng, and asseyntayned hym that his entent coule not take effecte hastily, but bade hym euer be readye. Thys matter thus continued two yere, in whiche tyme Caloram well perceyued how the towne myght be taken, and therefore wrote to the Lord Master, which shortly came to a place called Mucollutea. The Turkes haue a condicion in August & Septembre, to resorte into the countrey to see the fruytes, and to solace them selfe, wherefore the Lord Master appoynted the Prior of Rome and the Turcuplyar of England to be Capitaynes of this enterprise, and with them were lx. knyghtes of the Religion, and. vii. C. and fyfye souldyers in. vi. Galyes & Brigantes, and passed the Cape Blanke in the lande of Calaber, the. xviii. day of August, and there they ankered, and from that place they myght sayle lx. myle to Modon, vnder the bylles of Strofiadecs. And in the waye they stopped all the shippes that passed toward Modon: & from thence they sent woorde to Caloram, which sent them woorde, not to be to hastye. for the Venicians had reported in Modon, that the Galyes of the Religion were on the see: and also a Capitayne of the Turkes, called Frombylam was come to Modon with. ii. C. horsemen

horsemē to vew the towne so that Caloram was in great feare of his enterpryce. But the same nyght there came to Modon a Gripe or small vessell, in the which were thre knyghtes of the Religion all in marynors arrey, and there sought for fresh water and other victails necessary, which knyghtes spake with Caloram, and the same day the Capitayne Frombylam departed from Modon. Then Caloram sent worde to the Capitaynes, that he trusted that their iourney shoulde be well sped which knyghtes departed and came to the Capitaynes, whiche wysely assembled all their people at a Roade called Stroffades, and there declared their commission of their Lord Master, and also shewed Calorams letters, whereof every man was greatly conforited to know what enterprise they went about. Then it was appoynted that the Prior of Rome shoulde fyrst entre and take the gate of the principall tower, and the Turkeiplier with vi. English knyghtes were appoynted to defende the Molle or Peere at the hauen mouthe and to every gate was a Capitayn appoynted with a nombre for the gates of the towne and the Fortresses were well knowne to the Religion of s Ihon Baptist. When all this ordre was appoynted, the Galies disancored & came to the Ile of Sapience. iii. myle from Modon. All this whyle Caloram was in great feare, tyll the two Capiteins sent a vessel called a Gripe, & in her, iii. C. men. Thei were no soner entered the peere, but the Turkes came a borde & asked for the merchaūtz (for all the men wer apparelled lyke Mariners) they answered that the Merchauntes which had the charge were gone a land into the towne, & sayde they would bring them to the Merchauntes, & that all their merchaūdise was good wodge, which thyng the Turkes moch desyre. So the christē knyghtes lyke mariners went with the Turkes, which wer to the nombre of. xiii. entending to begyn their enterprise, & some went toward the tower, and some went toward the gate following the. xiii. Turkes, & after them issued all the souldiers out of the Gripe, & so with force thei got the gate, & after that f̄ molle or pyre, & on that set a bāner of the Religion, to the which Caloram helped moch with that came all the Galyes and landed. Then began a terrible slaughter of all partes, the Turkes fled, and the Christen men followed, and the Capitaynes tooke the walles: and from thence Caloram lead them to the house of Messyre Huga, in whiche house was a great strength. For his house was lyke a Fortresse or tower, whiche ioyned to the walle of the towne, out of which was a Posterne, wherof issued out certayn Turkes which askryed the Christen men abrode in the countrey. But in the meane season the Christen men assauted the sayde Fortesse, whiche was sore defended and there the Prior of Rome was by a hackbush slayn, whiche chaunce made the Christen men more furious, & slew in the towne. iii. C. Turkes and above. Then they blew to reitre, and councelled together & well perceyued that they coude not keepe the towne excepte they had the fortresse or tower, which they could not obtayne without a Siege, and then they had no ordinaunce nor people ynough, thertore they determined to take their most aduauntage by pyllage, and so spoyled the towne & tooke. viii. C. prisoners & sent them to the Galyes. And when the Turkes saw the Cristen men styll pylfer (as the vsage of souldiers is) they issued out of their holde & fortiesse and fought with the Christē men boldly in the stretes, so that the stretes ranne bloode in the canels, the fyghte was sore and euer the Turkes came in at the posterne by askry, and assauted the Christen men, which valiantly defended them and for all the Turkes power came to their Galies with their pray and prisoners, and came to the Ile of Malto with all their booty, not leesyng. xl. persones in all their iourney: wherof the Loude Master was moche reioyced & well rewarded Caloram, which also came with them to Malto. This enterprise was dooen on a sonday, beyng the. xviii. day of August, the yere of our Lord a thousand, fyue hundreth, thyrtye and one, and this. xxiii. yere of his Reigne.

After this enterprise, the xxii. day of Septembre, dyed Lady Loys Dutchesse of Angulesme and mother to the Frenche Kyng, a wyse and a sad Lady. whereof the Kyng beyng aduertised, caused a solempne Obsequye to be made and kepte for her in the Abbey of Waltham in Essex, at the whiche solempnitie, the Kynge and a great nombre of the Nobles



and Prelates of the Realme were present in mourning apparell at the Kynges coste and charge.

### ¶ THE. XXIIII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this. xxiiii. yere, the Lady Anne Bulleyue was so moche in the Kynges fauour, that the comen people which knew not the Kynges trew entent, sayd and thought that the absence of the Quene was onely for her sake, which was not trew: for the king was openly rebuked of Preachers for keepyng company with his brothers wife, which was thoccaseyon that he eschued her companye, tyll the truth wer tried.

The last daye of Aprill the parliamēt sittyng, the kyng sent for Thomas Awdeley, Spekar of the common house, and certain other, and declared to thē, how they had exhibited a boke of their greues, the last yere against the Spiritualltie, whiche at their requestes, he had deliuered to his spirituall subiectes, to make answeere there to, but he could haue no answeere, till within three daies last past, which answeere he deliuered to the Spekar, sayyng: we thynke their answeere will smally please you, for it semeth to vs very slender, you bee a greate sorte of wisemen, I doubt not but you will loke circumspectly on the matter, and we will be indifferent betwene greues. And for a truth their answeere was very Sophisticall, and nothyng auoydyng the greues of the lay people. and farther the kyng saied, that he marueiled not a litle, why one of the Parliament house spake openly of the absence of the Quene frō hym, whiche matter was not to be determind there, for he saied it touched his soule, and wished the matrimony to be good, for then had he neuer been vexed in cōscience, but the docters of the vniuersities said he, haue determind the mariage to be voyde, and detestable before God, whiche grudge of conscience, caused me to absteyn from her compaignie, and no folishe or wanton appetite: for I am said he. xli yere old, at whiche age the lust of man is not so quicke, as in lustie youth. and sayyng in Spain and Portyngall it hath not been seen, that one man hath married two sisteis, the one beyng carnally knowē before: but the brother to mary the brothers wife was so abhoired emongest all nacions, that I neuer heard it, that any Christen man did it but myself: wherfore you se my conscience trobled and so I praeie you reporte: so the Spekar departed, and declared to the commons the kynges sayyng, bothe of the Spirituall mennes answeere, and also concernyng the kynges mariage, which slight answeere displeased the commons.

The occasion why the Kyng spake of his mariage, was because one Temse in the common house, moued the commons to sue to the kyng, to take the Quene again into his compaignie, and declared certain greate mischiefes, as in bastardyng the Lady Marie, the kynges onely childe, and diuerse other inconueniencies, whiche woordes were reported to the kyng, whiche was the cause that he declared his conscience

The xi. date of Maie, the kyng sent for the Spekar again, and. xii. of the common house, hauyng with hym eight Lordes, and saied to them, welbeloued subiectes, we thought that y<sup>e</sup> clergie of our realme, had been our subiectes wholly, but now wee haue well perceined, that they bee but halfe our subiectes, yea, and sceae our subiectes: for all the Prelates at their consecration, make an othe to the Pope, clene contrary to the othe that they make to vs, so that they seme to be his subiectes, and not ours, the copie of bothe the othes I deliuer here to you, requyryng you to inuent some ordre, that we bee not thus deluded, of our Spirituall subiectes The Spekar departed and caused the othes to be redde in the cōmon house, the very tenor whereof ensueth

Othe to the  
Pope.

" I Ihon bishop or Abbot of A. fīō this houre forward, shalbe faithfull and obedient to sancte Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my lorde the Pope, and his successors Canonically enteryng, I shall not be of counsaill nor consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall bee taken, or suffre any violence, or any wrong by any meanes, their Counsaill to me credited, by them their messyngers or letters, I shall not willyngly

willyngly discover to any person: the Papacie of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the Regalie of saint Peter, I shall help and retain, and defende against all men: the Legate of the Sea Apostolicke, goyng and comyng I shall honourably entieate, the rightes, honors, priuileges, aucthorities of the Church of Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserued, defended, augmented and promoted, I shall not bee in counsaill, treatie, or any acte, in the whiche any thyng shalbe imagined against hym, or the Church of Rome, there rightes, states, honors, or powers. And if I knowe any suche to bee moued or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as sone as I can, I shall aduertise hym or suche as maie geue hym knowlege. The rules of the holy fathers, the Decrees, Ordinaunces, Sentences, Disposicions, Reseruacions, Prouisions, and Cominaundementes Apostolicke, to my power I shall kepe and cause to be kept of othei. Heretickes, Sismatikes and rebelles to our holy father and his successors, I shal resist and persecute to my power, I shall come to the Synode, when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonically impediment, the lightes of the Apostles I shall visite yerely personally, or by my deputie, I shall not alien nor sell my possessions, without the Popes Counsaill: so God me helpe and the holy Euangelistes."

"I Ihon Bishop of A vtterly renounce and clerely forsake all suche clauses, woordes, sentences and grauntes, whiche I haue or shall haue here after, of the Popes bolines, of and for the Bishopricke of A that in any wise hath been, is or hereafter maie bee hurtefull or preiudiciall to your highnes, your heires, successors, dignitie, priuilege, or estate royall: and also I dooe sweie, that I shalbe faithfull and true, and faithe and truth I shall beare to you my souereigne loide, and to your heires kynges of thesame, of life and lymine, & yeathly worship aboute all creatures, for to lue and dye with you and yours, against all people, and diligently I shalbe attendant, to all your nedes and busines, after my witt and power, and your counsaill I shall kepe and holde, knowlegyng my self to hold nry bishopricke of you onely, besechyng you of restitution of the temporalities of thesame, promisyng as before, that I shalbe faithfull, true, and obedient subiect to your sated highnes heires, and successors duryng my life, and the seruices and other thynges dewe to youre highnes, for the restitution of the Temporalities, of thesame Bishopricke I shall truly dooe and obediently perfourme, so God me helpe and all saintes"

The opening of these othes, was one of the occasions, why the Pope within two yere folowyng, lost all his iurisdiction in Englande, as you shall here afterwaide. The xiiii daie of parliament was proroged, til the iii daie of February next ensuyng. After whiche prorogacion, sir Thomas More Chaunceller of Englade, after long sute made to the kyng to be discharged of that office, the xvi. daie of Maie he deliuered to the kyng, at Westminster, the greates Seale of Englande, and was with the kynges fauor discharged, whiche Seale the kyng kept til Whitsontide folowyng, and on the Mondaye in Whitson weke, he dubbed Thomas Awdeley, Speker of the parliament knight, and made hym lorde keeper of the great Seale, and so was he called.

Thomas  
Awdeley  
keeper of the  
great Seale.

The kyng beyng in progresse this Sommer, was aduertised that the Pope and the Frenche Kyng, had appoynted to mete at Marcelles in Prouince, in the beginnyng of the nexte Spryng, wherefore the kyng like a wise and polittike prince, thought it conuenient to speake with the Frenche kyng in his awne person, before the Pope and he should come together, and to declare to hym bothe the determinacion, of the Vniuersities and Doctors conceyning his Matrimonie, and also the generall counsailes, whiche ordeined suche causes, to be tried in the prouinces and countreis, where the doubt should use, trustyng that the Frenche kyng should cause the Pope to encline to Goddes law, and to leaue his awne tradicions and voyde dispensacions, whereupon bothe the princes concluded, to mete in October tolowyng, betwene Calice & Bulleyn wherefore the kyng of Englande sent out his letters, to his nobilitie, prelates, and seruantes, commaundyng them to bee ready at Cantorbury, the xxvi daie of September, to passe the Seas with hym, for the accomplisshyng of the enteruew, betwene hym and his brother the Frenche kyng. Many men were sory to  
here



here, that the kyng should passe the sea in Winter, and specially in October, when the seas be rough, but their saynges letted not his purpose: for he marched forward from Amphill to Wynsore, where on Sundae beyng the firste daie of September, he created the lady Anne Bulleyn, Marchiones of Penbroke, and gaue to her one thousand pound lande by the yere, and that solemnitie finished, he rode to the Colledge to Masse, and when the Masse was ended, a newe league was concluded & sworne, betwene the kyng and the French kyng, Messire Pomoray the Frenche Ambassador then beyng present. After which othe taken, Doctor Fox the kynges amner, made an eloquent oracion in Latin, in praise of peace, loue, and amitie: whiche dooen the trumpettes blewe, and the kyng returned to the Castle, where was kepte a solempne feast. From thence the kyng remoued to Grenewiche, and so forward to Cantorbury, where at the daie appoynted, he found ready furnished, all suche as were commaunded to passe the sea with hym, well and richely adorned, bothe they and their seruantes.

The x. daie or October, the kyng came to Douer, and on the xi. daie in the mornynge beyng Fridaie, at thre of the clocke, he tooke shippynge in Douer rode, and before. x. of the clocke thesame daie, he with the lady Marchiones of Pembroke, landed at Caleis, where he was honorably receiued with procession, and brought to saint Nicholas church, where he hard Masse, and so to his place called Thexchequer, where he lodged. And on the Sondaie after came to Caleis, the lorde Roche Baron, and Monsire de Mountpesat, messengers fro the French kyng, aduertysing the kyng of Englad, that the French kyng would repaire to Aburle thesame night marchyng towarde Bulleyn, of whiche tidynges the kyng was very glad, but sodainly came a messenger, & reported that the great Master of Fraunce, and the Archebischoppe of Roan, with diuers noble men of Fraunce, wer come to Sandfeld, entending to come to Caleis, to salute the kyng, from the kyng their Master. He beyng therof aduertised, sent in greate hast the. xv. daie of October, the Duke of Norffolke the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Oxford, Darby, and Rutlande, the lorde Sandes, and the lorde Fitzwater, with iii. C. gentlemen, whiche honorably receiued the French lordes, at the Englishe pale, and so brought the to the kynges presence in Caleis, whiche stode vnder a rich clothe of estate of suche value that they muche mused of the riches. The kyng (as he that knewe all honor and nurture) receiued the Frenche lordes, very louyngly and amiably, and with the toke a daie & place of metyng. these lordes were highly feasted, & after diner departed to Bullein.

While the kyng lay thus in Caleis, he vewed the walles, towers, and Bulwerkes, and deuised certain newe fortificaciōs, for the maintenance and defence of the toure. The toune of Caleis had at this season. xxiiii. C. beddes, and stablyng for. ii. M. horses, beside the villages adiacent.

The. xx. daie of this moneth, the kyng beyng aduertised, that the Frēche kyng was come to a village called Marguisō, nigh to the Englishe pale, marched out of Caleis the next daie after, accompaigned with the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and with the Marqueses of Dorcet and Excester, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Essex, Deiby, Rutlande, Huntynghdon, and Sussex, and diuerse Viscountes, Barons, Knightes of the Garter, and Gentlemen, freshely appareled, and richly trimmed, and so passed toward the place, appoynted for the enteruewe, leuyng behind the greatest part of y<sup>e</sup> yomen in Caleis, because that Bulleyn was to litle for bothe the traines. For the Frenchemen said their train was. xx. M. horse, whiche caused the Englishmen to cast many perelles, and especially because it was bruted abrode, that the Frenche kyng should saie, the Kyng of Englande was once his enemye, and maintained the Emperour and the duke of Burbō against hym, and now he was become his moste frende. The rehersyng of these olde grudges many Englishmen suspected, and very lothe that the kyng should go to Bulleyn, but the kyng continued still in his iorney, and came to Sandynghelde, and a litle from that place in a valey, was the Frenche kyng nobely accompaigned, with three hundred horse, and not muche more. The Kynges train waied on the lefte hande, to geue the Frenche Kyng  
and

and his train the right hande: like wise did the Frenche part, to geue the Englishemen the right hande so the twoo kynges with all louely honor met with bare heddes, and embraied other in suche fashon, that all that behelde them reioysed. The kyng of Englande was apparell<sup>The Kynges apparell</sup> pared, in a cote of great riches, in braides of golde laied lose on Russet Veluet, and set with Traifoyles, full of pearle and stone. The Frenche Kyng was in a coate of crimosin veluet, all to cut, lined with slender cloth of gold plucked out through the cuttes. The noble men on both parties, wer richely apparreled, and as was reported, the Frenche kyng saied openly, to the kyng of Englande sir you be thesame persone, that I am moste bounde to in the worlde, and sithe it hath pleased you, in persone to visite me, I am bound in persone to seke you, and for the very frendship, that I haue found in you, I am yours and will be, and so I require you to take me, and with that put of his bonet: the kyng of England soberly answered, If euer I did thyng to your likyng I am glad, & as touchyng the pain to come hether to se you, I assure you it is my greate comforte, yea, and I had come farther to haue visited you. Then the kynges embrased the lordes and estates, as the French kyng the lordes of England, and the kyng of England the lordes of Fraunce, and that done they set forward toward Bulleyne, and in rydyng they cast of Haukes called Sakers, to the Kytes, whiche made to them greate sporte. And in a valey beyonde Sadyngfeld, the kyng of Nauerr met the kynges, and there they a lighted and dranke, and after that they mounted on horsebacke, & with haukyng and other princely pastyme, they came nere to Bulleyn, where on a hill stode ranged in a faire bande, the number of five hundred menne on horsebacke, of whom the chief wer, the Frenche kynges three sonnes, the Dolphin, the Duke of Orleauce, and the Duke of Angulesme, and on them gaue attendaunce, the Admirall of Fraunce, and three Cardinales with diuerse other nobles of Fraunce. these three Princes marched forward, and welcomed the kyng of Englande, whiche them well behelde and louyngly them receiued, as he that could as muche nurture, as any Prince that euer was. Then the Frenche kyng saied to his children opely: My children, I am your father, but to this Prince here you are as much bound, as to me your naturall father, for he redemed me and you, from captiuite: wherfore on my blessing I charge you to be to hym louyng alwaies. The kyng of Englande ceased the Fienche kynges tale, and embrased the young Princes, eche after other all then three apparelles were blacke Veluet, embraudered with siluer of Damaske. Then all these noble compaignie came to Bulleyne, where was a greate shot of Artileiy, for on the one side they shot great pelletes, whiche made a greate noyse then these twoo Princes offered at our Lady of Bulleyne, and the Frenche kyng brought the kyng of Englande to his lodgyng in the Abbay directly against his awne lodgyng, where the kyng of Englande had diuerse chambers, the vtter chamber was hanged with faire Arras, and another chamber was hanged with grene Veluet, embraudered with Vinettes of gold, and fret with flowers of siluer, and smal twigges of wrethen woike, & in the middle of euery pane or pece, was a fable of Ouid in Matamorphoseos embraudered, and a clothe of estate of thesame woike, valanced with frettes, knotted and lungettes tassaied with Venice golde and siluer and in this chamber was hauged a great braunche of siluer percell gilte, to beare lightes. Then was there an inner chamber, hanged with riche clothe of golde of Tissue, and the rote siled with thesame. The iii chamber was with veluet, and hachementes of armes, and diuises of nedle woike very connyngly wrought. Euery man was appoynted to his lodgyng (which there was very straight) accordyng to his degree, and great chere was made to all the Englishemen the Poultriees, Larders, Spiceries, and Sellars of Wine were all open, and likewise Hay and Litter, and all other thynges, aske and haue, and no man durst take any money, for the Frenche kyng paid for all.

The Frenche kyng caused twoo gounes to be made of white veluet pricked with gold of damaske, and the capes and ventes, wer of frettes of whipped gold of damaske very riche, whiche twoo gounes he sent to the kyng of Englande, prayng hym to chose the one and to weare it for his sake, whiche gladly toke it, and so that Tewedate, the twoo kynges were



were bothe in one suite: thesame night the Frēch kyng, made to the kyng of Englande a supper in his chamber, whiche was hanged with Arras, and siled ouer with riche silke, and two clothes of estates wer set vp, one at the one ende, & the other at the other ende, the one clothe was embraudered with the image of an old man, and a woman with a naked child in her arme, and the woman gaue the old man sucke of her brest, and about was writtē in French *Better it is children wantonly to wepe, then old men for nede to perishe.* On the other clothe of estate, was embraudered the sunne goyng doune of fine gold, and a beast theron, the hed couered with a helme, and a coronall of a dukes estate, the beastes body was al perle, & the cloth was crimosin satten. A riche cupbord was set vp of plate, with a great nōber of peces of the new fashion. iii. great braunches hong in the chāber all of siluer & gilt, whiche bare torches of white waxe, al the gētlemen of Frañce made thenglishemen great chere, and serued them of delicate viandes.

In the Church of Bulleyn was a Trauerse set vp for the Frenche kyng, opē on euery side, sauyng it was siled with blew veluet, embraudered with flower Delices golde, the pillars were hanged with thesame worke. On the Frenche kynges right hand, was another trauerse siled, and cortened all of white Satten, embraudered with Cables cast, of cut clothe of gold, embraudered and gilted after the fashion that Mariners cast their ropes. this trauerse was valensed of like wooke, and fringed with fine gold. Daily the kynges heard their Masses in these traueses and commonly they went together to Masse. Diuerse tymes the kynges communed together in counsaill, and sometye in the mornyng, or the princes wer stirring, their cōsailes met, and sat together a great while.

While the kyng of Englande, lay thus at Bulleyn, the Frenche kyng to shewe hymself louyng to the noble men of Englande, the. xxv. daie of October, called a Chapter of the compaignons of his Ordre, called Saint Michell, of whom the kyng of Englande was one, and so there elected Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and Charles Duke of Suffolke, to bee compaignons of thesaid Ordre, whiche were brought into the Chapter, and had there Collers deliuered to them, and were sworne to the Statutes of the Ordre, their obeysaunce to their souereigne Lorde, alwaies reserued whiche Dukes thanked the Frenche Kyng, and gaue to the Officers of Armes twoo hundred Crounes a pece. All this season the Frenche kyng and his court were freshe, and his gard were appareled, in frockes of blew Crimosin, and yelow veluet. With the Frenche kyng, was the kyng of Nauērr, the Dolaphin of Vien, the Dukes of Orlaunce, Angulesme, Vandosme, Guyse, Longuile, the Erles of Saint Paule, Neuers, Estampes, Lauall, and many other Erles and Barons and the prince of Melffe, foure Cardinalles, and eleuen bishoppes with their traines and resort, whiche surely was a greate compaignie so continued these twoo kynges at Bulleyn, Mondāie, Tewesdaie, Wednesdaie, and Thursdaie, and on Fridaie the. xxv. daie of October, they departed out of Bulleyn to Calice: the Frenche kynges train was twelue hundred persones, and so many horse or more, and without Calice twoo mile, met with them the Duke of Richemond, the Kynges bastard sonne of Englande, a goodly young Prince, and full of fauoure and beautie, with a greate compaignie of noble men, whiche wer not at Bulleyn, so the Duke with his compaignie, embiased the Frenche kyng, and so did other noble men, then the lordes of England set forward, as the Dukes of Richemond, Norffolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Arūdel, Oxford, Surrey, Darby, Worcester, Rutland, Sussex, and Huntynghdon, the Viscountes of Lisle, and Rocheforde, the Bishoppes of London, Winchester, Lyncolne, and Bathe, the lorde Willm̄ Haward, the lorde Ma-trauerse, the lorde Montacute, the lord Cobham, the lord Sādes, the lorde Bray, the lorde Mordāt, the lorde Leonard Grey, the lorde Clinton, & sir William Fitzwilliam knight, tresorer of the kynges house, and sir William Paulet, Cōptroler of thesame with a greate number of knightes, beside the lustie Esquires and yong gentlemen. These noble personages and gentlemen of England, accompaigned the Frenche Lordes to Newnam Bidge, where as Thomas Palmer, captain of the fortresse, with a faire compaignie of souldiours saluted the Kynges, and so they passed towarde Calice: where at their comyng,

that what out of the Toune and the Castle, and what out of Ricebancke, and the Shippes in the Hauen, the Frenche men saied they neuer heard suche a shotte. And when they were entered the Mille gate, all the Souldiours of the Toune, stode on the one side, appareled in Redde and Blewe, and on the other side of the stietes, stode all the seruyng menne of Englande, in coates of Frenche Tawney, with their lordes and Masters diuises embrauder-ed, and euery manne a Scarlette cap and a white fether, whiche made a goodly shewe. there were lodged in Caleis that night, beside the toune dwellers, eight thousand persones at the least. The Kyng of England brought the French Kyng to his lodgyng, to the Staple in, where his chamber was hanged with so rich veldore, as hath not been seen, the ground of it was gold and damaske, and all ouer the tuffes and flowers, were of Satten Silke and Siluer, so curiously wrought that they semed to growe, euery chamber was richer and other the second chamber all of Tissue, with a clothe of estate of nedle worke, set with great Roses of large pearle. The third was haged with Veluet, vpon veluet pirled grene and Crimosyn, and embraudered ouer with braunches, of flowers of Gold Bullion, and garnished with armes and beastes of thesame gold, set with pearle and stone. If the Frenche Kyng made good chere to the Kyng of Englande, and his trayne at Bulleyn, I assure you he and his trayne, were requited at Caleis, for the plentie of wylde foule, Veni-son, Fishe, and all other thynges whiche were there, it was maiuell to see, for the Kynges Officers of England, had made preparacion in euery place, so that the Frenchemenne were serued, with suche multitude of diuerse fishes, this Fridaie and Saterdaie, that the masters of the French kynges houshold, muche wondered at the prouision. In like wise on the Sondaie, thei had al maner of fleshe, foule, spice, Venison, bothe of falowe Dere and redde Dere, and as for wine they lacked none, so that well was thenglishe man that might well entertain the French man. the lordes of Fraunce neuer fetched their viandes, but thei wer sent to them, and often tyne their proporcion of victaill was so abundaunt, that they refused a greate parte thereof.

The firste Chamber.

The seconde Chamber.

The thirde Chamber

While the kynges were thus in Caleis, they roade euery daie to saint Marie Church, where were set two trauerses, the one for the Frenche Kyng, whiche was Crimosyn Veluet, replenished with greate Roses of massy Bullion of fine gold, and the seede of thesaid Roses were great orient pearle, and about euery Rose, was a wretle al of pearle and stone whiche trauerse was muche wonderied at by the Frenchemen. the other trayerse of blewe Veluet and clothe of Tissue, raised with flowers of siluer paned, al the blewe Veluet was embriodered with knottes, and subtle draughtes, of leaues and braunches, that fewe men could iudge the cunningyng of the workemanship. The sondaie at night, the French kyng supped with the kyng of England, in a chamber hanged with tissue, reised with siluer, paned with cloth of siluer, reised with gold, & the semes of thesame were covered with biode wiethes, of goldsmithes worke, full of stone and peile. In this chamber was a coberd of vii. stages high al of plate of gold, & no gilt plate, beside that there hong in thesaid chäber x. braunches of siluer & gilt, x. braunches al white siluer, euery braünche hanging by a long chain of thesame sute, beying v. lightes of waxe. To tell the riches of the clothes of estates, the basens & other vessels whiche was there occupied, I assure you my wit is insufficiēt, for there was nothyng occupied that night, but all of gold. The Frēch kyng was serued in courses, & his meat dressed after the Frēch fashion, & the kyng of England had like courses after thenglishe fashion, the first course of euery kyng was xl. dishes, the second lx. & third lxx which wei costly & pleasant.

The trauer-  
ses.

The Supper  
made to the  
French  
Kyng

After supper came in the Marchiones of Penbroke, with vii ladies in Maskyng apparel, of straunge fashion, made of clothe of gold, compassed with Crimosyn Tinsell Satin, owned with Clothe of Siluer, hyng lose and knit with laces of Gold. these ladies were brought into the chamber, with foure damoselles appareled in Crimosin sattyn, with Ta-  
barges of fine Cipres: the lady Marques tooke the Frenche Kyng, and the Countes of Daiby, toke the Kyng of Nauair, and euery Lady toke a lorde, and in daunsyng the kyng of Englande, toke awaie the ladies visers, so that there the ladies beauties were shewed,



and after they had daunsed a while they ceased, and the French Kyng talked with the Marchioness of Penbroke a space, & then he toke his leaue of the ladies, and the kyng conueighed hym to his lodgyng thesame night the Duke of Norfolke feasted all the nobles of Fraunce, beyng there in the castle of Caleis, with many goodly sportes and pastymes.

On the Mondaye beyng Simon and Iudes daie, there dined with the kyng of England, the kyng of Nauerr, & the Cardinall of Lorrain, and the greate Master, & Admirall of Fraunce, on whiche daie the kyng of Englande, called a Chapter of the knightes of the Garter, at whiche Chapter the Frenche kyng ware the Blewe Mantell of the ordre, because he was of thesame ordre, and there wer elected Anna's Memorancie Erle of Beaumont, greate Master of the Frenche kinges house, and Phillip de Chabbot Erle of Newblanke, greate Admirall of Fraunce, whiche had to them their Collers and Garters deliuered, for the which they rendered to the kyng greate thankes.

The morowe after beyng the thirtie daie of October, the two kynges departed out of Caleis, and came nere to Sadyngfeld, and there alighted in a faire grene place, where was a table set, and there the Englishemen serued the Frenchemen of wyne, Ypocras, fruite, & spice abundantly. When the two kynges had communed a litle, they mounted on their horses, and at the very enterying of the French groundes, they toke handes, and with Princely countenance, louyng behauor, and bartie wordes, eche embrased other and so there departed

The Kynges  
departure.

While the kyng of Englande was in the Frenche kynges dominion, he had the vpper hand, and likewise had the Frenche kyng, in his dominion, and as the Frenche kyng paid all the Englishmen's charges at Bulleyn, so did the kyng of England at Caleis, so that every thyng was recōpensed: sayng that the kyng of England, gaue to the French kyng, diuerse precious Iuelles & great horses, and to his nobles great piētie of plate, for the which I could neuer heare, that he gaue the kyng of Englade any other thing, but the white goune, as you haue bard, but to the lordes of the kynges counsaill, he gaue certain plate and chaines.

When the kyng was returned to Calice, many gentlemen tooke ship to saile into Englande, but the wynd was so contrariant, that diuerse of them were driuen backe again into Calice, and diuerse into Flaunders, and in Nouember rose suche a Wynde, of the North and North Weste, that all the shippes in Caleis haven, were in great ieopardy, and in especial ¶ Hoyes, at whiche season was such a spryng tide, that it brake the walles of Holland and Zelande, and drowned diuerse townes in Flaunders, in somuche that the water rose three foote aboue the wharfe, where the Key stode in Andwarpe. this storme continued till the fourth daie of Nouember, but for all that the wynd chaunged not. The eight daie rose suche a Wynde tempest and Thonder, that no man could conueniently stirre in the streates of Caleis: muche lamentacion was made for theim that had taken shippe into Englande, for no man knewe what was become of them. On Sondaye the wether was faire, the kyng caused his bedde and other thynges to be shipped, and entended to departe, but sodainly rose suche a mist, that no Master could guide a ship, and so he taried that daie. On Tewesdaie at midnight he tooke ship, and landed at Douer the morowe after, beyng the. xiiii. daie of Nouember, at v of the clocke in the mornyng, wherefore the Saterdaie after, was song *Te deum* in the Cathedrall Church of saint Paule in London: the Lorde keeper of the great Seale, the Maior of London, (and diuerse other noble and sad persones, whiche made their abode in London, for the gouernaunce of the realme in the kynges absence, beyng present). The kyng after his retourne, married priuily the lady Anne Bulleyn, on saint Erkenwaldes daie, whiche mariage was kept so secrete, that very fewe knewe it, til she was grente with child, at Easter after.

The Kyng  
married to  
lady Anne  
Bulleyn.

When the kyng should passe ouer the sea, he cōsidred that the Scottes had robbed his subiectes, bothe by sea and land, and that no redresse was made for thesame, imagined that in his absence, they would attempt some outrageous enterprise against his people, wherefore like a prudent prince to be in a suretie, he sent sir Arthur Darcy knight, with three hundred

dred tall menne to Barwicke, to defende the inuasions of the Scottes. The Scottes hearyng of his commyng, came into Northumberlande, by f middle Marches, and came to a place called Fowbery, and in their iorney fired certain villages and returned. Sir Arthur Darcy hearyng of this auenture, was nothyng contente. Nowe at this season there laie at Berwicke, Archibald Doglas Erle of Angus, whiche had maied the Quene of Scottes, the kynges sister, and was banished Scotlande and she was from hym diuorsed, and married to another. The Scottes bragged of their enterprise, and saied that sir Arthur had brought them good lucke, and said, that he and the Erle of Angus, slepte well in Barwicke. they hearyng of this bragge, made a roade with. iiii. C. men into Scotland, & set a village on fire. then shortly assembled together. viii. C. Scottes. When thenglishemen perceiued the Scottes, they caused their trompet to blowe a retreat, and the Erle and. xx. with hym, shewed hym self on a hill, euen in the face of the Scottes, and the trumpette blew at their backes, so that the Scottes thought that there had been ii. compaignies, whiche caused the Scottes to fle, and the Englishemen folowed, and slewe a great number, and toke many prisoners, and brought them to Berwicke, the twentie daie of October.

The Kyng this yere kepthe his Christemas at Grenewiche, and after Christmas sir Thomas Awdeley, lorde keeper of the greates Seale, was made Chaunceller of Englande, and when the Parliament beganne, because the office of the Spekar was voyde, Hüfey Wyngfeld of Graies Inne, was elected Spekar of the parliament, whiche was presented accordyng as you haue heard, of the other Spekar before. In the whiche Parliament was made an acte, that no persone should appeale for any cause, out of this realme, to the Courte of Rome, but from Commissarie to the Bishoppe, and from Bishop to the Archebishop, and from Archebishop to the kyng, and all causes of the kyng, to bee tried in the vpper house of the-Conuocation. And in thesame Parliament was enacted, that quene Katheryn should from thence furth, be no more called quene, but princes Dowager, of prince Arthur.

Sir Thomas  
Awdeley  
made  
Chauncel-  
lor.

In this Sommer season last past, died Willyam Warham Archebishoppe of Cantorbury, and to that Bishopriche was named, Doctor Thomas Cranmer, the kynges chappelein, a man of good learyng, and of a verteous life, which also not long before was the kynges Ambassadour to the Bishop of Rome, whiche was consecrate in Lent

After the Kyng perceiuyng his newe wife Quene Anne, to bee greates with childe, caused all officers necessary. to bee appoynted to her, and so on Easter eue, she went to her Closet openly as Quene, with all solempnitie, and then the Kyng appoynted the daie of her Coronacion, to bee kept on Whitsō Sondae next folowyng, and writtynges wer sent to all Shriues, to certifie the names of menne of fourtie ponde, to receiue the Ordre of knight-hood, or els to make a fine. the assesment of whiche fines, were appoynted to Thomas Cromwell, Master of the Kynges Iuell house, and counsaile to the kyng, and newly in his high fauour, whiche so polittikely handeled the matter, that he raised of that sessyng of fines, a greatesomme of money to the Kynges vse. Also the Kyng wrote letters to the citee of London, to prepare pagauntes against thesame coronacion.

## ¶ THE. XXV. YERE.

The kyng in the begynnyng of this. xxv. yere, kepthe the daie of saint George, at his Manor of Grenewiche, with great solempnitie, and the Courte was greatly replenished, with lordes, knightes and with ladies and gentewomen, to a great number, with all solace and pleasure. You haue hard the last yere, how the Parliament had enacted that no person should after a daie, appele to Rome for any cause, whatsoever it wer, and that the Quene now, called the Princes Dowager, had appeled to the Court of Rome, before the acte made, so that it was doubted, whether that appeale were good or not. This question was well handeled in the Parliament house, but muche better in the Cōuocation house, but in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by bokes shewed, that in the Counsailes of Calce-



done, Affricke, Toletane, and diuerse other famous Counsailes, in the primitiue Church, yea, in the tyme of saint Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, & determined, that a cause risynge in one Prouince, should be determined in thesame, and that neither the patriarche of Constantinople, should medle in causes moued in the iurisdiction of the patriarche of Antioche, nor no bishop should enterteit, within anothers Prouince or countrey: which thynges were so clerkely opened, so conynge set furthe to all intentes, that euery man that had witte, and was determined to folowe the truth, and not affectionate nor wilfully wedded to his awne mind, might plainly se that all appeles made to Rome, were clerely voyde and of none effect: whiche Doctrines and Counsailes, were shewed to the lady Katherine Princes Dowager, but she (as women loue to lose no dignitie) euer cōtinued in her old song, trustyng more to the Popes parcialtie, then to the determination of Christes veritie. Wherupō the Archebishop of Cantorbury, accompaigned with the bishoppes of London, Winchester, Bathe, Lincolne, and diuerse other great clerkes, in a great number rode to Dunstable, whiche is sixe myle frō Amphthil, where the Princes Dowager laye, and there by a Doctor called Doctor Lee, she was ascited to appere before thesaid Archebishoppe, in cause of Matrimonie, in thesaid tounce of Dunstable, and at the daie of appaunce she would not appere, but made defeaute, and so she was called peremptorie, euery daie. xv. daies together, and at the laste for lacke of appaunce, and for contumacie, by thassent of all the learned men there beyng present, she was diuorced from the kyng, and their Marriage declared to be voyde and of none effecte, whiche sentence geuen, the Archebishop and all the other, returned whether it pleased them.

The Kyng  
& quene  
Katherine  
diuorced.

After whiche diuorse sued, many wise menne saied, that the kyng was not well counsailed, to mary the lady Anne Bulleyne, before the diuorse were adiudged, for by marryng before the firste mariage was dissolued, they saied, that the second mariage might be brought in question, and verely they saied true, for so it was in the monethe of Maie, three yere folowyng, as you shall here after, when I come to the tyme. Of this diuorse euery man spake, as his discrecion and wisdom was, for wise men saied that it was Godly and honourably done, for the discharge of the Kynges conscience, and profitable for the suretie of the realme, and that God loued this mariage, considering that the newe Quene, was so sone with childe. Other saied that the bishop of Rome, would curse all Englishemen and that the emperor and he, would invade the realme, and destroye the people, and specially the Spanyardes bosted muche, but thanks be to God, their doynge wer muche lesse then their wordes but after euery man had talked inough, there was no more comunyng of the matter, but all was in peace.

Wyllyam  
Tracy

A litle before this tyme was there a worshipfull esquier in Glocestershyre called Wyllyam Tracy of Todyngton whiche made in his wyll that he would no funeral pompe at his buryng, neither passed he vpon Masse, and farther sayd that he trusted in God onely & hopynge by him to be saued, and not by no saint. This gentleman dyed and his sonne as executor brought ſ wil to the bishop of Cauntorbury to proue, whiche he shewed to the cōuocacion and there vnadvisedly they adiudged him to be taken out of the ground and to be brent as an heretike, and sent a commission to doctor Parker chauncelor of the dyoces of Worcester to execute their sentence, whiche accomplished the same. The kyng hearyng his subiect to be exhumate & brent without his knowlege or order of his lawe sent for the Chauncelor and layde the high offence to him, whiche excused him by the archebishop of Cauntorbury whiche was late dead but in conclusion it cost him CCC. pound to haue his pardon. But yet for a farther trueth to be knowen of this gentlemans death, & the cruel ignoraunce of the bishoppes, I haue here expressed his wyll worde by worde as foloweth.

In the name of God Amen, I Wyllyam Tracy of Todyngton in ſ countie of Gloucester esquier make my Testament & last wille as hereafter foloweth. Fyrst and before all other thynges I commit me vnto God and to his mercy, beleuyng without any doubt or mistrust that by his grace and the merites of Iesus Christ, & by the vertue of his passion and of his resurreccion I haue and shall haue remission of my synnes and resurreccion of body and soule

soule according as it is written, I beleue that my redeme lyueth, and that in the last day I shall ryse out of the yearth and in my fleshe shall see my sauior, this my hope is layde vp in my bosome Iob xix

And touchyng the wealth of my soule, the fayth that I haue taken & rehersed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other mannes worke or workes. My ground and belefe is, that there is but one God & one mediator betwene God and man, whiche is Iesus Christ, so that I accept none in heauen nor in yerth to be mediator betwene me and God, but onely Iesus Christ, all othei be but peticioners in receiuyng of grace, but none hable to geue influence of grace. And therfore will I bestowe no part of my goodes for that entent that any man should say, or do, to helpe my soule, for therein I trust onely to the promises of God. he that beleueth and is baptized shal be saued, and he that beleueth not shalbe damned. Marke. xvi.

As touchyng the buryng of my body, it aualeth me not whatsoever be done therto, for saint Augustine sayeth *de cura agenda pro mortuis* that the funeral pompes are rather the solace of them that lue, then for the welth and comforte of them that are dede, and therfore I remitte it onely to the discrecion of myne executors

And touchyng the distribucion of my temporal goodes, my purpose is by the grace of God to bestowe them, to be accepted as the frutes of fayth so that I do not suppose that my merite is by good bestowyng of them, but my merite is the fayth of Iesus Christ onely, by whom suche workes are good accordyng to the wordes of our lorde. I was hungry and thou gauest me to eat. &c. and it foloweth, that ye haue done to the least of my brethren ye haue done it to me. &c. And euer we should consider the true sentence, that a good worke maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good worke for fayth maketh the mā both good and righteous, for a righteous man lueth by fayth: and whatsoever spryngeth not of fayth is synne Math xxv

And all my temporal goodes that I haue not geuen or deluered or not geuen by wrytyng of myne own hand bearyng the date of this present wrytyng, I do leaue and geue to Margaret my wyfe & to Richard my sonne whom I make myne Executors. Wytnes this myne owne hand, the x day of October in the xxii yere of the reigne of kyng Henry the viii Roma xiii

This is the true copy of his wille, for the whiche as you haue heard before after he was almoste thre yeres dead, they toke him vp and burned him.

In the moneth of Maye Pope Cleinent sent an Orator to the kyng at Grenewyche certifying him that he had appointed a generall counsaile to be kept at Mantua the yere folowyng, and therof had aduertised all princes Christen, requyryng the kyng likewise as he did all othei princes Christen for the vniuersal welth of all Christendome and for y quietyng of opinions newly growen, to appeere there personally to the whiche it was answered that it was both jeoparddeous for y king & for his whole realme to haue their prince absent for feare of inuasions by vtward enemies, but he sayd he would sende thither a sufficient procuracie and conuenient proctors, & desired to see the Orators commission.

When he with an euil will had shewed his commission, there appeered neither place nor tyme of the counsaile. For the kyng knew well before his comyng that the Marques of Mantua had made a full denial to the pope that he would haue no suche assemble to be kept in his cite nor dominions for diuers great and vrgent causes, & so the popes Orator departed with an vncertain answere to an vncertain demaund but not vnrewarded

The kyng beyng aduertised by the Frenche kyng how that he and y Pope should mete at Nece in Iune folowyng thought it conuenient to sende a solempne Ambassade to y Frenche kyng both to accompany him to Nece and also to comon with the bishop of Rome concernyng his vnlawfull stay in the kynges denorce whervpon he appointed the duke of Norffolke, the lorde Rocheforde brother to the newe quene, sir Wylyam Pawlet comptroller of the kynges housholde, sir Anthonye Browne & sir Fraunces Bryan knightes to be his ambassadois which made great prouision for that purpose and so with the number of Clix horses came to Douer and so to Calys on Whitson eue on whiche day the quene made her entry through the cite of London toward her coronacion where ther made their abode a certain space



space and passed through all Fraunce till they came to Lyons, where they remayned a space as you shall here after.

This very season was daily skirmishyng betwene the borderers of the Marches of England and Scotland, and yet no warre proclaimed and many robberies, murders and maslaughters done on both partes, and although the cōmissoners of the realmes of England & of Scotland lay at Newcastle vpō Tyne entreating a truce and amitie, yet duryng the comunicacion the Scottes ceased not to robbe both by sea & land, and toke dyuers litle botes laden with corne and fishe, wherof hearyng the kyng of England, he decked and vtailed dyuers shippes of warre and sent them to the North seas to defende his subiectes. The Scottes hearyng that the Englishe nauye was come on their cost, in al hast fled home to their harbor, but yet the Englishemen folowed them & fetchd many of their praies out of their hauens maugre of their heades.

In the beginnyng of May the kyng caused open Proclamacions to be made that all men that claimed to do any seruice, or execute any office at the solempne feast of the coronacion, by the way of Tenor, graunt or prescripcion should put their graunt in wekes after Ester in the starre chamber before Charles duke of Suffolke for that tyme high steward of England and the lorde Chauncelor and other commissioners.

The duke of Norfolke claymed to be erle Marshall and to exercise his office at that feast. The erle of Arrondell claymed to be high butler and to exercise thesame the erle of Oxford claymed to be chamberlain: the viscount Lysle claymed to be panter: the lorde Burgaie to be chiefe larderei, and the lord Bray claimed to be almoner, and sir Henry Wiat knight claymed to be ewrer: All these noble parsonages desired their offices with their fees. Besyde these the Maior of London claymed to serue the quene with a cuppe of golde and a cuppe of assay of the same, and that xii citizens should attende on the cupborde and the Maior to haue the cuppe and cuppe of assay for his labor, which peticion was allowed. The v Portes claymed to beare a Canapie ouer the quenes head the daye of the Coronacion with. iiii gilte Belles and to haue the same for a rewarde whiche also to them was allowed. Dyuers other put in petie claymes whiche were not allowed because they semed only to be done at the kynges coronacion. All this season great purueiaūce was made of all maner of vitales, and lordes, knights and squiers were sent for out of all countreys whiche came to London at their day with a great number of people.

16 The receiuyng, conueiying and coronacion of quene Anne wyfe to the high and mightie prince kyng Henry the eight.

After that the kynges highnes had addressed his gracious letters to the Maior and cominaltie of the citie, signiūyng to them that his pleasure was to solempnise and celebrate the coronacion of his moste deare and welbeloued wyfe Quene Anne at Westminster the Whitsonday nexte ensuyng, willyng them to make preparacion aswell to fetche her grace from Grenewyche to the Tower by water as to see the citie ordered and garnished with pageaūtes in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace. When she should be conueyed from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common counsaill called, and cōmaundement was geuen to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Maior sir Stephen Pecocke then was) that they should prepare a barge for the Batchelers with a wafter and a foyst garnished with banners and streamers likewyse as they vse to dooe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Iude. Also all other craftes were commaunded to prepare barges and to garnishe them not alonely with their banners accustomed, but also to decke them with targettes by the sides of the barges, and so set vp all suche semely banners and bannerettes as they had in their halles or could gette mete to furnishe their sayd barges, and every barge to haue mynstrelsie, accordyng to whiche commaundementes great preparacion was made for all thynges necessary for suche a noble triumph.

The commyng by water from Grenewyche the thursday.

The. xix. day of Maye the Maior and his brethren all in Scarlet, and suche as wer knights had

had collets of Esses & the remnant hauyng good chaynes, and the counsaill of the cite with them assembled at saint Mary Hyll, and at one of the clocke disceded to the Newstayre to their barge, whiche was garnished with many goodly bāners and stremers, and richely couered, In whiche barge wer Shalmes, Shagbushes & diuers other instrumentes, whiche continually made goodly armony. After that the Maior and his brethren wer in their barge seyng that all the companyes to the number of fiftie barges were ready to wayte vpō them They gaue commaundement to the companyes that no barge should rowe nerer to another then twyse the length of the barge vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were thre light wheryes prepared, and in euery one of them two officers to call on them to kepe their order, after whiche commaundement geuen they set forth in order as hereafter is described.

Fyrst before the Maiors barge was a Foyst or Wafter full of ordinaunce, in whiche Foyst was a great Dragon continually mouyng, & castyng wyldfyer, and round about the sayd Foyst stode terrible monsters and wylde men castyng fyre, and makyng hideous noyses: Next after the Foyst a good distaunce came the Maiors barge, on whose right hand was the Batchelers barge, in the whiche were trumpettes and diuers other melodious instrumentes. The deckes of the sayd barge and the sailyardes and the toppe castles were hanged with riche cloth of golde and silke. At the foreship and the Sterne were two great banners riche beaten with the armes of the kyng and the quene, and on the toppe castle also was a long stremor newly beaten with the sayd armes. The sides of the barge was sette full of Flagges and banners of the deuises of the company of Haberdashers and marchauntes aduenturers, and the cordes were hāged with innumerable penselles hauyng litle belles at y<sup>e</sup> endes whiche made a goodly noyse and a goodly sight waueryng in the wynde. On the outsyde of the barge were thre dosen Scochyons in metal of armes of the kyng and the quene whiche were beaten vpon square bocrame deuised so that the right side had the kinges colors, and the left syde the quenes, whiche Scochyons were fastened on the clothes of gold and siluer hangyng on the deckes on the left hand. On the left hand of the Maior was another Foyst, in the whiche was a mount & on the same stode a white Fawcon crowned vpon a rote of golde enuironed with white roses and red, whiche was the Quenes deuse: about whiche mount satte virgyns singyng & playyng sweetely. Next after the Maior folowed his fellowship the Haberdashers, Next after them the Mercers, then the Grocers, and so euery company in his order, and last of all the Maiors and shirriffes officers, euery company hauyng melodye in his barge by himselfe, and goodly garnished with banners and some garnished with silke and some with Arras and riche carpettes, whiche was a goodly sight to beholde, and in this order they rowed to Grenewyche to the point next beyond Grenewyche, and there they turned backward in another order, that is to wete, the Maior and Shirriffes officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascendyng to the vttermost craftes in order and y<sup>e</sup> Maior last as they go to Poules at Christmas, and in that order they rowed downeward to Grenewyche toune and there cast anker makyng great melody. At thre of the clocke the quene appeared in riche cloth of gold & entered into her barge accompanied with diuers ladies and gentlewomen, and incontinent the Citizens set forwardes in their order, their minstrels continually playyng, and the Batchelers barge goyng on the quenes right hand whiche she tooke great pleasure to beholde. About the quenes barge were many noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Wylshyre her father, the Erles of Arrondel, Darby, Rutland, Worcester, Huntynghdon, Sussex, Oxford, and many bishoppes and noblemen euery one in his barge, which was a goodly sight to behold. She thus beyng accompanied rowed toward the Tower, and in the meane way the shippes whiche were commaunded to lye on the shore for lettynge of the barges shotte diuers peales of gunnes, and or she landed there was a meruailous shotte out of the Tower as ener was harde there. And at her landyng there met with her the lord Chamberlain with the officers of armes and brought her to the kyng, which receiued her with louyng countenance at the Posterne by the water syde and kyssed her, & then she turned backe againe and thanked the Maior and the citezens with many goodly wordes,



## THE. XXV. YERE OF

wordes, and so entred into the Tower. After which entry the citezens all this while howed before the Tower making great melody & went not alande, for none wer assigned to land but the Maior, the Recorder and two Aldemen. But for to speake of the people that stode on euery shore to beholde the sight, he that sawe it not would not beleue it.

On Fryday at diner serued the kyng all suche as were appointed by his highnes to be knightes of y bath, which after dyner were brought to their chambers, and that night nere bathed and shreuen accordyng to the old vsage of England, and the next day in the moynyng the kyng dubbed them accordyng to the ceremonies therto belongyng whose names ensueth.

The Marques Dorset.

The Erle of Darby.

The lorde Clyfforde

The lorde Fitzwater.

The lorde Hastynges.

The lorde Mountaigle.

Sir Ihon Mordant.

The lorde Vaux.

Sir Henry Parker.

Sir Wylliam Wynsore.

Sir Fraunces Weston

Sir Thomas Airondell.

Sir Ihon Hulstone.

Sir Thomas Pownynges.

Sir Henry Sauell

Sir George Fitzwylliam.

Sir Ihon Tyndall

Sir Thomas Iermey

Saterday the xxxi day

The receiuyng and conueiying of the quene through London.

To the entent that the horses should not slide on the Pauement, nor that y people should not be hurted by horses, the high stretes where the quene should passe were all graueled from the Tower to Temple barre and railed on the one side, within whiche rayles stode the craftes along in their order from Grace church where the marchauntes of the Styllyard stode till the litle conduite in Chepe where the Aldemen stode, & on the other syde of the strete stode the Constables of the cite apparelled in veluet & silke with great stanes in their handes to cause the people to kepe rome and good order. And when the stretes were somewhat ordered, the Maior clothed in a goun of crimosyn Veluet and a riche collar of Essos with two footemen clad in white and red damaske roade to the Tower to geue his attendance on the Quene, on whom the Shrifffes with their officers did wayte till they came to Tower hill, where they takyng their leaue roade doune the high streates cominaundyng the Constables to see rome and good order kept, and so went and stode by the Aldermen in Chepe And before the quene and her traine should come, Cornehill and Gracious strete were hanged with syne Scarlet, Crimosyn and other grayned clothes, and in some place with riche Arras, Tapestry and Carpettes, and the moste part of the Chepe was haged with clothe of Tyssue, Golde, Veluet and many riche hangynges whyche made a goodly shewe, and all the wyndowes were replenished with ladyes and gentlewomen to beholde the quene and her trayne, as they shuld passe by The fyrst of the quenes company that set forward were xii. Frenchmen whiche were belongyng to the Frenche Ambassador clothed in coates of blewe veluet with sleues of yelowe and blewe veluet and their horses trapped with close trappers of blewe Sarcenet powdered with white crosses: after them marched gentlemen, squiers knightes ii. and ii. After them the Iudges, and after them the knightes of the bath in Violet gounes with hoddies purfeled with Minuer lyke doctors, after them abbottes, then Barons, after them bishoppes, then Bries and Maiquesses, then the lorde Chauncelor of England, after him the archebishop of Yorke and the ambassador of Venice, after him the archebishop of Cauntorbury and the ambassador of Fraunce, after roade ii. squiers of honor w robes of estate rolled and worne baudiike wise about their neckes with cappes of estate represētyng the dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, after them roade the Maior of London w his Mace and Garter in his coate of armes, whiche Maior bare his Mase to Westminster halke, after them roade the lordc Wylliam Howard w the Marshals rod deputie to his brother y duke of Norfolk Marshall of England whiche was ambassador then in Fraunce and on his right hand roade Charles Duke of Suffolke for that day high Constable of England bearyng the verder of siluer appertainyng to y office of Constableschip,

Constableness, and all the lordes for the moste parte were clothed in Crimosyn veluet, and all the Quenes seruantes or officers of armes in Scalet. Next before the quene roode hei chauncelore bareheaded, the sergeantes & officers of armes roode on both the sides of the lordes. Then came the quene in a litter of white cloth of golde not couered nor bayled whiche was led by ii. palferies clad in white damaske doune to the ground head & all, led by her fotemen. She had on a circot of white clothe of Tyssue & a mantle of the same furred with Ermyne, her heere haged doune, but on her head she had a coyffe with a circlet about it ful of riche stones. Ouer her was borne a Canapie of clothe of golde with iii. gylte staues and iii. siluer belles. For bearyng of whiche Canapye were appointed xvi. knightes, iii. to beare it one space on foote & othei iii. another space accordyng to their owne appointment. Next after the quene roode the lorde Borrough her chāberlain, next after him Wyllm Coffyn Master of the Horses leadyng a spare hoise with a syde saddle trapped doune w̄ clothe of tyssue: after him roode vii. ladies in crimosyn veluet turned vp w̄ cloth of gold & of tyssue & their horses trapped with cloth of gold, after them ii. chariotes couered w̄ red cloth of gold. In the fyrst Chariot was ii. ladies whiche were f̄ old duches of Norfolke & the old marchiones of Dorset. In the secōd chariot wer iii. ladies all in Crimosyn veluet. After them roode vii. ladies in the same suite their hoises trappers and all, after them came the third Chariot all white with. vi. Ladies in Crimosyn veluet, next after them came the foweth Chariot all redde with viii. ladies also in crimosyn Veluet, after whō folowed xxx. gētlewomen all in veluet and silke in the liuery of their ladies on whom they gaue their attendaunce. After them folowed the Garde in coates of Goldsmythes worke, in which order they roode forth till they came to Fanchurche, where was made a pageaunt all with children appparelled like marchauntes whiche welcomed her to the Cite with two proper preposicions both in Frenche & Englishe, and frō thence she roode to Gracious church corner, where was a costly and a merueylous connyng pageaunt made by the marchauntes of the Stylliarde, for there was the mount Pernasus with the fountayne of Helycon, which was of white Marble and iii. streames w̄out pype did use an ell hye & mette together in a litle cuppe about the fōuntain, which fountaine ranne abundantly Racked Rennishe wyne til night. On the mountaine satte Appollo and at his feete satte Calliope, and on euery syde of the mountaine satte iii. Muses playng on seuerall swete instrumentes, and at their feete Epigrammes & Poysses were written in golden letters, in the whiche euery Muse accordyng to her proper tie praised the Quene: so from thence she passed to Leaden Hall where was a goodly pageaunt with a type and a heauenly roffe, and vnder the type was a rote of golde set on a litle mountaine enuironed with red roses & white, out of the type came doune a Fawcon all white and sate vpō the rote, and incontinent came doune an Angell with great melody and set a close croune of golde on the Fawcons head, and in the same pageaūt satte saint Anne with all hei issue beneth her, and vnder Mari Cleoph satte her iii. childien, of the whiche children one made a goodly Oracion to the quene of the fruitfulness of saint Anne and of her generacion, trustyng that like fruite should come of her. Then she passed to the conduite in Cornhill where wer three graces set in a throne, afore whō was the spryng of grace continually ronnyng wyne. Afore the fōuntain satte a Poete declaring the properties of euery grace, & that done euery lady by her selfe accordyng to hei propertie gaue to the quene a seuerall gift of grace. That done she passed by f̄ great cōduite in Chepe whiche was newly painted with armes of deuises. out of the whiche conduit by a goodly fountain set at the one end rāne continually wyne both white and claret all that after noone, and so she rode to the Standaerd which was richely painted with ymages of kynges and quenes and hanged with bānes of armes, and in the toppe was merueylous swete almony both of song & instrument. Then she went forward to the crosse whiche was newly gilt, til she came where the Aldermen stode, & then Master Baker the Recorder came to her with lowe reuerence makyng a proper and brieve proposicion and gaue to hei in the name of the Cite a thousand markes in golde in a Purse of golde, whiche she thankfully accepted with many goodly wordes, and so roode to the lytle conduyte where was a riche pageaunt full of melōdye



and song, in whiché pageaunt was Pallas, Iuno and Venus, and before them stode Mercury, whiche in the name of the iii goddesses gaue to hei a balle of gold deuided in thre, signifiyng thre giftes & which thie Goddesses gaue to her, that is to saye, wysedome, ryches and felicitie. As she entred into Paules gate there was a pretie pageaunt in whiche satte thre ladyes rychely clothed, and in a circle on their hed was written *Regina Anna prospere procede et regna.* The Lady in the middes had a Tablet in the whiche was written *Veni amica coronaberis,* And vnder the tablet satte an angell with a close croune, and the ladye sityng on the right hande had a Tablet of syluer in whiche was written *Domine directe gressus meos,* and the third ladye had a Tablet of golde with letters Asure written, *confido in domine,* and vnder their feete was written, *Anna Regina nominum Regis de sanguine natum, cum paries populus aurea secla tuus.* And these ladyes cast doune Wafers, on the whiche the two verses were written. From thence she passed to the East ende of Paules Churcheyarde against the schole, where stode on a Scaffolde two hundreth children well appavelled, whiche sayd to her diuers goodly verses of Poetes translated into Englishe, to the honor of the kyng and her, whiche she highly commended. And when she came to Ludgate, the gate was newly garnished with golde and byse. And on the ledes of saint Martyns Church stode a goodly quere of singyng men and children whiche sang newe balades made in praise of her. After that she was passed Ludgate she proceded towarde Fletestrete where the Conduict was newly painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, and the chyme melodiously sownyng. Vpon the Conduite was made a toune with iii Turrettes, and in euery Turret stode one of the cardinall vertues with their tokens and properties, whiche had seuerall speches, promisyng the Quene neuer to leaue her, but to be aydyng and comfortyng her, And in the myddes of the tower closely was suche seuerall solempne instrumētes, that it semed to be an heauenly noyse, and was muche regarded and praised: and beside this the said Conduyte ranne wyne Claret and Red all the afternoone. So she with all her compagne and the Maior roade forth to Temple baire, whiche was newly painted and repayred, where stode also diuers singyngmen and children, til she came to Westminster halle, whiche was richely hāged with clothe of Arras and newe glased. And in the myddes of the halle she was taken out of her littre, and so led vp to the high dece vnder the clothe of estate, on whose lefte hand was a cupborde of x. stages merueilous riche and beutifull to behold, and within a litle season was brought to the quene with a solempne service in greatstandyng spyce plates, a voyde of Spice and subtilties with Ipocras and othei wynes, whiche she sent doune to her ladyes, and when the ladyes, had dronke she gaue hartie thākes to the lordes & ladyes, and to the Maior and other that had geuen their attendance on her, and so withdrew her selfe with a fewe ladyes to the White-halle and so to her chamber, and there shifted her, and after went into her barge secretly to the kyng to his Manor of Westminster where she rested that night.

Sonday beyng whitsonday the first day of Iune and the day of her coronacion.

On sonday the Maior cladde in crimosyn veluet and with his coller and all the Aldermen and shirffes in Scarlet and the counsaill of the cite tooke their barge at the Crane by seuen of the clocke and came to Westminster where they wer welcomed & brought into & balle by Master Treasurer and other of the kynges house, and so gaue their attendaunce till the quene should come forth. Betwene viii and ix she came into the halle and stode vnder the clothe of estate, and then came in the kynges chapel & the Monkes of Westminster all in riche copes & many bishoppes and Abbottes in Copes and miters whiche went into the middes of the halle, and there stode a season. Then was there a raye clothe spied from the quenes standyng in the halle through the palace & saintuary, which was railed on bothe sydes to the high Aulter of Westminster. After that the raye clothe was cast, the officers of armes appoynted the order accustomed. Fyrst went gentlemen, then esquiers, then knightes, then the aldermen of the cite in their cokes of Scarlet, after them the ludges in their mantels of Scarlet and coffies. Then folowed the knightes of the bathe beyng no lordes, euery mā hauyng a white lace on his leftsleue, Then folowed Barons & vicountes in their parliament robes

robes of Scarlet. After them came Erles, Marquesses and Dukes in their robes of estate of crimosyn veluet furred with Ermyne powdered accordyng to their degrees. After them came the lorde Chauncelour in a robe of Scarlet open before bordered with Lettice. after him came the kynges chapel and ȝ Monkes solempnely singyng with procession, then came abbottes and bishoppes mitred, then sergeauntes & officers of armes, then after them went the Maior of London with his mace & garter in his cote of armes, Then went the Marques Dorcet in a robe of estate whiche bare the scepter of gold, and the erle of Arrondel whiche bare the rod of Yuery with the Doue both together. Then went alone the erle of Oxforde high Chamberlain of England which bare ȝ croune, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that day beyng high steward of England, hauing a long white rod in his hande, and the lorde Wyllyam Hawarde with the rodde of the Marshalship, & every knight of the Garter had on his collei of the order. Then proceded forth the quene in a circot and robe of puple Veluet furred with Ermyne in her here coyffe and circlet as she had the saterday, and ouer her was boine the Canape by iii of the ȝ Portes all crimosyn with pointes of blewe & red hangyng on their sleues, & the bishoppes of Lōdon & Wynchester bare vp the lappes of ȝ quenes robe. The quenes tiaine whiche was very long was borne by ȝ old dutches of Norffolke. after her tolowed ladies beyng lordes wyues whiche had circottes of scarlet with narrow sleues, the brest all Lettice & barres of borders accordyng to their degrees. And ouer that they had mantels of Scarlet furred, and every mantle had lettice about ȝ necke like a neckercher likewise powdered, so that by ȝ pouderynges there degre was knowen. Then tolowed ladies beyng knightes wyues in gounes of Scarlet & narrow sleues without traines only edged with lettice, and likewise had all the quenes gentlewomen. When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middes of the churche betwene the quene and the high alter she was set in a riche chayre. And after that she had rested a while she disconded doune to the high Alter and there prostrate her self while the archebishop of Cauntorbury sayd certaine collettes then she rose & the bishop anoynted her on the head and on the brest, and then she was led vp againe, where after diuers Orisons sayd, the archebishop set the croune of saint Edward on her head, and then deliuered her the scepter of gold in her right hand, and the rod of Yuery with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quene sang *Te deum*, &c. Which done the bishop toke of the croune of saint Edward beyng heuy and sette on the croune made for her, and so went to Masse. And when the offertory was begon she disconded doune and offred beyng crowned, and so ascended vp again and sate in her chayre till *Agnus*. And then she went doune and kneled before the alter where she receiued of the archbishop the holy sacrament and then went vp to her place againe. After that Masse was done she went to saint Edwaides shryne and there offered, after whiche offeryng done she withdrew her into a litle place made for the nones on the one side of the quere. Now in ȝ meane season every duches had put on their bonettes a coronal of gold wrought with flowers, & every Marquesses put on a demy Coronall of golde, every countie a plaine circlet of gold wout flowers, & every kyng of armes put on a croune of Coper & gilte all whiche were worne till night. When the quene had a litle reposed her the company returned in the same order that they set forth, and the Quene went crowned and so did the Ladies aforesayd. Her right hand was sustayned by the erle of Wylshire her fether, and her left hand by the lorde Talbot deputie for the erle of Shrewesbury & lorde Foynsal his father. And when she was out of the saintuary and appered within the palace the trumpettes played meruailous freshely, and so she was brought to Westminster hallo, and so to her withdrawyng chamber, duryng whiche tyme ȝ lordes, Iudges, Maior and Aldermen put of their robes, Mantels and Clokes, and toke then hoddies from their neckes and cast them about their shouldeirs, and the lordes sate onely in their circottes and the Iudges and Aldermen in their gounes. And all the lordes that serued that day serued in their circottes and their hoddies aboute their shouldeirs. Also diuers officers of the kinges house beyng no lordes had circottes and hoddies of Scarlet edged with Mynuer, as the Treasoier, Controller and Master of the Iuel house, but their circottes were not gilte



The order and sitting at diner.

While the quene was in her chamber, euery lord & other that ought to do service at coronacions did prepare them according to their dutie, as the duke of Suffolke high steward of England whiche was richely appparelled, his doblet and iaket set with orient perle, his gounne of erimosyn veluet embrodered, his courser trapped with a cloth trapper head and all to the ground of Crimosyn Veluet set full of letters of golde of goldsmithes worke hanyng a long white rodde in his hand, on his left hand roade the lord Wylliam, deputie for his brother as erle Maishal with the Marshals rod, whose gounne was Crimosyn veluet, and his hoise trapper purple veluet cut on white satten embrodered with white Lyons. The erle of Oxforde was high Chamberlaine, the erle of Essex caruer, the erle of Sussex suer, the erle of Arrondel chiefe butler on whō xii. citizens of London did geue their attendaunce at the cupbord. The erle of Darby Cupberer, the Vicount Lysle Panter, the lorde of Burgayne chiefe laider, the lorde Bray almoner for him & his coperteners, and the Maior of Oxford kept the butty harre, and Thomas Wiat was chiefe eurer for sir Henry Wiat his father. When all thyng was ready, the Quene vnder her canapy came to the halle and washed and sattu doune in the middes of the table vnder the cloth of estate. On the right side of the chaire stode the countesse of Oxforde wydowe, and on the left side stood the countesse of Worcester all the dyner season, which diuers tymes in the dyner tyme did hold a fyne cloth before the quenes face when she list to spet or do otherwyse at her pleasure. At the tables ende satte the archebishoppe of Cauntorbury on the right hande of the quene, and in the myddest betwene the archebishoppe and the countesse of Oxforde stode the erle of Oxforde with a white staffe all diner tyme, and at the quenes feete vnder the table satte in gentlewomen all dyner tyme. When all these thynges were thus ordered came in the Duke of Suffolke and the lorde Wylliam Haward on horsebacke and the sergeauntes of armes before them, and after them the Sewer, and then the knightes of the bath bringyng in the first course whiche was xxviii dishes beside subtilties and shippes made of waxe meruailous gorgious to beholde, all whiche tyme of seruice the trumpettes stāding in the wyndow at the netherende of the halle played melodiously. When her grace was serued of two dishes, then the archebishops seruice was set doune, whose Sewer came equal with the thirde dishe of the quenes seruice on his left hand. After that the quene and the archebishop was serued, the Barons of the portes began the table on the right hand next the wall, next them at the table sat the masters and clerkes of the chaūcery, and beneth them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the walle on the left hande by the cupborde was begon by the Maior and Aldermen the chamberlam and the counsaill of the cite of Lōdon, and beneth them satte substantial marchaūtes, & so douneward other worshipfull persones. At the table on the right hand in y middes of the halle sat the lorde Chauncelor and other temporall lordes on the right side of the table, in their circottes. And on the left side of the same table, sat Bishoppes and Abbottes in their Parliament robes, beneth them sat the Iudges, Seriantes, and the kynges counsaill, beneth thē the knightes of the Bathe. At the table on the left hande, in the middle part, sat Ducheses, Marqueses, Countesses, Baronesses, in their robes, and other ladies in circottes, and gentle women in gounes. Al whiche ladies and gentle women, sat on the left side of the table a long, and none on the rightside: and when all were thus set, they were incontinent serued and so quickly, that it was maruail, for the seruitors gaue such good attendance, that meate or drynke ne any thyng els, neded not to be called for, whiche in so greute a multitude was maruail. As touchyng the fare ther could be deuised, no more costlier dishes nor subtilties. The Maior of London was serued with xxxiii dishes at two courses, and so wer all his brethren, and suche as sat at his table. The Quene had at her seconde couise xxiiii. dishes, and thirtie at the thirde coursē: and betwene the two last courses, the kynges of Armes cried arges, in three partes of the hall: and after stode in their place, which was in the bekins the kynges Beuche. And on the right hande, out of the Cloyster of. S. Stephēs, was

made a litle Closet, in whiche the kyng with diuerse Ambassadors, stode to behold the seruice. The Duke of Suffolke and the lorde Willyam, rode often tymes aboute the hall, cheryng the lordes, ladies, and the Maior and his brethren. After they all had dined, they had Wafers and Ypocras, and then they washed, and were commaunded to rise, and to stande still in their places, before the table or on the fourmes till the Quene had washed: when she had taken Wafers and Ypocrase, the table was taken vp, and the Erle of Rutlande brought vp the surnap, and laied it at the bordes ende, which immediatly was drawen, and cast by Master Rode, Marshal of the hall: and the Quene washed, and after the Archebishop, and after the Surnap was drawen of, she arose and stode in the middes of the Hall place to whom the Lile of Sussex in a goodly spice plate, brought a voyde of spice and comfettes. After hym the Maior of London, brought a standyng cuppe of golde, set in a cuppe of assaie of gold, and after that she had dionke, she gaue the Maior the Cuppe, with the Cuppe of assaie, because there was no leyar, accordyng to the claime of the citee, thankyng hym & all his brethren, of their pain. Then she vnder her Canapie, departed to her Chamber, and at the entry of her Chamber, she gaue the Canapy with Belles and all, to the Barons of the Portes, accordyng to their clayne, with greate thanks. Then the Maior of London bearyng his Cuppe in his hande, with his bietheren went through the hall to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke.

On Mondaye were the Iustes at the Tilte, before the Kynges gate, wheré the Maior and his brethren had a goodly stadyng: but there wer very fewe speres broken, by the reason the horses would no cope.

On Wednesdaye, the Kyng sent for the Maior and his brethren to Westminster, and there he hymself gaue to them haite thanks, with many goodly wordes

On Midsomer daie after, the lady Maiey the Frenche Quene died in Suffolke at the lordship of who was the late wite to Lewes the. xii. and after married to Charles duke of Suffolk, and was buried at

This season the kyng kept his progresse about London, because of the Quene

The. vii. day of September beyng Sondaie, betwene thie and foure of the Clocke at The Christen-  
after noone, the Quene was deliuered of a faire Lady, whiche daie the Duke of Norffolke tenyng of y<sup>e</sup>  
lady Eliza-  
beth. came home to the christenyng, & for the Quenes good deliuerance, *Te deum* was song in continently, & great preparacion was made for the christenyng. and the Maior and his brethren, and xl. of the chiet of the citezens, were commaunded to bee at the Christenyng, the Wednesdaye folowyng, vpon whiche daie the Maior, su Stephen Pecocke, in a gowne of Crimosin Veluet, with his collar of S S and all the Aldermen in Scalet, with collers and cheines, and all the counsaill of the citee with them, took their barge after dincr, at one of the clocke, and the citizēs had another barge, and so rowed to Grenewiche, where were many lordes, knightes, and gentlemen assembled. All the walles betwene the Kynges place and the Friers, were hanged with Arras, and all the waie strawed with grene Rushis. the Friers Church was also hanged with Arras. The Funt was of siluer, and stode in the middes of the Church, thiee steppes high, whiche was couered with a fine clothe, and diuerse gentlemen with aprens, and towelles about their neckes, gaue attendaunce aboute it, that no filth should come in the Fount, ouer it hong a square Canape of crimosin Satten, fringed with golde, aboute it was a rayle couered with redde saye: betwene the quier and the body of the Church, was a close place with a panne of fire, to make the childe redy in. when al these thynges wer ordered, the childe was brought to the hall, and then euery man set forward: Firste the citezens two and two, then gentlemen, Esquiers and chapeleins, next after them the Aldermen, and the Maior alone. nexte the Maior, the kynges counsaill, the kynges Chapel in copes: then Barons, Bishoppes, Erles, then came the Erle of Essex, bearyng the couered Basins gilte, after hym the Marques of Excester with fȳ taper of virgin waxe, next hym the Marques Dorset, bearyng the salt, behynd hym the lady Mary of Norffolk, bearyng the cresom whiche was very riche of perle & stone, the old Duches of Norffolke



Norffolke bare the childe, in a Mantell of purple veluet, with a long train furred with Ermine. The duke of Norffolke, with his Marshall rod, went on the right hand of thesaid duches, & the duke of Suffolke on the left hande, and before them went the officers of armes: the countes of Kent bare the long train of the childe mantell, and betwene the Countes of Kent and the child, went therle of Wilshire on the right hand, and therle of Darby on the left hand, supporting thesaid train. in the middes over thesaid child was borne a Canapy, by the lorde Rocheford, the lorde Huse, the lorde Willyā Haward, and-by the lorde Thomas Haward the elder, after the child folowed many ladies, and gentlewomen, when the child was come to the churche dore, the bishop of London met it with diuerse bishoppes and Abbottes mitred, and began the obseruances of the Sacrament. The Godfather was the lorde Archebishop of Cantorbury the Godmothers were the old Duches of Norffolke, and the olde Marchiones of Dorset widowes, and the childe was named Elizabeth. and after that al thyng was done, at the churche dore the child was brought to the Fount, and christened, and this doon, Garter chief kyng of armes cried a loude, God of his infinite goodnes, sende prosperous life and long, to the high and mightie Princes of England Elizabeth: and then the trumpettes blewe then the childe was brought vp to the altare, and the Gospell saied ouer it. and after that immediatly the Archebishop of Cantorbury confirmed it, the Marchiones of Excester beyng Godmother, then the Archebishop of Cantorbury, gaue to the Princes a standyng cuppe of gold: the Duches of Norffolke, gaue to her a standyng cuppe of golde, fretted with perale. the Marchiones of Dorset gaue three gilt boules, pounced with a couer. and the Marchiones of Excester, gaue thre standyng bolles grauen, all gilt with a couer. Then was brought in Wafers, Comfettes, Ypocras in suche plentie, that enery man had asmuch, as he would desire. Then they set forwardes, the trumpettes goyng before in thesame ordre, towarde the kynges place, as they did when they came thether warde, sauyng that the giftes that the Godfather, and the Godmothers gaue, wer borne before the child by foure persones, that is to saie. First sir Ihon Dudley, bare the gift of the Lady of Excester the lorde Thomas Haward the younger, bare the gift of the lady of Dorset. the lorde Fitzwater, bare the gift of the Lady of Norffolk, and the Erle of Worcester, bare the gift of the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and all the one side as thei went, was full of staffe Torches, to the number of fife hundred, borne by the garde and other of the kynges seruantes, and about the child were borne, many other proper torches borne by gentlemen. and in this ordie thei brought the princes, to the Quenes chamber, & the Maior & the Aldermen taried there a while, and at the last the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke came out from the Kyng, thankyng them hartely, & said the kyng commaunded them to geue them thanks in his name: and from thence thei wer had to the seller to drynke, and so went to their Barges.

Pauser.

This yere also, one Pauier toun cleike of the citee of London, hanged himself, which surely was a man, that in nowise could abide to here that the Gospell should bee in Englishe, and I my self heard hym once saie to me & other that wer, by, swearyng a great othe, that if he thought the kynges highnes, would set furth the scripture in Englishe, and let it be red of the people by his anuthoritie, rather then he would so long lue he would cut his awn throte, but he brake promes, for as you haue hard he hanged hymself: but of what mynde and intent he so did, God iudge. About this season was espied a newe founde Saincte, & holy Hypocrite, called the maide of Kent, whiche by the great labor, diligence, and pain takyng of thachebishop of Cantorbury, and the lorde Cromewell, and one called Hugh Latimer a prieste (whiche shortly after was made bishop of Worcester,) the rugglyng and craftie decept of this maide, was manifested and brought to light wherupon after diuerse examinacions, she with all her adherentes, wer in Nouember brought to the starre chāber: the names of them all shall folowe, firste Elizabeth Barton, whiche was she that called her self ſy holy maide of Kent, Richard Master priest person of Aldyngton in the Countie of Kent, Edward Bockyng doctor in Diuinite, Monke of Cantorbury, Richard Deryng Monke also of Cantorbury, Edward Twaites gentleman, Thomas Laurēce re-

The holy  
Mayde of  
Kent.

gister to tharchedeacon of Cantorbury, Henry Gold person of Aldermary bachler of Diuinite, Hugh Riche Frier Obseruaunt, and Richarde Rasby, Thomas Gold gentleman. These all beeyng in the starre chaber, before diuerse of the kynges counsaill, confessed their feined hypocrisy, and dissimuled sanctitee, and treiterous purposes and intentes, and then was there by the kynges counsaill adiudged, to stand at Paules crosse, wher thei with their awne handes, should seuerally deliuer echa of them to the preacher that should be ap-  
 poynted, a bill declaryng their subtile, craftie and superstitious doynge. Whiche thyng the next Sondare after, they all aboue rehersed; standyng on a stage at Paules Crosse, made for that purpose did accomlishe; but for their treasons committed, the matter therof was respited to the Parliamēt nexte folowyng, where all thei abouesaid, with other as after ye shall here, wer attainted by act of parliamēt, and suffered death as traitors, by hanging, drawyng, and quarteryng at Tyborne.

In September the kyng of Scottes, sent his Commissioners to the toune of Newe Castle, where wer for the kyng of Englande commissioners, sir Thomas Clifford, and doctor Magnus, and sir Raufe Elderkare And first the Scottes without any long communicacion, demaunded greate amendes, sayng, that the Englishmen had robbed and spoyled them to their losse, and that greatly, and saied that the kyng of England of his honor, must nedes make satisfaccion, if he would be called honorable Then it was answered, that notwithstanding the leagues, written, sealed and sworne, the Scottishe naciō would neuer kepe peace in somuch, while we be here in treatyng, your people are robbying wherfore the kyng demaundeth of you, the goodes and prisoners taken contrary to the peace, wherof we here deliuer you a wrytyng, which the Scottes receiued, and at their next metyng thei saied, that the shippes to them wer lawfull prises, by reason that therle of Anguise, was maintained in Englande, whiche is rebel to our kyng, and therle and you haue doen to vs muche skathe, & we haue taken a few shippes, in recompence of some part of our greate losses, whiche we maie not deliuer, & therfore we piae you demaunde them not but here we deliuer you our boke, which amounteth to a greater somme by tenne thousand marke The Englishe commissioners receiued the boke, and in thesame the Scottes demaunded, recompence for burning their townes, and destroyng many of their strong Piles, aboue. xxiiii. whiche wer destroyed from the. xxiiii. daie of Aprill, in the laste. xxiiii. yere of the kyng to the xxx. daie of Aprill The Englishe comissioners answered, that if the Scottes would send to the kyng of Englade, thei doubted not, but thei should haue a good answer for the kyng of Englande had hym chose peace or warre so they agreed to sende to bothe their kynges letters of their doynge, whiche in haste was dooen And after muche suite of the Scottes parte, when they had muche demaunded, and litle or nothyng was graunted, thei then beyng wery of waire desired peace, whiche was concluded, duryng bothe the kynges lues, and the twentie daie of Maie, in the next yere of the kyng folowyng, it was openly Proclaimed, to the greate comforte and reioysyng of all louers of peace.

The xviii. daie of December, the Duke of Suffolke was sent by the kyng and his counsaill, to Bugden beside Huntynghdon, where the lady Katherine Princes Dowager laye. For the Kyng was aduertised, and had good proues of thesame, that she of forwārd mynde would consent, neither to the determinacion of the Vniuersities, nor yet to the sentence of the whole conuocacion of the realme, but beyng counsailed by a fewe Spaniardes, whiche had litle leinyng, did all that she could to infringe the determinacion of thesaid Vniuersities and clergie. In somuche that she wrote to the Pope and to other potentates, to greue the Kyng and his realme because he would not folowe her mynd, and breake the commaundement of God. Wherefore the Kynges counsaill mocioned the kyng, that suche as wer about her, and moued her thereto, should be put from her, for thei thought it no reason, that she should haue suche libertie to woorke that thyng, by the whiche the kyng and his realme, might haue detriment or damage Wherefore thesaid Duke was sent to her, whiche shewed to her openly, Articles of her suites to the Pope, and howe she soughte meanes to greue the Kyng and his Realme, whiche hereafter she should not be suffered to dooe



The Pope  
accursed the  
Kyng and  
Realme.

Wyllyam  
Locke  
Mares.

dooe. For thesame tyme was a Cursse sent from the Pope, whiche accursed bothe the Kyng, and the whole Realme, whiche Cursse the bearer therof, beeyng not by like the hardiest manne that euer shewed hymself in front of battaill, thought it a greate deale more better for hym to bestowe it without the Kynges reche, then to adventure to come within his Dominions, and therefore set it vp in the Toune of Dunkercke in Flaunders, where it was taken doune by Wyllyam Locke, Mercer of London. The Quene answered the Duke very highly and obstinately, with many high woordes, and sodainly in a fury she departed from hym, into her priuie Chamber and shutte the doore. He seeyng that, brake all the ordre of the Quenes Courte, and discharged a greate sorte of her housholde seruauntes, and yet lefte there a conuenient number, to serue her like a Princes. There was greate lamentacion among them that departed, but there was no remedy. Then thei that remained to serue her, were sworne to serue her as a Princes Dowager, and not as Quene, some saied thei were sworne to her as Quene, and otherwise thei would not serue, and so they departed. Other that wcr sworne to serue her as Princes, and remained there, she thein vterly refused for her seruantes, wherefore she remained with the lesse number of seruantes.

The kyng kept his Christmas at Grenewiche, with great solempnitee, and after Christmas beganne the Parliament. In whiche Parliament Elizabeth Barton, the holy Maide of Kent, with all her adherentes, of whom ye haue heard before was attaynted. And because her offences, were bothe against God and the kyng, so greafe and wicked, that the like was neuer heard nor known before, I will declare vnto you the processe of her matter, in suche maner as the truthe thereof, is declared in her attander, by Acte of Parliament. Firste thesaied Elizabeth Barton (beeyng a Nonne professed in the house and Priory of Sanct Sepulchres of Cauntorbury,) whiche long before she was professed Nonne, dwelled with one Thomas Cobbe, in the Parische of Aldyngton, in the Countie of Kent, and happened to bee visited with sickenes, and by occasion thereof, brought in suche debilitie and weakenes of her brayne, because she could not eate ne drynke, by a long space, that in the violence of her infirmite, she semed to bee in Traunses, and spake and vttered many foolishhe and Idle woordes. And one Richard Master, Clerke, beeyng Persone of the said Parische of Aldyngton, in thesaid Countie of Kent, after that he had made to the late Archebischoppe of Cauntorbury, a farie and a larger reporte, concerning the Hypocrisy, traunses and speaches of thesaid Elizabeth, then he could iustife and abide by, and after that he was commaunded by thesaid Archebishop, to geue good attendaunce vpo her, if she should fortune to haue any moe suche traunses and speaches, and to sende hym knowlege thereof, to the intent to mainteigne, vphold and yerefy, suche reporte as he had made, aswell to the Archebischoppe aforesaid, as to other, of the wonderfull traunses and speaches of thesaid Nonne, he falsely and craftely informed thesaid Elizabeth, that the merueilous woordes whiche she spake in her traunses, afore his rydyng to the Archebishop aforesaid, proceded of the inspiracion of the holy ghost, and that she was greatly to be blamed if she would hide or dissemble the wonderfull workes of God shewed to her: for afore this his said informacion and instruccion, she saied constantly, that she could not remember, that she spake any suche notable woordes in her traunses, as were reported vnto her, by thesaid Richard Master. Whiche Elizabeth beeyng in this maner of wise, often tymes perswaded, procured and informed, by thesaid Persone of Aldyngton, tooke boldenes and courage to forge, feigne, and counterfeat suche maner of Traunses, and craftie speaches, as thesaid Persone of Aldyngton told her, that she vsed in her sickenes, afore he went to thesaid Archbischoppe. And when thesaid Elizabeth had vsed this false, feigned counterfeating for a season, and was perfecte therein (so that the same thereof, was greatly spied abroad, in those parties) then the said Person, to the intent aforesaid, and to the intent the people, should geue more faith and credite vnto her, and because he would haue increased the deuocion of the people, in comyng on pilgrimage to a Chapell, set in Courte at Strete, within thesaid Parische, dedicate in the honour of our Lady, for his awne

lucre

lucre and auantage, imagined, deuised, compassed and declared, with the aide, helpe, and counsaill of one Edwarde Bockyng Monke, professed in the Monastery in Christes Church in Cauntourbury, and Doctor in Diuinitee, that thesaied Elizabeth, being in the extasy and extremitie of her sickenes, in a maner distract in traüses, should saie emongest other wounderfull woordes, that she should neuer take healthe of her body till suche tyme as she had visited the Image of our Lady, beeyng in thesaied Chapell at Courte at Strete aforesaid and that our Lady had appered vnto her, and shewed hei, that if she came to thesaied Chapell, at the daye appoynted, she should bee restored to her health by Miracle, where in very deede, she was restored to her perfecte health, by diet and Plurike, and by the course of nature, whiche expelled the matter, beyng cause of her sickenes, in the meane tyme while thesaied person of Aldyugton, was with the Archebishoppe, as is afore rehearsed And albeit thesaied Elizabeth, was restored to her healthe, yet she beeyng accustomed and acquainted with the maner and fashion of her distracte Traunses, by the counsaill, conspiacie, and confederacie of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master, did falsely practise, vse and shewe vnto the people, diuerse and merueilous sondery alteracions, of her sensible partes of her body, craftely vtteriyng in her saied feigned and false Traunses, diuerse and many vertuous and holy woordes, tending to the rebuke of synne, and in reprobuing of suche newe opinions, as then beganne to spryng in this Realme, whiche she called Heresydes, as she was induced and taught, by thesaied Edwarde Bockyng and Richarde Master, vsyng all the waies of false Hypocrisy, to the intent the people should geue belefe and credence vnto hei, whereby they might bee the soner brought, into the detestable crimes of blasphemie and Idolatrie agaynste almightie GOD And thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, beeyng maliciously fixed in his opinion, agaynste the Kynges highnes, in his detested Matrimonic with Quene Katheryne, and intendyng in his mynde, afterwaides for his parte, falsely and Trayterously to vse thesaied Elizabeth, as a Diabolicke instrument, to sturte, moue, and prouoke the people of this Realme, aswell nobles as other, to murmur and grudge, agaynste the Maiestie of oure Souereigne Loide, and all his iuste and Lawfull procedynges, in thesaied deuorice and seperacion, as after he did in very deede: for the accomplishing of his saied false, malicious and Trayterous ententes, falsely deuised and conspired, with thesaied Richarde, that thesaied Elizabeth should shewe and manifest her self, to the people, to bee an excellent vertuous and an holy woman, and that all her woordes and deedes, should appere to the worlde, to procede of a marueilous holines, rebukyng the common synnes and vices of the worlde, as though she were taught and inspired of the holy spirit of God. And not onely moued and counsailed thesaied Elizabeth, thus to vse her self, surmytting to hei that she spake suche thynges, in the extasy of her sickenes, that came by the inspiration of God, but also counsailed and procured thesaied Elizabeth, to bee brought and conueghed, to thesaied Chapell of oure Lady, and therein openly in the presence of the people, (that there should be assembled by their procurementes) should vse and experiment suche like Traunses, and alteracions of her face, and other the outward sensible partes of her body, as she used in the extremitie and extasy of her sickenes To whose counsailes and aduertisementes, thesaied Elizabeth agreed Whereupon at a daie by them appoynted and agreed, thesaied Edward and Richard, laboured, solicited, and procured, aboue the number of two thousande persones, to repaire to thesaied Chapel, surmytting that thesaied Elizabeth, whiche as they saied, had marueilous and many Visions and Reuelacions of God, should be broughte thither, and there receiue her healthe, by Miracle of oure Lady, whose image was in thesaied Chapell. By reason of whiche false, feigned and detestable conspiracy and Hypocrisy, at the daie by them appoynted, there assembled to thesaied Chapell, aboue the number of two thousande people. At whiche daie also, thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master procured, and caused thesaied Elizabeth, to repaire to thesaied Chapell, where thesaied Elizabeth, albeit she at that tyme, and long afore was restored to healthe of her bodie, and discharged of her tormentes and afflictions, whiche she had in the extasy of her sickenes Yet neuertheles by the procurement and



craftue counsaill of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richard Master, did falsely feigne and shewe vnto the people in thesame Chapell, many alteracions of her face, and other outward sensible partes of her body, and falsely feigned and shewed herself in Traunces, vtterying wonderous wordes, as she was before subtelly and craftely induced and taught, by thesaied Richarde and Edwarde to dooe. And emonges other thynges she vttered, that it was the pleasure of God, that thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, should bee her ghostly father, and that she should bee a Religious woman, as she was taught by thesaied Edward Bockyng and Richard Master. And within a while after demonstracion, of suche false feigned and dissimuled traunces, she appered to the people, to bee sodainly reueled from her sickenes and afflictions, by the intercession and meanes of the Image of oure Lady, beeyng in thesame Chapell. By meanes of whiche false feigned Hypocrisy, dissimuled and cloked Sanctitee, so conspired and craftely imagined by thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master, thesaied Elizabeth was brought into a merueilous fame, credite and good opinion, of a greate multitude of the people of this Realme. And to increase the fame of thesaied false feigned Hypocrisy, thesaied Elizabeth after wardes, by the counsaill and procurement, of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, entered into Religion, and became a Nonne, professed in thesaied Priory of Saint Sepulchres, to whom thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, had commonly his resorte, not without probable, vehement and violent suspicion of incontinencie, pretending to bee her Ghostly father, by Goddes appoyntment. And by conspiracy betwene her and him, caused her still to persist and abide, in the practising of her said false hypocrisy, and dissimulynge traunces and raptures. And that she should surmit to the people, that when she was in suche simuled alteraciō, of her sensible partes of her body, that she was then rapt by almighty God, from thaffections of this worlde, and tolde by the holy spirite of God, many thynges that should folowe to the worlde, for punisshement of the synnes of the princes and the people. And that she should also say that she was muche prouoked & tempted, aswell to the synne of the fleshe as otherwise, by her ghostly enemye the deuill, at diuerse and sondry tymes, and in diuerse and sondery waies and fashions. And yet neuer theles that she by the grace of almighty God was preserued, and stedfastly resisted suche temptation. By occasion of which counsaill and procurement of the said Edward Bockyng, thesaied Elizabeth by continuance of tyme, toke suche a courage vpon her, that she falsely feined and saied, that she had many reuelacions, of almighty God and his holy saintes, with heuently lightes, heuently voyces, heuently melodies and ioyes, and specially in a chapell of S. Giles, in thesaied Nonnery, to the whiche chapell, she often tymes resorted to receiue visions and reuelacions, as cōmaunded by God, as she falsely reported, and specially by night, sayyng, that the Dorture doore was made open to her by Goddes power, vtterying thesame, aswell to thesaied Edward Bockyng, as to diuerse other persones. By the whiche her false feigned reuelacions, & cloked hypocrisy, she was reputed emongest many people of this realme, to be a very holy woman, inspired with God, where in very deede, she neuer had vision or reuelacion from God, as she hath plainly and openly confessed her self. And therefore her stealyng fuithe of the Dorture in the nighte, whiche was not once or twise wekely was not for spiritual busines nor to receiue reuelaciōs of God, but rather for bodely cōmunicaciō & pleasure with her frēdes, which could not haue so goodleasure & oportunitie with her by daie. And for ratificaciō of her false feined reuelaciōs, thesaied Edward by cōspiracy, betwene him & thesaied Elizabeth, reueled thesame to the most reuerēt father, Willyā late Archbisshop of Cantorbury, who by false & vntrue surmises, tales and lies of thesaied Edward & Elizabeth, was allured, brought and induced to credite them, and made no diligent serches, for the triall of their saied falsehoods, and confederacions, but suffered and admitted thesame, to the blasphemie of almighty God, and to the great deceit of the prince, and people of this realme. And for a perpetuall memory of thesaied feined and dissimuled hypocrisy, and false reuelacions of the saied Elizabeth, thesaied Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, and one Iohn Deryng, a Monke in thesaied Monastery of Christes church aforesaied, made, writ, and caused to be written,

sondery bokes bothe greate & small, bothe printed and written, concerning the perticularities of thesaid false and feined hipocrisy, and reuelaciōs of thesaid Elizabeth of the deffce or great praise of thesame: surmittyng and puttyng furth thesame false and feined practises, and reuelaciōs of thesaid Elizabeth, to be iust & true miracles, shewed by almighty God, in the fauour of the sanctitee of thesaid Elizabeth, where in dede thei been and wer falsely deuised, compassed, cōspired, written and maintained by thesaid Elizabeth Barton, Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, & Ihō Deryng, to thonly intēt to bryng the said Elizabeth, in the fame and credite of the people of this realme, wheyby the people should the more be apt and disposed, by her false cloked hipocrisy and sanctitee, to commit the crimes of blasphemie and ydolatrie against God, and also the soner induced, by the false reuelacions of thesaid Elizabeth to murmor, and gudge, and be of euill opinion, aganste the Maiestie of our soueraigne lorde, to the great peill and daūger of his moste royall person. And one Edward Thwaites getleman, trāslated and wrote diuerse quaiers, and shetes of paper, conceinyng thesaid false feined reuelacions, of thesaid Elizabeth. Also one Thomas Laurence of Cantorbury, beyng regester to tharchebishop of Cantorbury, at thinstance and desire of thesaid Edward Bockyng, wrote a great boke of thesaid false & feined miracles, and reuelacions of thesaid Elizabeth in a faire hand, redy to bee a copie to the printer, when thesaid boke should be put to stampe.

Emonges whiche false and feined reuelacions surmised by thesaid Elizabeth, and put in writynges in diuerse bokes, by the false cōspiriacie meanes and procurement of thesaid Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, Ihon Deryng, and other their complices, there is expressed that the deuill should appere, to thesaid Elizabeth in diuerse fashions, sometymes like a man wantonly appareled, sometyme like a biide deformed, and sometyme otherwise. And that Mary Magdalene, should often apere to thesaid Elizabeth, and reuele to her many reuelacions. And at one tyme should deliuer vnto her, a letter written in heuen, part wherof was linnid with golden letters, where in dede thesame letters were written with the hande of a Monke of saint Augustines in Cantorbury named Hawkhurst.

There was also written and cōteined, emongest thesaid false and feined miracles & reuelaciōs, that when the kynges highnes was at Calice in thenterewe, betwene his maiestie and the Frenche kyng, and heryng Masse in the Church of our Lady at Calice, that God was so displeased with the kynges highnes, that his grace sawe not at the Masse the blessed Sacrament in fourme of bread for it was taken awaie frō the priest (beyng at Masse) by an Angell, and ministered vnto thesaid Elizabeth, then beyng there present and inuisible, and sodainly conueighed & rapt thence again, by the power of God into thesaid Nonnery, where she is professed, with many other false feined fables, and tales deuised, conspired and defended by thesaid Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng & Ihon Deryng, writtē as miracles in thesaid bokes for a memorial, to set furth the false and feined hypocrisy, and cloked sanctitee of thesaid Elizabeth, to the people of this realme, as by thesaid sondery bokes and writynges therof made, seen and examined by the kynges moste honorable counsaill more plainly apereth. in whiche bokes be written suche termes & sentēces of reproch and slander, against the kynges highnes & the quene, which wer to shameful to be writtē against the most vile & vngracious persōs liuyng, whiche to here, would abhorre every true subiect of this realme.

And after thesaid Elizabeth by suche her false & feined hipocrisy, and dissimuled sanctitee, was brought in a great brute and fame of the people, in sondy parties of this realme, then thesaid Edward Bockyng by procurement & secret conspiracy, of diuerse persones vnknewen, whiche maligned against the kynges procedynges, for the seperacion & deuorse in thesaid detested & vnlawfull marriage, traiterosly intendyng to put the kynges highnes in a murmor, and euil opinion of his people, for thesame, counsailed and stired thesaid Elizabeth, that she should aske a peticiō of almighty God, to knowe whether God was displeased with the kynges highnes, for procedyng in thesaid deuorce, and seperacion of the



marriage betwene his highnes, and thesaid lady Katherin, declaryng to her many tymes, that he & diuerse other leained men of this realme, and many of the common people of thesame, were in firme opinions that the kynges procedyng in thesaid deuorce, was against the lawes of God. Whereupon thesaid Elizabeth subtilely and craftely, concerning the opinion and mynd of thesaid Edward, willyng to please hym, reueled and shewed vnto the said Edward, that she had knowlege by reuelacion frō God, that God was highly displeased with our souereigne lorde, for thesame matter. And in case he desisted not from his procedinges in thesaid deuorce and seperacion, but pūrsued thesame & married again, that then within one moneth after suche marriage, he should no lenger be kyng of this realme. & in the reputacion of almightie God, should not be a king one daie, nor one houre: and that he should dye a villenes death sayng farther, that there was a roote with iii braunches, & till they wei plucked vp, it should neuer be mery in England: interpreting the roote to be the late lord Cardinal, and the first bianche to be the kyng our souereigne lorde, the secōd the duke of Norfolke, and the iii the duke of Suffolk. Whiche false feined reuelaciōs, by the mischeuous & malicious cōsail and cōspiracie of thesaid Edward Bocking, with ŷ said Elizabeth, wer written and expressed, in thesaid bokes and volumes, conteignyng the false and feined reuelacions and Miracles, of thesaid Elizabeth, for a perpetuall memory thereof, to the viter reproche and percell of destruction of the Kynges persone, his honor, fame and name and priuely and secretly, set furthe by thesaid Elizabeth, Edward Bocking, Ihon Deryng, and Richarde Master, generally to diuerse and many of the kynges subiectes, and specially as to electe persones, to Ihon Bishoppe of Rochester, and Ihon Adeson clerke, chapelain to thesaid bishop, and to oue Henry Gold priest, bachelor of Diuinitee, to Hugh Riche Frier Obseruant, and late Wardein of the Friers Obseruauntes of Cantorbury, whiche beare malice and malignitie, to all the kynges procedynges, in the said deuoise and seperacion, because it was contrary to their peruerse and froward opinions, intendyng by colour of thesaid false and feined hypocrisy, and reuelacions of the said Elizabeth, not onely to let thesaid deuorse and seperacion, but also to bring, and set furth secretly, in the heddes of the people of this realme, aswel nobles as other, that al the kynges actes and procedynges in thesame, were against holy scriptures, and the pleasure of almightie God. whereby the kynges highnes should be brought in a grudge, and euill opinion of his people. And thesaid Ihon Bishoppe of Rochester, Henry Gold, Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, Richard Master, Ihon Deryng, at sondery and seuerall tymes and places, spake with thesaid Elizabeth, and toke relacion of her, of the said false and feined reuelacions, whiche she feined that she had of almightie God, aswell concernyng the kynges highnes as other, after the fourme and termes aboue specified. And hauyng knowlege therof thesaid Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, and Henry Golde cleike, gaue suche firme and constant credite thereunto, that thei Trayterously concealed it frō the kynges highnes, and trayterously beleued in their hartes, that the Kyng our souereigne Lorde, after the late mariage solempnized, betwene his highnes, and his moste dere and entierly beloued wife Quene Anne, was no lenger rightfull kyng of this realme, in the reputacion of almightie God, whereby in their hartes & willes, thei trayterously withdrew from his highnes, their naturall ducties of obedience: and secretly taught and moued other persones, (to whom thei reueled thesaid false and feined reuelacions) that thei ought and might lawfully doo in thesame wise and practised thesaid matters, against the kynges Maiestie, falsely, maliciously, and trayterously, at sōdery places and tymes, with the fathers, and Nonnes of Syon, and diuerse Monkes of the Charter house of London and Shene, and with diuerse Friers Obseruauntes, the places of Richemont, Grenewiche, and Cauntorbury, and to diuerse other, bothe spirituall and temporall persones in greate number, to the intent to sowe a secret murmur and gudge, in the hartes of the Kynges subiectes, against the Maiestie of our souereigne lorde, and all his procedynges, in thesaid deuoise and seperacion, intendyng therby to makē suche a diuision and rebellyng in this realme, amongst  
the

the kynges subiectes, whereby the kynges highnes, should not onely haue been put to perill of his life, but also in ieeperdy to be depriued from his crowne and dignitie royall

And for a more playne and petticuler declaracion of the malicious & trayterous intentes of the sayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Ihon Deryng, Hugh Ryche, Richard Rysby, & Henry Golde, they concluded by a confederacy among them selves eche with other, to set forth in sermons & prechynges thesayd Reuelacions to the people of this realme against the kynges Maiesne, whensoever it should please & sayd Elizabeth to appoint them the tyme when they should so do, and agreed eche with other secretly, and set forth thesayd false and fayned reuelacions to their acquayntaunce and frendes in this realme, intending to make a great multitude of people of this realme, by their secret conspiracies, in an aptnes to receiue and take such then sermons and prechynges which they intended to make, as is aforesayd conceyning the premisses, trayterously intēdyng therby to put our sayd souereigne lord, not only in perill of his life, but also in iopardye of losse and depriuation of his crowne and dignitie royal of this realme, frō him & his lawfull succession for euer. And in accomplisying their false, trayterous, & malicious intentes against our sayd souereigne lord, they caused the said Elizabeth, at ii tymes, secretly to declare the said false & fayned reuelacions to ii. of the Popes Orators and ambassadors at the Cities of Caūtorbury and London. At which tyme the sayd Henry Golde tooke vpon him to be interpreter therof, betwene the sayd Elizabeth & the sayd Orators named Anthony Pulleon, and the interpreter to the other Orator named Syluester, was the foresayd Lawrence of Cauntorbury, to the entent the kynges highnes, and all his procedynges in thesayd deuorce and seperacion should be brought into an euil opinion with the Pope and other princes and Potentates. And the sayd Hugh Ryche actually trauailed to sondry places of this realme and made secreete relacion of the premisses concerning the kynges highnes to diuers lordes bothe spiritual and temporal, and diuers other persones lay and ierned, seculer and religious. And the sayd Henry Golde over this, actually trauailed and made relacion therof to thesayd lady Katheryne princes dowager, to animate her to make commocion in this realme against our sayd souereigne lorde, surmountyng that thesayd Elizabeth should haue by reuelacion of God, that the sayd lady Katheryne should prospere & do well, and that her issue the lady May the kynges daughter should prosper and reigne in this realme & haue many frendes to sustaine and maintayne her. And the sayd Elizabeth and Edward Bockyng, Ihon Deryng & Richard Master likewise actually trauailed to diuers places in this realme and made secreete relacion of thesayd false fayned hypocysie and reuelacions of thesayd Elizabeth & gaue knowlege hereof to diuers other sondry persones of this realme.

All whiche conspiracies and confederacies of thesayd Elizabeth, and other her complices aboue mencioned, was trayterously & maliciously deuised and practised by the sayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Ihon Deryng, Rychard Master, Henry Golde, Hugh Ryche, and Rychard Rysby to the entent trayterously to destroy our sayd souereigne lorde, and to depriue him and his lawfull succession frō the crowne & dignitie royall of this realme, which matter hath been practised and imagined amongst them for the space of many yeres whereof the whole circumstance were very long to be written in this acte. And the sayd Ihon Fysher bishop of Rochester and one Thomas Gold gentleman, and the sayd Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaytes, and Ihon Adeson chapelein to thesayd Ihon bishop of Rochester, hauyng knowlege of the false fayned and dissimuled reuelacions, trayterously cōspired against our sayd soueraigne lorde (as is aforesayd) did neuerthelesse make concelement therof, and vttered not the same to our sayd souereigne lorde, nor any his honorable counsaill, against their dueties and allegaunce in that behalfe

And furthermore, the sayd Thomas Gold, for the accomplisement of his most trayterous intent, hath of late been a messenger frō thesayd Elizabeth, sithen she was in warde in the Tower of London for thesayd moste false and trayterous offences by her and her said complices committed and done, he then beyng at libertie, by his message hath comforted



dyuerse others to stande stiffly by her reuelacions, that they were of God. notwithstanding that she had confessed all her sayd falshed before diuers of the kynges counsailours, and that they were manifestly proued, found, and tryed moste false and vntrue: whiche thyng he did only to raise and put sedicion and murmur in the people against the kynges highnes, his crowne and dignitie royal. And one Thomas Abel clerke beyng of the confederacy aforesayd, and takinge suche firme & constant credite to thesayd false and fayned reuelacions and miracles of thesayd Nonne, not onely caused to be Printed and set forth in this realme dyuers bookes against thesayd deuorice and separation to the dislauder of our sayd souereigne lord, but also animated thesayd lady Katherine obstinately to persist in her wilful opinion against thesame deuorice and separation: and after thesayd deuorice lawfully had, to vsurpe and take vpon her still to be quene, and procured diuers writynges to be made by her, by the name of Quene. and also procured and abbetted the seruantes of thesayd Lady Katheryne against the kynges expresse commaundement and proclamacion, to name, call, accept, & repute thesayd lady Katherine for quene of this realme to the intent to make a cōmon diuision and rebellion in this realme to the great peril and daunger of our sayd souereigne lorde.

Thus muche haue I recited vnto you out of the act as it is there expressed worde for worde now after foloweth the maner of her attainder and of the other as in the act more at large dooth appeare. But to conclude the xxi. day of April next folowyng she with other were drawen to Tyborne and there executed as most iustly they had deserved as you may perceiue by the premisses.

And at the place of execucion, and the present tyme that she suffered she sayd these wordes, "betwixt am I come to dye, and I haue not been the onely cause of myne owne death whiche most iustly I haue deserved, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persones whiche at this tyme here suffre: & yet to say the trueth, I am not somuche to be blamed cōsideryng it was well knowen vnto these lerned men & I was a poore wenche without learnyng and therefore they might haue easely perceiued that the thynges that were done by me could not procede in no suche sorte, but their capacities and learnyng could right well iudge from whence they proceeded, and that they wer altogether fayned but because the thynges whiche I fayned was profitable vnto them, therfore they muche praised me and bare me in bande that it was the holy ghost and not I that did theiro, and then I beyng puffed vp with their praises fell into a certain pryde and folishe phantasie with my selfe and thought I might fayne what I would, whiche thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I cry God & the kynges highnes most heartely mercy, and desire all you good people to pray to God to haue mercy on me and on all them that here suffre with me."

In this parliament also was made the act of succession for the suertie of the crowne, to the whiche euery persone beyng of lawfull age should be sworne vpon the payne expressed in that acte, as in thesame ye may moste euidently see

Monday the xxiii. day of Marche in the Parliament tyme, were solcmnely receiued into London as ambassadors from Iames the v. king of Scottes, the bishop of Aberdyne, the Abbot of Kynlos & Adam Otterborne the kynges Attorney, with diuers gentlemen on them attēdant whiche were brought to the Taylers hall and there lodged. And on the day of the Annunciacion of our Lady they were brought to the kynges place at Westminster, where they shewed their commission and message, for the which the kyng-appointed them dayes to cōsail. And shortly after commissioners were appointed as you shall heare. Duryng the Parliament tyme, euery sonday preached at Paules crosse a bishop, whiche declared the Pope not to be the head of the Church.

The xxx. day of Marche the Parliament was proroged, and there euery lord and burges and all other, were sworne to the act of succession, and subscribed their handes to a Parchement fixed to thesame othe. This Parliament was proroged till the third day of Nouember next. After this, commissions were sent ouer all England to take the othe of all men and women to the act of succession, at whiche fewe repyned, except doctor Ihon Fysher, sir

Thomas

The wordes  
of Elizabeth  
Baron other  
wise called  
y<sup>e</sup> holy  
maide of  
Kent at her  
death.

Thomas Moore knight late lorde Chaūcelor, and doctor Nicholas Wylson païson of saint Thomas Apostles in London: wherfore these thre persones, after long exhortacion to them made by the bishop of Cauntorbury at Lambeth, and expresse denyal of them to be sworne, they were sent to the Tower where they remayned and were often tymes mocioned to be sworne: but the Bishoppe and sir Thomas More sayd that thei had in their wrytynges written the princes dowager Quene, and therfore they might not go against that, and the doctor sayd that he in preachyng called her quene, whiche he would not withsay, howbeit at length he was very wel contented, and dissembled the matter and so escaped. But the other twayne stode against all the realme in their opinion.

In this yere it chaunced that two marchaunt straūgers fell in loue with a harlot whiche was called Wolfes wyfe, & this harlot had often haunted the straungers chambers. And so one tyme thesame harlot appointed these straūgers to come to Westminster, and she had prepared for them a bote, in the whiche bote was but one manne to rowe whiche was a strong thefe, and in the ende of the boate laye Wolfe her husbād couered with a lether that botemen vse to couer their Cusshyns with, and so these straungers satte them doune mis trustyng nothing, & when this boteman had brought them as farie as a place that is called the Turnyng tree, sodainly stepped vp the sayd Wolfe & with his dagger thrust the one of theim thorow, the other cryed out to saue his life and offred a great somme of money to the boteman and him to saue his life, but no profferes would be heard, nor mercy would they extēde, but as cruel murderers without pitie slew the other also and bound them face to face and so threw them into the Thames in the foresayd place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatly the harlot Wolfes wyfe went to the straungers chambers & toke frō thence so muche as she could come by. And at the last she and her husband as they deserved, were apprehended, arraigned & hanged at the foresayd turnyng tree, where she hanged stull and was not cut doune, vntil suche tyme as it was knowen that beastly and filthy wretches had moste shamefully abused her beyng dead

Wolfes wyfe.

THE. XXVI. YERE.

THE nyth day of Iuly was the lord Dacres of the North arreigned at Westminster of high treason, where the duke of Norffolke sat as iudge and high Steward of Englād. The sayd lorde Dacres beyng brought to the barre with the axe of the Tower before him, after his inditement red, not only improued thesayd inditement as false and maliciously deused against him and answered euery part and matter therein contained, but also so manly, wittily, and directly confuted his accusors whiche there were ready to auouche their accusacions, that to their great shames, & to his great honor, he was found that day by his peres not giltye, whiche vndoubtedly the commons exceedyngly ioyed and reioysed of, insonmuche as there was in the hall at those woordes, not giltye, the greatest shoute and crye of ioy that the like no man luyng may remembre that euer he heard.

The lorde Dacres of the North

The xiiii. day of Iuly one Ihon Frith beyng very well learned and had an excellent goodly witte, was brought out of the Tower where he had been long, & was there imprisoned for makyng of a booke against Purgatory, but in the meane whyle that he was there, he was required by one, who heartely loued him and had a very good opinion in him, to declare to him his faith and opinion in the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, & that he would put thesame in wrytyng, whiche thyng he did. But after it chaūced that thesame persone whiche had this wrytyng of Ihon Frith was acquainted with a Taylor in London called Wyllyam Holt, whiche outwardely professed muche honestye, but inwardly was a verye spye and a very betrayer of as many menne as he might bring in daungier. This Holt required after he had seyn it, to haue this wrytyng, & he had it, and forthwith he presented it to sir Thomas More then lorde Chaūcelor, and he immediatly made answer to thesame in

Ihon Frith

wrytyng,



writyng, whiche also by the meanes of the sayd Holt, came to the handes of Ihon Frith. Ihon Frith then perceiuyng that the tuing that he was so loth to write or meddle in (for it was a matter that none could get him to talke of, sayyng suche that he as much trusted as him selfe) was nowe so farre spread abroade that it was answered vnto, after he had not a litle rebuked the negligence and folye of his frende whom he trusted, stooode to the defence of his first treatise and made a farther declaracion of his mynde vpon the same matter as appeieth in a booke whiche beureth his name. For the which opinion w<sup>ch</sup> other he was attai diuers and sondry examinacions (aswell at Lambeth with the Bishop of Cauntorbury as also at Croydon, and likewyse with the bishop of Wyncheste<sup>r</sup>) brought vnto the Consistory in Paules Churche in London before diuers bishoppes, where after muche disputyng, for that he would not yelde nor submit himselfe to them, they cōdempned him and deliuered him to the secular power to be brent as an heretike.

At thesame time was one Andrew Hewet a very simple and vterly vnleined yong mā a Taylor, which was also betrayed by the foresayd Holt. This yong man beyng in like maner accused in the Consistory before thesayd bishoppes for holding opinion against the Sacrament. One of the bishoppes asked him how he beleued in the Sacrament. he answered, he beleued therin as Master Frith did. why sayd they, doest thou not beleue that it is y<sup>e</sup> very body of Christ really fleshe and blond euen as he was borne of the virgyn Mary. No sayd he, why so sayd the bishop. because sayd he, that Christ byd me y<sup>e</sup> I should not beleue them that say here is Christ and there is Christ, for false Christes & false prophetes shall arise to deceiue you sayth Christ. Then certain of y<sup>e</sup> bishops smyled, and doctor Stokesley then bishop of Lōdon sayd. Frith is an heretike & is cōdempned & deliuered to the temporal power to be brent, if thou wilt not submit thy selfe & acknowlege thyne error, thou shalt likewise be condemnēd & deliuered. I am content sayd he. Wilt thou not abiure thyne heresie q<sup>d</sup> the bishop. No sayd he, for I will do as Master Frith doth. Then we will condemne thee sayd y<sup>e</sup> bishop. do so sayd he. And so they pronounced sentence on him, and deliuered him to the Sherriffes. and from thence they were sent to Newgate where they remained till the xxii. day of Iuly, & that day were both brent at one stake in Smytnfelde. Where at thesame tyne one doctor Cooke which was peison of Hony Lane, & one that was the Master of the Temple, willed the people to pray no more for them then they would pray for dogges, at whiche vncharitable wordes Frith smyled & prayed God to forgeue them, and the people sore gjudged at them for so sayyng.

The xiii. day of August was a great tyer at Temple barre & diuers houses brent. And the xvi. day of thesame moneth was burned the kynges stable at Chaiyng crosse otherwise called the Mowse, wherein was brent many great Hoises and great store of haye.

The Pope  
abolished.

In this yere the third day of Nouēber the kynges highnes helde his high court of Parliament, in the whiche was cōcluded and made many and sondry good, wholsome, and godly statutes. but among al one special estatute, which aucthoued the kynges highnes to be supreme head of the Church of Englād, by the whiche the Pope with all his College of Cardinallēs with all their Pardons and Indulgences was vterly abolished out of this realme, God be euerlastyngly praysed therefore. In this Parliament also was geuen to the kynges highnes the fyist frutes and tenthes of all dignities & spiritual promociōns. And in the ende of the same Parliament the kynges Maiestie mooste graciously graunted (and wylled by thesame Parliament to be established) his moste gracious and general free pardon.

This yere also came in the great Admyrall of Fraunce whiche Admyrall was honorably receiued, and at his departyng was liberally rewarded.

In this tyne dyed the Erle of Kyldare prisoner in the Tower. And euen at thesame tyne Thomas Fitzgarard his sonne begānc to rebell against the kyng and tooke all the kynges Ordinaunce, and sent Ambassadors to the Emperoi to haue intreated him to take part with him. Also he slewe the bishop of Deuelyn and brient and robbed all suche as would not obeye him. But at the last he was apprehended and had as he deserued as after shall apppeare.

THE. XXVII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this yere the duke of Norfolke and the Bishop of Ely went to Caley, and thether came the Admyral of Fraunce. And the xix. day of Iune was thre Monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawen, and quartred at Tyborne and their quarters set vp about Lōdon for denyng the kyng to be supreme head of the Church. Their names were Exmewe, Myddlemore, and Nudigate. These men when they wer arreigned at Westminster, behaved them selves very stiffly & stubbornly, for hearyng their inditement red how trayterously they had spoken against the kynges Maestie his crowne and dignitie, they neither blushed nor bashed at it, but very folishly & hypocritically knowleged their treason whiche maliciously they auouched, hauyng no lernyng for their defēce, but rather beyng asked dyuers questions, they vsed a malicious silence, thinkyng as by their examinacions afterward in the Tower of London it did appeare, for so they sayd, y they thought those men which was y lorde Clumwel & other that there satte vpon them in iudgement to be heretiques and not of the Church of God, and therfore not worthy to be either answered or spoken vnto. And therefore as they deservd, they receiued as you haue heard before.

Also the xxii. day of thesame moneth Ihon Fysher bishop of Rochester was beheaded, and his head set vpon London bridge. This bishop was of very many menne lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learnyng, and a man of very good life, but therein wonderfully deceiued, for he maintained the Pope to be supreme head of y Church, and very maliciously refused the kynges tyle of supreme head. It was sayd that the Pope, for that he helde so manfully with him and stode so stiffly in his cause, did elect him a Cardinal and sent the Cardinales hat as tarie as Caley, but the head it should haue stande on, was as high as Lōdon bridge or euer the hat could come to Bishop Fysher, & then it was to late and therefore he neither waie it nor enioyed his office. This man as I sayd was accounted learned, yea, and that very notably learned, and yet haue you heard howe he was deceiued with Elizabeth Barton that called herself the holy mayd of Kent, and no doubt so was he in the defence of that vsuiped authoritie, the more pitie: wonderfull it is that a man beyng lerned should be so blind in the scriptures of God that proueth the supreme auctoritie of princes so manifestly. Also the vi. day of Iulye was sir Thomas More beheaded for the like treason before rehersed, which as you haue heard was for the denyng of the kynges Maesties supremtie. This manne was also compted learned, & as you haue heard before he was lorde Chauncelor of England, and in that tyme a great persecutor of suche as detested the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whiche he himselfe so highly fauored that he stode to it till he was brought to the Skaffolde on the Tower hill where on a blocke his head was stricken from his shoulders and had no more harme. I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolish wyseman, or a wyse foolishman, for vndoubtedly he beside his learnyng, had a great witte, but it was so mingled with tauntyng and mockyng, that it semed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be wel spoken except he had ministered some mocke in the communicacion insomuche as at is comyng to the Tower, one of the officers demaunded his vpper garment for his tee, meanyng his gounce and he answered, he should haue it, and tooke him his cappe, sayyng it was the vppermoste garment that he had. Lykewise, euen goyng to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called vnto him and besought him to declare that he had certain euidences of heis in the tyme that he was in office (which after he was apprehēded she could not come by) and that he would intreate she might haue them agayn, or els she was vndone. He answered, good woman haue patience a litle while; for the kyng is so good vnto me that euen within this halfe houre he will discharge me of all busynesses, and helpe thee himselfe. Also when he went vp the stayer on the Skaffolde, he desired one of the Shurriffes officers to geue him his hand to helpe him vp, and sayd, when I come doune againe, let me shift for my selle aswell as I can. Also the hūgman kneled

Ihon Fisher  
bishop of  
Rochester

Sir Thomas  
Moore be  
headed

NO  
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doune to him askyng him forgiuenes of his death (as the maner is) to whom he sayd I forgeue thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt neuer haue honestie of the strykyng of my head, my necke is so short. Also euen when he shuld lay doune his head on the blocke, he hauyng a great gray beard, stricked out his beard and sayd to the hanginā, I pray you let me lay my beard ouer the blocke least ye should cut it, thus w a mocke he ended his life.

This yere in the tyme that the kyng went his progresse, whiche was to Gloucester and so Westward, the kyng of Scottes was installed at Wyhsore by the lorde Erskyn his Procurator. And in October folowyng Stephyn Gardiner bishop of Winchester was sent ambassador into Fraunce where he remained thre yeres after.

In Nouember was a solempne procession through the cite of London of all the priestes and religious in and about the cite for the recoueryng of the Frenche kyng to his health. And the viii. day of Ianuary folowyng dyed the princes dowager at Kymbalton and was buried at Peterborough. Quene Anne ware yelow for the inournyng.

And in February folowyng was quene Anne brought a bedde of a childe before her tyne, whiche was borne dead

This yere in the moneth of September Wyllyam Tyndale otherwyse called Hichyns was by the crueltie of the clergie of Louayn condempned and burned in a toune besyde Bruxelles in Diaband called Vylford. This man translated the New testament into Englishe and fyrst put it in Prynt, and likewise he translated the v bookes of Moses, Iosua, Iudicum, Ruth, the bookes of the Kynges and the bookes of Paralipomenon, Nehemias or the fyrst of Esdras, the Prophet Ionas, & no more of ſy holy scripture. He made also diuers treatises, which of many were well lyked and highly praysed, and of many vtterly dispised and abhorred, and especially of the moste part of the bishoppes of this realme, who often by their great labours caused Proclamacions to be made against his bookes, and gatte them condempued and brent, aswell the Newe testament as other woorkes of his doynge. Suche as best knewe him reported him to be a very sobre man, borne vpon the borders of Wales, and brought vp in the Vniuersitie of Oxforde and in life and conuersacion vnreprouable and at the last beyng in Oxford Luther then setting forth certaine woorkes against the Byshop of Rome, Tyndale occasioned by them to searche the scriptures whether Luther sayd the truth or no, did therby not onely himselfe attaine the knowlege of the vsurped auctoritie of the bishop of Rome, and his superstitious and dampnable doctrynes that he had taught and published through all Christendome, but also lamentyng the ignoraunt state that his natue countrey of England was in, who altogether were wrapped in errours thought it his dutie, for that God had reueled the light of his Gospell to him, to bestowe his talent to the honour of God and profite of his countrey, and thought no waye so good to reduce the people from their errour as fyrst to make them acquainted with Goddes worde, that they might knowe what Goddes will was that we should do, and what the bishoppe of Rome sayd that we must do: and therefore fyrst as is aforesayd he translated into Englishe the Newe testament, a woorke no doubt very notable and to him verry paynefull, for that he was forced to fye his owne natue countrey, and to liue in a straunge lande among people that as well varied from his maners, as the persones to him were vnknown. Amongest whom after great paynes by him taken, and many and dyuers treatises by him published, he was at Andwarp this yere by one Philippes an Englisheman and then a scholar at Louayn, betrayed and taken, and as many sayd, not without the helpe and procurement of some bishoppes of this realme: but true it is, that after he had been in prison more then a yere & almost forgotten, he was labored for by letters written by the lorde Cromwell, & then in all hast because he would recāt no part of his doynge, was burned as you haue heard before. But yet this report did the Procurator generall there (whiche we call here the Luetenabunt) make of him, that he was, *homo doctus, pius et bonus*, that is to say, learned, godly, and good

The fowerth day of February the kyng held his high court of Parhament at Westminster, in the whiche was many good and wholsome statutes and lawes made and concluded. And in this tyme was geuen vnto the kyng by the consent of the great and fatte abbottes, all religious

Quene  
Anne  
brought a  
bed before  
her tyne.

Wyllyam

houses that were of the value of CCC. marke and vnder, in hope that their great monasteries should haue continued still. But euen at that tyme one sayd in the Parliament house that these were as thornes, but the great abbottes were putrified olde Okes and they must nedes folowe: & so will other do in Christendome q<sup>d</sup> doctor Stokesley bishop of London or many yeres be passed.

THE. XXVIII. YERE.

ON May day were a solempne Iustes kept at Grenewyche, and sodainly from the Iustes<sup>7</sup> the kyng departed hauyng not aboue vi persons with him, and came in the euenyng frō Grenewyche in his place at Westminster. Of this sodain departyng many men mused, but moste chiefly the quene, who the next day was apprehended and brought frō Grenewyche to the Tower of London, where after she was arraigned of high treason, and condempned. Also at thesame tyme was likewise apprehended, the lorde Rocheforde brother to thesayd Quene, and Henry Norrys, Marke Smeton, Wylliam a Bruton and sir Fraunces Weston all of the kynges priuy chamber. All these were likewise committed to the Tower and after arraigned and condempned of high treason. And all the gentlemen were beheaded on the Skaffolde at the Tower hyll. But the Quene was with a sworde beheaded within the Tower. And these folowyng were the woordes that she spake the day of her death whiche was the xix. day of May, 1536.

Quene Anne sent to the tower.

Good Christen people, I am come hether to dye, for accordyng to the lawe and by the lawe I am iudged to dye, and therefore I wyll speake nothyng against it. I am come hether to accuse no man, nor to speake any thyng of that wherof I am accused and condempned to dye, but I pray God saue the king and send him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler nor a more mercyfull prince was there neuer: and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, & soueraigne lorde. And if any persone will medle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leue of the worlde and of you all, and I heartely desyre you all to pray for me. O lorde haue mercy on me, to God I cōmende my soule. And then she kneled doune saying: To Christ I commende my soule, Iesu receiue my soule, diuers tymes, till that her head was stryken of with the sworde. And on the Assencion day folowyng, the kyng ware whyte for mournyng.

The wordes of quene Anne Bolleyn at her death

The weke before Whitsontyde the kyng maryed lady Iane daughter to the right worshipfull sir Ihon Seymour knight, whiche at Whitsontyde was openly shewed as Quene.

The viii. day of Iune the kyng held his high court of Parliament in the whiche Parliament the kynges two first mariages, that is to say with the lady Katheryne, and with the Lady Anne Bulleyn were both adiudged vnlawful, as more at large appereth in the acte in the booke of statutes.

In the Parliament ceason lorde Thomas Hawarde without the kynges assent affied the lady Margaret Douglas daughter to the quene of Scottes and nece to the kyng. for whiche presumptuous acte he was attainted of treason, and an acte made for like offenders, and so he dyed in the Tower, and she was long there as prisoner.

In the tyme of this Parliament, the bishoppes and all the clergie of the realme helde a solempne conuocacion at Pauls churche in Lōdon where after much disputacion and debating of matters they published a booke of religion intituled, Articles deuised by the kinges highnes &c. In this booke is specially mencioned but iii. Sacramentes, with the whiche the Lyncolneshyremen (I meane their ignoraunt priestes) were offended, and of that occasion depraued the kynges doynge. And this was their first beginnyng, as after ye shall plainly heare.

After this booke whiche passed by the kynges authoritie with the cōsent of the Clergie, was published, the whiche cōtained certaine articles of religion necessary to be taught vnto the people, and among other it specially treated of nomore then thre Sacramentes, where al-



waies the people had been taught vii Sacramentes, & beside this booke, certain Iniuncctions were that tyme geuen wherby a nōber of their holy dayes was abrogated & specially such as fell in the hauest tyme, the keeping of whiche was muche to the hinderance of the gathering in of corne, haye, fruite, and other suche like necessary and profitable commodities.

The instruction in  
Lyncolnes-  
shire

These articles thus ordained and to the people deliuered. The inhabitants of the North partes being at that tyme very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion meant, but altogether nosed in supersticion and popery, and also by the meanes of certayne Abbottes and ignorant priestes not a litle stirred and prouoked for the suppression of certain Monasteries, and for the extirpacion and abolishing of the byshoppe of Rome, nowe taking an occasion at this booke, sayng see frendes nowe is taken from vs fower of the vii. Sacramentes and shortly ye shall lese the other thre also, & thus the fayth of holy churche shall vtterly be suppressed and abolished. and therefore sodainly they spred abroad and raysed great and shamefull slaunders only to moue the people to sedicion and rebellion, and to kyndle in the people hateful and malicious myndes against the kynges Maiestie and the Magistrates of the realme, sayng let vs fully bend our selues to the mayntenaunce of religion, and rather then to suffre it thus to decay euen to dye in the felde. And amongst them also were so many euen of the nobilitie that did not a litle prouoke and stirre vp the ignorant and rude people the more stifly to rebell and stand therein, faythfully promysing them bothe ayde and succour against the kyng and their owne natyue country (like foolish and wicked menne) thynkyng by their so doing to haue done God high pleasure and seruice. There were also certayne other malicious and busye perones who added Oyle (as the Adage sayeth) to the Fornace: These made open clamours in euery place where oportunitie serued, that Christian religion should be vtterly violate, dispised and set asyde, and that rather then so, it behoued and was the partes of euery true Christen manne to defende it euen to the death, and not to admit and suffre by any meanes the fayth (in the whiche their forefathers so long and so many thousande yeres haue lyued and continued) nowe to be subuerted and destroyed. Among these were many priestes whiche deceiued also the people with many false fables and venemous lyes and ymaginacions (whiche could neuer entre nor take place in the heart of any good man, nor faythfull subiect) sayng that all maner of prayer and fasting & all Goddes seruice should vtterly be destroyed and taken away, that no man should mary a wyfe or be partaker of the Sacramentes, or at length should eate a piece of rost meate, but he should for thesame fyrst pay vnto the kyng a certain somme of money, & that they should be brought in more bondage & in a more wicked maner of life, then the Sarazins be vnder y<sup>e</sup> great Turk, with these and such other like errors and slaunders tales, the people thus instructed (oras I may trulier speake) deceiued and mocked, beyng to light of credite, incontinent to the helpe and maintenaunce of religion once established and confirmed they stifly and stoutly did cōspire and agree: and in a part of Lyncolneshire, first they assembled and shortly after ioyned into an Army, beyng (as it was supposed) of men apte and feete for the waire, in nombre aboute twentie thousand.

Against these trayterous rebelles, with all the haste and spede that might be (after he harde thereof) the kynges royal maiestie, in his awne proper persone, furnished with a goodly and warlike Arnie, lackyng nothyng that to suche a company shoulde appertein, marched towarde them. But these rebelles hearyng that his maiestie was present with his power and armie royall, feared what woulde folowe of this matter, and suche as were noble men and Gentlemen, that before fauored them began to withdrawe them selues, so that they wer destitute of Capitaines. and at the last they in writyng made certayn petitions to the kynges maiestie, professyng that they neuer intended hurte toward his royall persone. The kynges maiestie receiued there petitions, and made answer vnto them as foloweth.

The kynges  
answer to  
the rebelles

First we begyn and make answer to the foure and sixe articles, because vpon them dependeth muche of the rest. Concernyng chosyng of counsailors, I neuer haue red, hard, nor knowne, that princes counsailors and prelates, should be appoynted by rude and ignorant

common

common people, nor that ther wer persones mete, nor of habilitie to discerne & chose mete & sufficiēt counsailors for a pryncē how presumptuous then are ye the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the mooste brute & beastly of the whole realme, & of the least experience, to fynd faute with your Prince for the electyng of his counsaylours and prelates, and to take vpon you contrarie to Godes lawe and mannes lawe to rule your prince, whome ye are bounde by all lawes to obey and serue with both youre lyues, landes and goodes, and for no worldly causē to withstād? the contrarie wherof you like traytors and rebelles haue attempted & not like true subiectes as ye name youre selves

As to the suppression of religious houses and monastaries, we wolle that ye and all our subiectes should well knowe that this is graunted vs by all the nobles spirituall and temporall, of this oure Realme, and by all the commons in thesame by acte of Pailliament, and not set furth by any counsailor or counsaylors vpon there mere will and fantasie, as ye full falsely would perswade oure realme to beleue.

And where ye allege that the seruice of God is muche diminished, the trowth therof is contrarie, for there be no houses suppressed where God was well serued, but where most vice, mischief and abhominacion of huyng was vsed, and that doth wel apere by there awne confessions subscribed with ther awne handes in the tyme of their visitacions, & yet we suffered a great many of them (more then we neded by the acte) to stand whien if thei amend not ther huyng, we feare, we haue more to answer for, then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitalitie for the relief of the poore, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme that thei haue bene a great relief of pore people, whan a great many or the most parte hath not past foure or fye religious persons in them, and diuets but one, which spēt the substance of the goodes of ther houses in norishyng of vice and abhominable huyng. Now what vnkyndnes and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you and all oure subiectes that be of that mynde, that had leauer suche an vnthrifte sorte of vicious persones, shoulde enioy such possessions, profites and Emolumentes, as growe of thesaid houses, to the maintenaunce of there vnthrifte life, then we youre naturall prince, souereigne lorde and kyng, which doth and hath spent more in youre defences of our awne, then six times they be woorth? As touchyng the acte of vses, we maruaile what madnes is in your brayne, or vpon what ground ye woulde take auctoritie vpon you to cause vs to breake those lawes and statutes, which by all the nobles, knights and gentlemen of this realme (whome thesame chiefly toucheth) hath bene graunted and assented to: seyng in no maner of thynges it toucheth you the basse commons of our Realme. Also the groundes of all those vses were false, & neuer admitted by any lawe but vsurped vpon the prince, contrary to all equitie and iustice, as it hath ben openlie both disputed & declared by all the well learned men in the Realme of Englande in Westminster hall whereby ye may well perceiue, how mad and vnreasonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the rest, and how vnmete it is for vs and dishonorable, to graūt or assēt vnto, and lesse mete and decent for you in such a rebellious soit to demaunde thesame of your prince.

As touchyng the fiftene which ye demaūd of vs to be released, think ye that we be so faint-hearted, that perforce ye of one shire (wei ye a great many mo) could compell vs with youre insurreccions and such rebelleous demeanor to remit thesame? or thinke ye that any man wil or may take you to be true subiectes, that first make and shewe a longyng graūt and then perforce woulde compell youre souereigne lorde and kyng to release thesame? the tyme of payment whereof is not yet come, ye, and seyng thesame will not cōtinue the tēth peny of the charges, which we do & daily sustein for your tuicion & safegarde: make you sure, by your occasiōs of these your ingratiitudes, vnnaturalnes & vnkindnes to vs now administered, ye geue vs cause whiche hath alwaies bene asmuche dedicate to your wealth as euer was kyng not so much to set or studie for the setting forward of the same, seyng how vnkyndly and vntuly ye deale now with vs, without any cause or occasion. and doubt ye not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnes in you to consider your dutie of allegiaunce to your kyng, and souereigne Lorde, the rest of oure Realme we doubt not hath. and we

and



and they shall so loke on this cause, that we trust it shalbe to your confusion, if accordyng to youre former letters you submit not your selves.

As touching the first frutes, we let you wit, it is a thing graunted vs by act of parliament also, for the supportacion of parte of the great and excessiue charges, which we supporte and beare for the maintenaunce of youre wealthes and other oure subiectes: and we haue knownen also that ye our commons haue much complayned in tymes passed, that the moste parte of our goodes, landes and possessions, of the realme, were in the spiritual mennes handes: & yet bearyng vs in hand that ye be as louyng subiectes to vs as may be, ye cannot fynd in your hautes that your prince and souereigne lorde shoulde haue any parte thereof (and yet it is nothyng preiudiciall vnto you our commons) but to rebel and vnlauffully rise agaynst youre prince, contrary to the duetie of allegeaunce and Goddes commaundement, Sirs, remembre youre folies and treiterous demeanours, & shame not your native countrey of England nor offend no more so greuously youre vndoubted kyng and naturall prince, which alwaies hath shewed him self most louyng vnto you, and remembre your duetie of allegeance, and that ye are bound to obey vs youre kyng, both by Goddes commaundement and law of nature. Wherefore we charge you eftsones vpon the forsaid bondes and paynes, that ye withdraw your selves to your awne houses, euery man, and no more to assemble contrarie to oure lawes and youre allegeaunces, and to cause the prouokers of you to this mischief, to be deliuered to oure listenauntes handes, or oures, and you your selues to submit you to suche condigne ponishment as we and oure nobles shall thinke you worthy: for doubt you notels that we and our nobles can nor wil suffre this iniurie at youre handes vreuenged, if ye geue not place to vs of souereigntie, and shewe your selves as bounden and obedient subiectes, and nomore to entermeddle your selues from hencefurth with the weightie affaires of the Realme, the direction whereof only apperteigneth to vs your kyng & suche noble men & counsaillours, as we list to elect & chose to haue the orderyng of thesame: & thus we pray vnto almighty God, to geue you grace to do your duties, to vse your selves towardes vs like trew and faythfull subiectes, so as we may haue cause, to order you thereafter, and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliuer into the hādes of our liuetenaunte a hundreth persones, to be ordered accordyng to their demerites, at our will and pleasure, then by your obstinacy and wilfulnes, to put your selves, your wiues, children, landes, goodes and cattalles, besides the indignation of God, in the vtter aduenture of total destruccion, and vtter ruine, by force and violence of the sword.

After the Licolneshire men had receiued this the kynges answer aforsaid, made to their peticiōs, eche mistrusting other who should be noted to be the greatest medeler, euen very sodenly thei began to shrink, and out of hand they were all deuided, and euery man at home in his awne house in peace. but the capitaines of these rebelles eskaped not all cleie, but were after apprehēded, and had as they deserued: he that toke vpon him as captain of this rowte, named himselfe captain Cobler, but it was a Monke called Doctor Makerel, with diuerse other which afterward were taken and executed.

All these thynges thus ended, the contrey appeased, and all thinges in quiet the kynges maiestie retired, and brake vp his army.

A new insurreccion.

But se, euen within six dayes folowyng, was the king truly certefied that there was a new insurreccion made by the Northren men, which had assembled them selves into a hounge and great army of warlike men & wel appoynted both with capitaines, horse, harneis and artillery to the nombre of fouite thousand men, which had incamped them selves in yorckeshire: And these men had eche of them to other bound them selves by their othe to be faithfull and obedient to his capitaine. they also declared by their proclamaciōs solemply made, that this their insurreccion, should extend no farther but only to the maintenaunce and defence of the faith of Christe and deliuerance of holy Church sore decayed & oppressed, and also for the furtheraūce aswel of priuate as publik matters in the realme touchyng the wealth of al the kynges poore subiectes. They named this there sedicious and traiterous voiage, an holye and blessed Pilgrimage: they had also certaine banners in the felde, whervpon was painted

Christ

Christ hāgyng on the Crosse on the one side, and a chalice with a painted lake in it on the other side with diuise other banners of like hipocresie and fained sanctitie: the souldiars also had a certain cognisaunce or badge, embrouderied or set vpon the sleues of there coates which was the similitude of the fīue woundes of Christ, and in the midst thereof was written the name of our lorde, and this the rebellious Guarrison of Sathan with his false and cōūterfeited signes of holines set forth and decked thē selues, only to delude and deceiue the symple and ignorant people.

After that the kynges highnes was credibly certefied of this new insurged insurreccion, he makyng no delay in so weightie matter, caused with al spede the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Marques of Excetter, the Eile of Shrewsburie with other, accompanied with his mightie & royal army, which was of great power & strength, forthwith to set vpō the rebelles: but whē these noble capitaines & cōnsailors approched the rebelles & perceiued their nombre & saw how they wer bent to battail, they practised with great pollicie to haue pacesied al without bloudshedynge, but the Northrenmen wer so stif necked that thei would in nowise stoupe, but stoutly stode and mayntayned there wicked entrepryse, wherefore the nobles abouesaid perceiuyng and seying none other way to pacesie these wretched rebelles, agreed vpon a batayll, the battail was apointed, & f̄-day was assigned: but, se f̄ same night which was the night before the day of f̄ battail appointed, fel a smal raime nothing to speak of. but yet as it wer by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very smal forde, & f̄ mē in maner the day before, might haue gon dryshod ouer, sodenly roase of suche height, depnes, & bredth that the like noman that ther did inhabit could tell that euer thei saw it so afore, so that the day, euen when the houre of battail should come, it was impossible for the one armye to come at the other.

A true miracle of God.

After this appointment made betwene both the armies (disappointed as it is to be thought only by God who extended his great mercie and had compassion on the great number of innocent persones, that in that deadly slaughter had like to haue bene murdered) could take no place. Then, by the great wisdom and polley of thesaid capitaines, a communicacion was had, and a pardon of the kynges Maiestie obtained, for all the Captaines and chief doers of this insurreccion, and thei promised that such thynges as they founde them selues agreed with all they shoulde gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions graunted and that there articles should be presented to the kynges Maiestie, that by his highnes auctoritie, and wisdom of his Counsaill, all thynges should be brought to good ordre and conclusion: and with this ordre every man quietly departed, and those which before were bent as hote as fye to fight, beyng letted therof by God, went now peaseably to their houses, and were as colde as water. *A domino factum est istud.*

In this tyme of insurrection, and in the rage of horley borley, euen when the kynges armie and the rebelles were ready to ioine, the kynges banner being displaid, & the kynges maiestie then liyng at Winsore, ther was a boocher dwelling within. v. myle of Winsore which caused a priest to preach that all such as toke parte with the yorkeshiremen whome he named Goddes people, did fight and defend Goddes quarell & farther thesaid bocher in sellynge of his meat, one did bid him a lesse price of a shepe thē he made of it, he answered nay by Godes soule, I had rather f̄ good felowes of the north had it amōg them and askore more of f̄ best I haue. this priest & bocher wer accused to the kynges maiesties counsaill, of the tresōs abouesaid on the Monday in the mornyng, and the same day were both sent for, which confessed there treason, and so accordyng to the law mershal they wer adiudged to die: & so the said Monday, they wer both examined, condemned and hanged, the boocher was hanged on a newe paire of Gallowes set at the bridge ende before the castel gate: and the priest was hanged on a tree at the foote of Winsore bridge.

A bocher and a priest hanged.

This yere in Decembre was the Thamys of London all frozen ouer, wherefore the kynges Maiestie with his beautifull spouse quene Iane, roade throughout the cite of London to Greenwich. And this Christmas the king by his messengers & herauldes sent doune into the North his general pardons to all capitall offendours: and shortly after came Aske to london, and



Aske the  
rebel of the  
North

and so to the court to the kyng: this Aske was the chief capitain of the last rebellion in the North, and now bothe pardoned of the kyng, and his grace receaued him into his fauor & gaue vnto hym apparel and great rewarde, but as after ye shall perceaue Aske enioyed not the kyng his newe frendes kyndnes a yere and a day, and pitie it was that he had any fauor at all, for there hued not a veriar wretch aswell in parson as in condiciōs and dedes, specially agaynst his anointed gouernour and souereigne lorde.

The third day of February was Thomas Fitz Gairad late Eile of Kildare and five of his vnclies drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne, for high treason.

Sir Fraunces  
Bigod

Also in thesaid moneth, Nichol Musgraue, Thomas Tylbie, with other began a new rebellion at Kintie Staphā in Westmerland, with eight thousand persones, and beseged the Citie of Carlisle, from whence thei were beaten, with the only power of the citie, and in their returning the Duke of Norffolke who then was made liuetenant of the North, encountered with them and toke the Capitanes, & accordyng to the law inarcial, arreigned threscore and fouretene of them, and hāged them on Carlile walles, but Musgraue escaped. And in thesame moneth of Februarie began yet another insurrecciō, by the intysemēt of sir Fraunces Bigod, a man no doubt that loued God, & feared his prince, with a right obediēt & louyng feare but now beyng deceaued & prouoked ther vnto by false rebellious persones it was his fortune to tast of the ende which apperteigneth to rebelles such are then when God leaueth them to them selues, and when they will entreprise the doyng of that thyng which Goddes most holy word vtterly forbiddeth. This Bigod was apprehended and brought to the Tower of London this last rebellion began in Settrington, and in Pikeryn Leigh, and Scarborough.

Robert Aske  
taken

Also in the latter ende of this yere, the lord Darcy, Aske, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Ihon Bulmer and his wife, Sir Thomas Percie brother to the Eile of Northumbreland, Sir Stephyn Hamelton, Nicholas Tempest Esquier, William Lomley, sonne to the Lord Lomley began agayn to conspire, although they before had euey one of them their pardons: and now they were all taken and brought to the Tower of London.

Robert Pack-  
kyngton

In this yere one Robert Packyngton, Mercer of London, a man of good substaunce, and yet not so riche as honest and wise, this man dwelled in Chepeside at the signe of the legg, and vsed daily at foure of the clock Winter and Sommer to rise and go to Masse at a churche then called saint Thomas of Acres (but now named the Mercers chapel) and one mornyng emong all other, beyng a great Mistie morning such as bath seldome be sene, euen as he was crossing the strete from his house to the churche, he was sodenly murdered with a gonne, whiche of the neighbors was playnly hard, and by a great nombre of laborers at the same tyme standyng at Soper lane ende, he was both sene go furth of his house, and also the clap of the gonne was hard, but the dede doer was neuer espied nor knowen, many were suspected, but none could be found faulty howbeit it is true, that forasmuch as he was knowen to be a man of a great courage and one that both could speake & also woulde be harde and that thesame tyme he was one of the Burgeses of the parliament, for the Citie of London, and had talked somewhat against the couetousnes and crueltie of the Clergie, he was had in contempt with them, and therefore mooste lyke by one of them thus shamefully murdered, as you perceiue that Master Honne was in the sixte yere of the reigne of this kyng

### THE XXIX. YERE.

The Lorde  
Darcy,  
Lord Ho-  
sey

IN Iune the lord Darcy and the lord Hosey wer arreigned at Westminster before the Marques of Exceter, then high steward of England, and thei were both found gilty and had there iudgment as in caces of high treson.

Shortly after wer also arreigned Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percie, Sir Fraunces Bigod, Sir Stephyn Hamelton, Sir Ihon Bulmer and his wife, which some reported was not his wife but his paramour, also William Lomley, Nicholas Tempest, and the Abbotes of Ierney and Riucrs, and Robert Aske, and all founde gilty of high treason, and all put to death

death at Tiborne, sauving Sir Robert Constable, which was haged in chaines on Beuerley gate at Hull and Aske was also hanged in chaynes at Yoke on a Tower, and Sir Ihon Bulmers Paramour, was brent in Smithfelde in London. And in the latter ende of Iune, was the Lord Darcy beheaded at Tower hil and shortly after was the lord Hosey beheaded at Lincolne

This yere at the Feast of Saint George, was the Lorde Cromewell made knight of the Garter.

In Octobre on saint Edwardes euen was borne at Hampton Couite the noble Impe prince Edward, whose Godfathers at the Christenyng were the Archebishop of Cauntorburie, and the Duke of Norffolk and his Godmother the Lady Mary the Kynges daughter, and at the bishoppyng was Godfather the Duke of Suffolk. At the birth of this noble prince was great fires made through the whole realme and great Ioye made with thankes geuyng to almighty God whiche hath sent so noble a pince to succeed in the crowne of this Realme But Lorde what lamentacion shortly after was made for the death of his noble and gracious mother quene Iane, whiche departed out of this life the fourtene day of Octobre, next folowynge and of none in the Realme was it more heauelier taken then of the kynges Maiestie him self, whose death caused the kyng immediatly to remoue into Westminster wher he mourned and kept him selfe close and secret a great while and the eight daye of Nouembre the Corps of the Quene was caried to Winsor withe greate solempnitie, and there was buried in the middes of the queer in the Castell churchie And at the same tyme was made in Poules a solempne herce for her, where was Masse and dirigie, and in like maner was song Masse and dirige in euery parish churchie in London,

The birth of Prince Edward, now our soueraign Lorde & kyng Edward the sixth.

Quene Iane departed.

Quene Iane buried.

The kynges maiestie kept his Christmas at Grenewich in his mournynge apparell, and so was all the Courte till the morow after Candlemas day and then he and all other chaunged.

Also this yere the viscount Beauchamp was created Erle of Hertford and Sir William Fitzwilliam high admirall created Erle of Southampton.

This yere Iames kyng of Scottes, married the lady Magdalene, the French kynges eldest daughter.

### THE. XXX. YERE

IN Maye there was a Freer, called freer Forest, one of the obseruaunt Freers, but he might haue bene more trulier named as after shall appere, an obstinate Freer, this obstinat Freer had secretly in confessions declared to many of the kynges subiectes that the kyng was not supreme head, and beyng therof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not supreme hed of the church, when he him selfe had sworne to the contrary, he answered that he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer consented therunto. At this answer the Lordes who examined him looked very straungelye at the dissimulation of the Freer, but being farther accused of diuerse heretical and dampnable articles, that he held contrary to the scripture of God, he was after sondry examinacions conuincd and confuted, & gladly submitted him selfe to abide the punishment of the church: But vpon this his submission, hauyng more libertie then before he had, aswell to talke with whome he would, as also who that would to talke with him, certeyn suche outward men as he was so talked with him and so incensed him, that the outward Freer was as far from his open submission as euer he was, and when his abiuration was sent to him to read & looke vpon, he vtterly refused it, and obstinately stode in all his hereses and treasors before cōspired al gētle meanes that was possible to be sought for his reconciliacion was had, but the more gentler that the Magistrates were to him, the more obstinat was the freer, and would neither argue nor answere. wherfore iustly he was cōdēpned, & after for him was prepared in Smithfelde in Londō a Gallows on y which he was haged in chaines by the middle & armholes al quicke, & vnder y galowes was made a

Freer Forest



fire, & he so consumed & brēt to death. At his commyng to the place of execution, there was prepared a great skaffolde, on which sat the nobles of the Realme, and the kynges Maesties moost honorable counsayle, only to haue graunted pardon to that wretched creature, if any spak of repentance woulde haue happened in hun: ther was also prepared a Pulpit where a right reuerend father in God and a renowned and famous Clerk the bishop of Worcester called Hugh Latimer, declared to him his errours and opely and manifestly by the scripture of God confuted them, and with many and godly exhortacions moued him to repētaūce, but such was his towardnes that he neither would here nor speke: And a litle before the Execuciō, a longe & great Image was brought to the Galowes, which Image was brought out of Wales, and of the Welshmen much sought and worshiped. This Image was called Dauell Gatheren, and the Welshmen had a prophesie that this Image should set a whole Forest a fyre, which prophesie now toke effect, for he set this fier Forest on fyre and consumed him to nothyng! This Freer when he sawe the fyre come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold vpon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so vnpatiently toke his death, that no man that euer put his truste in God neuer so vnquietly nor so vngodly ended his life: if men might iudge hym by his outward man, he appered to haue litle knowlege of God and his sincere truth, and lesse trust in him at his endyng. Vpon the gallows that he died on, was set vp in great letters these verses folowing.

Dauid Daruell Gatheren.  
As saith the Welshmen  
Fetched Outlawes out of Hell.

And Forest the Freer  
That obstinate lyer  
That willfully shalbe dead.

Now is he come, with spere & shilde  
In haines to burne in Smithfelde  
For in wales he may not dwell

In his contumacie  
The Gospell doth deny  
The kyng to be supreme head.

In Iuly was Edmond Comingsbey attainted of treason, for counterfeatyng of the kynges Signe Manuell And in August was Edward Clifford for thesame cause attainted, and both put to execution as traitors at Tiborne. And the Sonday after Bartelmew day, was one Cratwell hangman of London, and two persones more hanged at the wrestlyng place on the backesyde of Clerkenwel besyde Londō, for robbing of a bouthe in Bartholomew sayre, at which execution was aboue twentie thousand people as I my self iudged.

In this moneth of August, the Kyng of Scottes married the lady Mary late duches of Longuile. And in Septembre by the speciall mocion of the lorde Cromewel al the notable Images vnto the whiche were made any speciall Pilgrimages and Offerynges, were vtterly taken awaye, as the Images of Walsyngham, Ypswich, Worcester, the lady of Wilsdon, with many other. And lykewise the Shrines of counterfeated Sainctes, as the Shrine of Thomas Becket and dyuerse other. And euen forthwith by the meanes of the saied Cromwell, al the ordres of superstitious and beggyng Freers, as White, Gray, Black, Augustine, Croched Freers, & likewise al the puling Nonnes, with their Cloysters & houses wer suppressed & put doune.

In this season, sute was made by the Emperour to the kynges Maiestie, that he would take to wife the duches of Millayn, but in this matter the Emperours counsaill so dalied with the kyng, that shortly he left of that suit: of the which breakyng of with the Emperour, the Duke of Cleaue hard, and therefore forthwith he made suite to the kynges Maiestie, for his fayre sister the Lady Anne: vndoubtedly the Emperours counsayl thought by a cautel to haue brought the kyng to sue to the bishop of Rome for a licence, which thing the kynges Maiestie sone smelled & perceived wher about they wēt. In the moneth of Nouember one Ithō Nicholsō otherwise called Lambert a priest, was accused of heresy, for denyng the Sacrament of the Aultare to be Christes naturall body: This man appealed to the kynges Maiestie, who graciously consented to heare him, and a day was apointed. against whiche daie was made in the kynges palace at Westminster called the white hall, in the

A prophesie.

A hangman hanged

Images suppressed.

All counterfeit rebons suppressed

Thom Lambert otherwise called Ithō Nicholsō.

kynges

kynges hall a throne or siege royall for the kynges Maiestie, and skaffoldes for all the lordes, and a stage for Nicholson to stand on: this Nicholson was a man named to be learned, but that day he vttered no suche learnyng, as he was of many supposed, that he both coulede and would haue done, but was excedyng fearful and timorous. The kynges Maiestie accompanied with his lordes and nobles of the Realme and diuerse of the bishops and clergy kept the day appoynted, wher before his maiestie was brought the forsaid Nicholson, to whome certein of the bishops ministred diuerse argumentes, but specially the kynges maiestie him selfe did most dispute with him, howbeit Nicholson was not perswaded nor woulde not reuoke although the Kynges maiestie graunted hym his pardon, wherfor there was he condemned and had iudgement, and shortly after was drawen and burned in Smythfeld. The third daie of Nouembie were Henry Marques of Excester & earle of Deuonshire and sir Henry Pole knight and lorde Mountagew and Sir Edward Neuell brother to the Lorde Burgany sent to the tower which thre wer accused by sir Gefferey Pole brother to the lord Mountagew, of high treason, and the two lordes were arreigned the last day of Decembre, at Westminster before the lord Awdeley of Walden, lord Chauncelor, and then the high stuard of England, and there found guiltie, likewise on the third day after was arreigned Sir Edward Neuell, Sir Gefferey Pole and two priestes called Croftes and Collins, and one holand a Mariner and all attainted, and the ninth day of Ianuare, were the said two lordes and Sir Edward Neuell behedded at the tower hill, and the two priestes and Holande were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered, and sir Gefferey Pole was pardoned.

The Lord Marques of Excester & other accused & condemned of high treason.

On Ashwednesday, were Ihon Iones, Ihon Potter, and William Maneryng, hanged in the princes lueries, because thei were the princes seruantes, on the Southside of Paules churchyard for killing of Roger Cholmeley esquier in thesame place of malice prepedsed. Also on the third day of Marche, was sir Nicholas Carew of Bedington, in the countie of Surrey knight of the Gartier, and Master of the kynges horse, before attainted of treasō, behedded at the tower hil, wher he made a goodly confessiō, both of his folie and superstitious faith, geuyng God most hartie thākes that euer he came in the prisō of the tower, where he first sauored the life & swetenes of Gods most holy word meaning thé Bible in English, whiche there he read by the meane of one Thomas Phelps then keper of that prisō, but before he was a citezen and poyntmaker of London, which Phillips two yeres before had ben there prisonei him selfe, & sore troubled aswell by sir Thomas More as also by Doctor Stokslei bishop of Londō, who often tymes examined thesaid Phelps, & laied many arteles to his charge, but he so wisely and coldly vsed him selfe, that he maugre their euil willes, eskaped clerly their handes.

Sir Nicholas Carew behedde.

Thomas Phelps

The ninth day of Marche, the kyng created at Westminster sir William Pawlet knight treasurer of his householde, Lord Sainte Ihon, & Sir Ihon Russell comptroller of his house, Lorde Russell.

The same tyme the kyng caused all the hauens to be fortified, and roade to Douer, and caused Bulwakes to be made on the sea coastes, and sēt commissions throughout al the realme, to haue his people muster: and at the same seasō on Easter day, was there thre score vnknowē shippes lying in the downes, wherfore all Kent arose, and mustered in harness thesame day

## THE XXXI. YERE.

THE eight and twentie daie of April, began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which Margaret countesse of Salisbury Gertrude wife to the Marques of Excester, Reingold Poole, a Cardinall brother to the lorde Mountagew, Sir Adrian Foskew, & Thomas Dingley Knight of saynt Iohnes, & diuerse other wer attainted of high treason, which Foskew & Dynglei



The act of  
six articles.

The first  
quest that  
inquired of  
the sixe Ar-  
ticles

wer the tenth daie of Iuli behedded In this parliamēt was an act made which bare this title: *An act for abolishyng of diuersitie of opinions, in certain articles concerning Christen religion*, this act established chiefly sixe articles, wherof among the commō people it was called the act of sixe articles, & of some it was named the whip with sixe strynges, and of some other and that of the moste parte, it was named the bloudy statute, for of trith it so in shorte time after skourged a great nombre in the cite of Londō, when the first quest for the inquirie of the offenders of the saied statute sat at a church called Becketts house, now named the Mercers Chappel, that the sajd quest beyng of purpose selected and picked out emong all the rest of the inhabitants of the cite, that none might thereof be admitted which either had red any part of the holy scripture in English, or in any wise fauoured such as either had red it, or loued the preachers of it: insomuch as this quest was so zelous & feruent in the exēcuciō of this statute, that they among them selues thought it not only sufficiēt to inquire of the offenders of the saied statute, but also by ther fine wittes & willyng mindes, thei inuented to inquire of certayn braunches of the same statute as they termed it, which was not only to inquire who spake again masses, but who thei wer that seldome came vnto them. and also not only who denyed the Sacramente to be Christes very naturall body, but also who helde not vp their handes at sacryng tyme, and knocked not on there brestes. And thei not only inquired who offended in the sixe articles, but also who came seldome to the churche, who toke no holy bread nor holy water, who red the Bible in the churche, or in communicacion contemned priestes, or Images in the Churches &c. with a great nombre of suche braunches: this appointed quest so sped them selues with the sixe Articles, and ther awne braunches, that in fourtene daies space there was not a preacher nor other persone in the cite of name, whiche had spoken against the supremacie of the bishop of Rome, but he was wrapped in the sixe articles, insomuche as thei indited and presented of suspicion to the nombre of fūe hundred persones and aboue: so that if the kynges maiestie had not graunted his pardon, for that by the good lord Awdeley lord chauncelor his grace was truly infourmed that thei were indited of malice a greate many of them whiche all ready was in prison, had bene shortely after skourged in Smithfelde with fry fagottes, that would haue made the best bloud in ther bodies to haue sprong, but most graciously at that time his grace remitted all. although in the tyme that these sixe Articles indured whiche was eight yerres and more, thei brought many an honest and simple persone to there deathes, for suche was the rigour of that lawe, that if two witnesses false or true, had accused any and auouched that thei had spoken agaynst the sacramēt, ther was then no way but death, for it boted not to confesse that his faith was cōtrarie, or that he saied not as the accusors reported for they would beleue the witnesses ye and sometime certain of the clergie, when thei had no witnesses would procure some, or elles thei were slaundered.

The kynges highnes whiche neuer ceased to stody and take payne both for the auancement of the common wealth of this his Realme of Englād, of the which he was the only supieme gouernour and hed, and also for the defence of al thesame, was lately enfourmed by his trustie & faithfull frendes y the cākerd & cruel seipēt the bishop of rome, by that Archetrailor Reignold Poole, enemye to Godes worde and his natural contrey, had moued and stirred diuerse great princes and potentates of Christendome to inuade the Realme of England, and vterlie to destroy the whole nacion of thesame: Wherefore his Maiestie in his awne persone, without any deley tooke very laborious and paynefull iourneyes towards the sea coastes Also he sent dyuers of his nobles and counsaylours to view and seache all the Portes and daungiers on the coastes where any meete or conuenient landing place might be supposed, aswell on the borders of Englande as also of Wales. And in all soche doubtfull places his hyghnes caused dyuers & many Bulwakes & fortificacions to be made. And further his hyghnes caused the Lorde Admirall Erle of Southampton to pre-dare in redynesse Shippes for the sea, to his great coast and charges

And beside this, to haue all his people in a redynesse, he directed his Commissions thorough

thorough out the Realme to haue his people mustered, & the harneyes & weapons seene and viewed, to thentent that all thynges should be in a redynesse if his enemyes woulde make any attempte in to this Realme. And amongst othei, one Commission was directed to the right worshipfull syr Thomas Forman Knight Mayer of Londō and his brethren, for to certifie all the names of all men betwene the ages of ix and. xvi and the nombie of harnesses, weapons, with their kyndes and diuersities. Wherevpon the sayde Lorde Mayer and his brethren, euery one hauyng with them one of the Councell or leained men of the Cite repaired to their wardes, and there by the othe of the Common Counsayll & Constables of the same waides tooke the nombie of the men, harnesses and weapons, accordinge to their Commission. And after that they had well viewed their Bookes and the nombre of the persones, they thought it not expedient to admyt the whole nombre of soche as were certified for able and apte persones for to Muster: Wherefore then they assembled theym selves agayne and chose out the most able persones and put by thother, and specially all soche as had no harnesse, nor for whome no harnesse coulde be prouyded. But when they were credibly aduertysed by the Kynges Counsellor Thomas Lord Croniwell Knight of the Noble Ordre of the Garter Lorde Preuye Seale (to whose prudence and goodnesse the Cite was moche bounden) that the Kyng hym selfe woulde see the people of the Cite Muster in a conuenient nombre, and not to set fith all their power, but to leaue some at home to keepe the Cite. Then eftsones euery Alderman repayed to his warde, and there put a syde all soche as hadde lackes, coates of plate, coates of mayle and byganders, and appoynted none but soche as had whyte Harnesse, excepte such as should beare Morysh Pykes, which had no harnesse but skulles and they appoynted none but soche as had whyte harnesse, neither dyd they admyt any that was a Straunger, although they were Denyzens. When it was knowen that the King woulde see the Muster, loide how glad the people were to prepare, and what desyre they had to do their Prince seruyce, it woulde haue made any faythfull subiectes herte to haue reioysed. Then euery man beyng of any substaūce prouyded hymselfe a coate of white sylke, and gairnyshed their bassenetes with turues lyke cappes of sylke set with ouches, furnished with chaynes of gold & fethers: other gylted their harnesse, their halberdes & pollaxes. Some, & especyall certayne goldsmithes had their brest plates yea & their whole harnesse of syluer buliyon. The Constables were all in Iornettes of white sylke with chaynes & Battell Axes. The meane sorte of people were all in coates of white cloth very curiously trymmed with the Armes of the Cite before & behynde. The lord Mayer him selfe was in a fayre Armour, the crestes therof were gylte, & ouer that a coate of Blacke veluet with half sleues, & so was syr Robert Cholmley knight Recorder of Londō, and all thother Aldermen & Shuffes & such as had ben Shuffes, all wel mounted on stirryng horses richely trapped & couered, with battell axes in their handes & Mases & chaynes about their neckes. The lorde Mayer had iii footemen all in whyte sylke, cutte, ruffed & pounced: he had also. ii. Pages well mouēd on stirryng couisers, richely trapped and apparelled in coates of Crymosyn veluet & cloth of golde paled, with chaynes of gold, the one bearyng his Helme & the other his Axe. He had also, xvi tall men on foote with gylte halbardes, whose dobletz were whyte sylke, & hosen, doblettes & shoes all whyte, cut after the Almayne fassyon, puffed & pulled out with red sarcenet, euery one hauyng a whyte lether Ierkyn all to cutte & chaynes about their neckes, with fethers & broches on their cappes. The Recorder and euery Alderman had about hym iii Halbardes trymmed warlike.

The great  
Muster in  
London

The Chamberlayne of the Cite & the Councillors of the same & the Aldermē deputes, which wer appointed to be wyffellers on hoisbacke were all in whyte dāmaske coates on their harnesse, mounted on good horses well trapped, with great chaynes about their neckes, & propre Iauelyns or battell axes in their hādes & cappz of veluet richely decked.

The Wyffellers on foote, iii C propre and lyght persones all apparelled in whyte sylke or Ierkyns of lether cutte, with white hose and shoes, euery man hauyng a Iauelyn or slaughersword to keepe the people in aray & chaynes about their neckes, & white fethers in their cappes.

The



The Minstrels were all in white with the Armes of the Citie, and so was euery other persone at this Muster without anye diuersite, sauynge the lorde Mayer, the Recorder and his brethren who had crosses of veluet or satten pyrlled with golde.

The Standarde beaers were the tallest men of euery Warde, for whō wer made. xxx. new stādardz of the deuise of the cite besyde bāners.

Whē euery thyng was prepared, euery Alderman mustered his owne warde in the felde, viewyng euery man in his harnesse, & to cause such as could shote, to take bowes in their hādes, & thother bylles or pykes.

The viii day of Maie, accordyng to the Kynges pleasure, euery Alderman in ordre of battell with his warde came into the common felde at Myle ende, & then all the gonnes seuered them selues into one place, the pykes in another, & the bowmen in another, & likewise the byllmen, & there rynged & snayled, which was a goodly syght to beholde for all the felde from Whyte chappell to Myle ende, & from Bednall Grene to Ratclif & to Stepney were all couered with harnesse, men & weapōs, & in especial the battell of pykes seemed to be a great forest. Then euery parte was deuided into iii. partes, the pikes in three partes & so the other. Then were appoynted. iii. battels, a forward, myddleward & rereward.

The Ordre in goyng.

About. viii of the clocke marched forward the lyght peces of Ordinaunce, with stone & powder, after them followed the Diōmes & fyffes, & imediately after them a Guydon of the Armes of the Citie. Then folowed master Sadeler captain of the gōners vpō a good hoise in harnesse & a coate of veluet with a chayne of golde & .iii. Halbardes about him appa-ielled as before is rehersed. Then folowed the Gonners .iii. in a ranke, euery one goyng. v. foote a sonder, euery mans shoulder euē with another, which shot altogether in dyuers places very cherefully, & especially before the Kynges Maiestie, whyche at that tyme sate in his new gate house at his Palace at Westminster where he viewed all the whole company. In lyke maner passed the second & third bartels al wel & rychely appointed. They passed as is sayde, the foremost Capitayn at ix of the clock in the mornig by the lytle conduite entyng into Pauls churchyarde, & so directly to Westmynster, & so thorough the sanctuay and round about the parke of s. Iames, & so vp into the felde & came home thorough Holboine & as the first Capitayne entered agayne to the lytle conduyte, the last of the Muster entered Pauls churchbeyarde, which then was. iiii. of the clocke at after noone. The nombre was. xv. thousand, besyde Wyfflers and other wayters.

In this yere  
in Gaunt.

In this yere about the Feast of s. Ihon Baptist, the cōmon people of the town of Gaunt in Flaunders, began to grudge against the Officers of the Emperour, & thoccasion was this. The cōmon people being supported of dyuers ryche Merchauntes of the towne, complained that the Excyse of the Wyne was so great, that they payed of euery pottell. ii. d. for the excise that they solde by retaile, besyde the price of the wyne, & likewise payed the Merchauntes which solde it in great: and yet that inore greued them that the Abbots, Friars, Chanons & other Religious persones & men of the Church (of the whiche was gret store in that towne) the which among them had the greatest ryches & wealth of that towne, shoulde be exempt & dyonke Wyne free without payng Excise, whych thyng turned to the charges of other, and therewith the cōmons founde their selues sore greued, and sayde that they were oppressed contrarye to their olde and auncient Primleges. The Rulers made promise that an ordre & way should be taken therin, but they desyred respyte that they might know the mynde of the Queene of Hungary, Regent for the Emperoure of [the lowe countrey, which Quene at that tyme was at Buxell, and euen then was goyng to vyset the countrey of Holand. The Queene consented to nothyng that the commons desyred, but sent them a very cruell and frowarde answer not without great threates, that if they would not euery man quietly remayne in their houses, and pay their excyse as they had ben accustomed to do, they should lyke rebels as they were be forced therunto whether they would or not. wherfore the Cōmons assembled, & when they had well digested the answer of the Quene, they determined to seke another meanes, & fyrst they assembled themselves into a battell to the nōbre of. x. or xii. M.

wel armed mē, night and day watching & warding the towne, in such sorte that thempourous Officers bare no rule. & he whom they called the chiefe Bailyt or Gouvernour of the towne durst not once shew his face amongst them, but by the helpe of a boy he cōueied himself by a Postern and so got out of the towne. The people of Gaunt perceiuyng then Rulers thus departed, the chiefest of them that wer in the towne condisceded & agreed to write vnto the Frenche Kyng for ayde, & caused a Gentleman of their towne to deuise a Letter, for the whiche afterwarde he lost his head.

The sute and request of the sayde men of Gaunt was, that it would please the Frenche Kyng to sende vnto them men & munitions, and to succour them as the auncient subiectes to the Crowne of Fraunce, and to delyuer them from the bondage that they were in, & to remoue from the great Exactions & impositions, that the Officers of the sayde Emperour had oppressed them with all, and they would yelde & delyuer all vnto him as to their Soueraigne Lord, & in lyke maner would other townes to them adioynynge do. And for a truth (sayth the writer of the Annales of Aquitayn) if the Frenche Kyng would haue herkened vnto their request & sute, it had ben an easy thyng for him both to haue enioyed the possession of the greatest nombre of all the townes in the lowe countrey as Flaunders, Aithoys and the rest of that countrey, & also to haue put the Emperour in great hazarde. But the French Kyng willing to kepe and holde the Truce which was concluded and sworne, hauyng a greater respect to his faith and promyse then to his profite & gayne, thinking that if he should consent to the request of the Gauntoys, he should begin a new Warre to the noiaunce of the cōmen people of Christendome, wherfore he refused vterly either to ayde or succour them.

The Queene of Hungarye thynkyng to haue pacified all this rumoi, sent vnto the Towne of Gaunt her ryght trustye and valyaunt Knight, the Lorde of Sempy, of the House of Crouy, accompanied with the Lorde Lyquerque and one of her Preuy Councell. but these men amongst the cōmons wer not so well entertained as they thought they should haue ben, and therefore taryed not long amongst them, but were glad to conuey them selues from them in dissimuled apparell

The Emperoure beyng aduertysed of all this busynesse, and perceiuyng his lowe countrey by the reason of sedicion was in daunger, deuised meanes how he might come to them, for then he was in Spain. He thought he would not hazarde hymselfe vpon the sea. and he durst not trust the Almaynes, because he had broken promyse with them so often concerning their Generall Councell that he promised to haue assembled wherfore he determyned to moue the French King and to sue for a safeconduyte to passe thorough Fraunce, which very gladly the Frenche Kyng graunted hym, insomuch that after the French kyng knew of his desire, both he and the Dolphyn entreated most hertely the Emperour to passe that way, trusting therby that it should haue ben an occasion of peace betwene them.

All thynges meete for thempourous assuraunce was so appoynted by the Constable of Fraunce, that the Emperour departed out of Spain, & came to Bayon, frō thence to Burdeaux & so to Poyters: after he came to Loches where he met with the French kyng & the Queene, & then they together passed frō thence to Orleauce, & so to Paris, into which Cite they entered the first day of Ianuary in the yere of our Lorde a 1539. and so from thence after great chere & royall enterteynment he passed thorough the lower cōntreys, & at last came to Bruxelles in Braband:

And first the Emperour vnder colour to haue pytie & to remedy the poore cōmons of Gaūt & sayng that he wold not only pardō their offēces, but also he could not blame them being oppressed to complayn, & by this meanes he obtained licence that the County of Reux accompanied w<sup>th</sup> ii. C. men of armes & .v. M. Launceknights entered the towne, sayng to th inhabitantes that this power was only to kepe the towne in peace & quiet till a good & profitable ordre should be taken for the Cōmons. The poore inhabitantz beleuigal that was promised & said vnto them & mistrustyng nothyng, threw of their harnesses, & euery man peaceably went to their houses. Then entered into the towne thempour accompanied with his brother the kyng of Hongary, & his sister the Quene Dowager of Hongary, the Duke of Sauoy.  
and.



and many other Princes, Lordes and Gentlemen, and a great power of men of warre, whyche enterly was about Mydsomei, in the yere a. M.v C xl.

Themperour beyng in Gaunt & hauyng thupper hand of them, that is to say, beyng stronger within the towne then th inhabitants were, in the place of his gret pytie that he semed to haue on the poore inhabitantz as his first enterly, he immediatly began to do execucion, & that of a gret nombre of them, and without all mercy executed them, insomuch that among all other, the Gentleman which the Cōmons enforced to write the letter to the Frēch kig was beheded, as before is expressed & afterward themperour caused an Abbey of. s. Bannon to be suppressed, & in the same place at the charges of the Gauntois, he made a Castell of a meruelous largenesse, for it was. ix. C. foote long, & .viii. C. laige & not contented with such as he put to death, but also of a great nombre he confiscated ther landes and goodes, and finally he brake all then Priuileges and Ordinaunces, and left the poore inhabitants of Gaunt in a miserable case But now to returne to thaffayres of England

In August the great Onele & Odonele entered into the English pale in Ireland, and brent almost xx. myle within the same wherfore the Lorde Grey thē Deputie there, assembled a great power and met with them the. xxx. day of August and put them to flight, wherfore the Kyng sent ouer fyue hundreth fiesh souldyeis to ayde his Deputie.

In the ende of Septēbre the. xvi. day of that moneth came to London Duke Frederyke of Bayre Countye Palantyne or Palsgraue of the Ryne, & the. xviii. daye came to London, the Marshal of Duke Ihon Fredericke Prince Elector of Saxony, & the Chauncellor of William Duke of Cleue, Gulycke, Gelder & Berry, The Palsgraue was receyued & conducted to Wynsoie by the Duke of Suffolke: & thother were accōpanyed with other nobles, & the. xxiii. day of the same moneth ther al came to Wynsore, where. viii. dayes they continually were feasted and hunted, with all pleasure that might be shewed vnto them & the Palsgraue shortly departed & was honorably rewarded. & at that seasō was cōcluded the mariage betwene the Kyng & the lady Anne, syster to duke Willyā of Cleue, & great preparaciō was made for the receiuyng of hei.

The. xiiii. day of Nouēmbre Hugh Feringdon Abbot of Redyng & two Priestes, the one called Rugg, and the other named Onyon, were attainted of high treason, for denyng the Kyng to be supreme head of the Churche, & was drawn, hanged, & quartered at Redyng This Abbot was a stubborne Monke & vtterly without lerning The same day was Richard Whityng Abbot of Glasenbury likewise attainted and hāged on Tower hyl besyde his monastery, for the seid case & other gret treasons, which also was quartered & the first day of Decēb. was Ihon Beche Abbot of Colchest. put to execusiō for ſ same cōfederacy & treasō.

In December were appointed to wayte on the, Kynges highbues person fyfte Gentlemen called Pencioners or Speares, lyke as they were in the first yere of the Kyng

The. xi. day of Decēmbre at the Tuinepyke on thyssyde Grauelyng was the Lady Anne of Cleue receyued by the Lorde Lysle Deputie of the town of Calice & with the Speres & horsemen belongyng to the retinue there, all being fresh & warlike apparelled, & so marchig toward Calyce a myle & more fīō the towne met her Grace the Erle of Southhampton gret Admirall of England, & apparelled in a coate of purple veluet cut on cloth of golde & tyed with great aglettes and treifoiles of golde, to the number of .iiii. C. & baudrickwise he ware a chayne, at the whych did hang a whistle of gold set with ryche stones of a great value. And in this company. xxx. gentlemen of the Kynges household very rychly apparelled with great & massy chaynes, & in especial syr Fraūcis Bryan & sir Thomas Seyniers chaynes were of great valure and straunge fassyon Beside this, the Lorde Admirall had a great nombre of gentlemen in blew veluet & crymosyn sattyn & his yomen in dānask of the same colours, & the Maryners of his ship in sattyn of Bridges, both coates & sloppes of the same colours, whych Lorde Admyrall with low obeysaunce welcomed her, & so brought her into Calyce by the lanterne gate, where the Shippes laye in the Hauen garnysed with their banners, pençelles & flagges, pleasantly to beholde. And at her entry was shot such a peale

of

of gōnes, that all the retynew much meruailed at it. And at her entery into the towne, the Moyer of the towne presented her with an C. marke in golde. And before the Staple hall stode the Merchautes of the Staple well appaielled, which lykewyse presēted her with an C. souereyns of golde in a ryche pursse, which hertely thanked them, & so she rode to the kynges place called the Checker, & there she laye xv. dayes for lacke of prosperous wynde. Duryng whyche tyme goodly iustes & costly bankettes wer made to her for her solace & recreation. And on s. Ithons day in Christmas, she with 1 sayle toke passage about noque and landed at Deelee in the downes about v. of the clocke, where sir Thomas Cherny lord Warden of the Portes receaued her, & there she taried a space in a Castell newly buylte, and thither came the Duke & Dutches of Suffolke & the bisshop of Chichester, with a great nombre of Knyghtes & Esquiers & Ladies of Kent & othei which welcomed her Grace, & so that nyght brought her to Douer Castell, where she rested tyll monday on which day for all the storme that then was she marched toward Caunterbury, and on Baram downe met her the Archbisshop of Caunterbury accōpanyed with the bisshop of Ely, Saynt Asse, Saynt Dauiyes & Douer, & a great cōpany of gentlemen well appaielled, & so brought her to's Austens without Caunterbury, where she lay that nyght. and on the next day she came to Syttingburne & there lodged that nyght. And as she passed toward Rochester on Newyeres euen, on Reynam down met her the duke of Norffolke & the lord Ducie of the South, & the lord Mountioye with a gret cōpany of Knyghtes & Esquiers of Norffolke & Suffolke, & the Barons of thechequer, all in coates of veluet with chaynes of gold, which brought her to Rochester where she lay in the Palace all Newyeres day. On which day the kyng which sore desyred to see her Grace accōpanyed with no more then viii persons of his preuy chamber, & both he & they all appaielled in marble coates preuely came to Rochester, and sodainly came to her presence, which therewith was somewhat astonied. but after he had spokē & welcomed her, she w. most gracious & louyng cōntenance & behauiour him receiued & welcomed on her knees, whom he gently toke vp & kyssed. & all that after noone cōmoned & deuised with her, & that night supped with her, & the next day he departed to Grenewich, & she came to Dartford.

On the morow being the thrid day of Ianuary, & saturday, in a fayre playne on black heth more nerer the foote of shoters hyl, then the ascendent of the hyl called blacke lieth hyl, was pitched a riche cloth of gold & dyuers other Tentres & Paulions in the which were made fyres and perfumes for her and suche Ladies as should receyue her Grace. and from the Tentres to the parke gate of Grenewych were all bushes and fyres cutte downe, and a large and ample waye made for the shew of all persones. And fyrst nexte to the parke pale on the East syde, stode the Merchautes of the Sullyard. and on the West syde stode the Merchautes of Iean, Florence and Venyce, and the Spanyardes, in coates of veluet. Then on bothe sydes of the waye stode the Merchautes of the Citie of London & Aldermen with the councillors of the sayd Citie to the nōbre of a C. lx. which were myxed with the Esquiers. Nexte vpward toward the tentres stode Knyghtes thā the 1 gentlemē Pensioners, & all this sort were appaielled in veluet & chayns of gold, truly accompted to the nombre of xii C. & aboue hesyde them that came with the kyng & her Grace, which wer vi C. in veluet cotes & chaines of golde. Bebynd the gentlemen stode the seruauntmē in good ordie, well horsed & appaielled, that whosoeuer had well viewed them might saye that they to tall & comely personages & clene of lym & body, wer able to geue the greatest Prince in Christendome a mortall brekefast if he wer the kynges enemy. And of this sorte the gentlemen appertaining to the lord Chauncellor, the lord Preuy seate & the lord Admiral & diuers other lordes, beside the costly lyuereys & comely hoises, ware chayns of gold.

Thus was the lane ordered in rankes from the parke gate toward the crosse on the Heth, which was betwene the Rankes and the Tentres, and in this ordie they contynued tyll the Kyng and she were returned.

About. xii. of the clocke her grace with all the company which were of her owne nation to the nombre of a C. horse, & accompanyed with the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Archebisshop of Caunterbury & other byshopps, lordes & knyghtes which had receyued &



conueyed her as you haue heard before, came doune shoters hyll toward the Tentes & a good space from the Tentes met her the Erle of Rutland her loide Chaumberleyn, syr Thomas Denyce hei Chauncellor, & all her counsellors and officers, amongst whom, Doctor Daye appoynted to hei Almoner, made to her an eloquent Oracion in latin, presentyng to hei on the Kynges behalfe all the Officers & Seruauntes. which Oracion was answered vnto by the Duke her brothers Secretarie there beyng present: which done, the Lady Margariete Douglas, doughter to the Quene of Scottes, the lady Marques Dorcet, daughter to the French Quene being Nieces to the Kyng, & the Dutches of Rycheimond, & the Couëtesse of Rutland & Herfford with dyuers other ladies & gentlewomen, to the nōbre of lxxv. saluted & welcomed her Grace, which alighted out of her Chariot in the which she had rydden all her long iourney, & with most goodly demeanor & louyng cōtēnaūce gaue to them heitye thankes & kissed them all, & after all her cōcēllors & officers kyssed hei hand, which done, she with all the Ladies entered the tentes, and there warmed them a space.

When the Kyng knew that she was ariued in her tent, he with all diligence setout thorough the park. And first issued the Kynges Trompettes, then the Kynges Officers beyng sworne of his Councell, next after them followed the Gentlemen of the Kynges Preuy Chaumbre, some appaelled in coates of veluet enbrodered. other had their coates garded with chaynes of golde, very ryche to beholde, whiche were well horsed & trapped. after them ensued Barons, the yongest first, and so sir Wyllyam Hollys knyght Lorde Mayer of London rode with the Lord Par beyng yongest Baron. Then followed Bysshops appaelled in blacke satten. Then immediatly followed the Erles, & then duke Philyppe of Bauyer and Countie Palantyne of the Rhyne, rychely appaelled with the lyuerie of the Toysant or Golden Fleece aboute his necke. Then followed the Ambassadors of the French Kyng & themperour, next followed the Lorde Preuy Seale Lorde Cromwell and the Lord Chauncellor then Garter kyng of Armes, and the othe Officers of Armes & the Seruantes at Armes gaue their attendance on euery side of the Lordes which Lordes for the moast parte were appaelled in Purple veluet, the Lord Marques Dorcet in the same suyte bare the Kynges swoorde of estate. After hym a good distaunce followed the Kynges highnesse mounted on a goodly courser, trapped in ryche cloth of golde trauerced latyce wyse square, all ouer enbrodered with gold of dammaske, pearled on euery syde of the enbroderye, the buckles and pēdentes were all of fyne golde. His persone was appaelled in a coate of purple veluet, somewhat made lyke a frocke, all ouer enbrodered with flatte golde of Dammaske with small lace mixed betwene of the same gold, and other laces of the same so goyng trauese wyse, that the ground lytle appered: aboute whiche garment was a ryche gaide very curiously enbrodered, the sleues and brest were cut lyned with cloth of golde, and tyed together with great buttons of Diamondes, Rubyes, and Orient Perle, his swoorde and swoorde gyrdle adorned with stones and especiall Emerodes, his night cappe garnished with stone, but his bonnet was so ryche of Iuels that fewe men coulde value them. Besyde all this he ware in baudricke wyse a collar of such Balystes and Perle that few men eue saw the lyke: and aboute his persone ran. x. footemen all rychely appaelled in goldsmithes worke. And notwithstandinge that this ryche apparell and precious Iuelles wer plesant to the Nobles & all other being present to beholde, yet his Princely countenance, his goodly personage and royall gesture so farre exceded all other creatures beyng present, that in comparyson of his persone, all his ryche apparell was lytle esteemed. After him folowed his lord Chaumberlein, thā came sir Anthony Browne master of his horse, a goodly gētleman & a comly personage, wel horsed, trapped & rychely appaelled, leading the Kynges horse of estate by a long reyne of golde, whiche horse was trapped in maner lyke a barde with crimosyn veluet & satten, al ouer enbrodered with gold after an antyke fassō, very curiously wrought. Then followed the pages of honor in coates of riche tynsell & crimosyn veluet paled, ridyng on great coursers, al trapped in crimosyn veluet, enbrodered w new deuyses & knottz of gold which were both pleasant & costly to beholde.

Then followed syr Anthony Wyngfeld Captayne of the Garde & then the Gaide well horsed & in ryche coates. In this ordre the kyng rode to the last ende of the ranke where the Speares or Pencyoners stode: and there euery persone that came with the Kyng placed hymselfe on the one syde on the other, the Kyng standing in the myddes.

When her Grace was aduertysed of the Kynges cōmyng, she issued out of her tent beynge apparelled in a ryche gowne of cloth of golde reised, made rounde without any tayne after the Dutche fassyon, and on her head a kalli, & over that a rounde hōnet or cappe set full of Orient Perle of a very propre fassyon, & before that she had a cornet of blacke veluet, & about her necke she had a partelet set full of riche stone which gylstered all the felde. And at the dore of the Tente she mounted on a fayre hoise richely trapped, with her footemen about her in goldsmithies worke enbriodered with the blacke Lion, & on his shoulder a Caruncle golde, and so she marched toward the Kyng: whych perceiuyng her to approche came forward somewhat beyonde the crosse on Blacke Heth, and there paused a lytle in a fayre place tyll she came neier: then he put of his bonnet & came foreward to her, & with most lovely countenance and Princely behauour saluted, welcomed & enbrased her to the great reioysing of the beholders: and she lykewyse not forgettyng her duty, with most amiable aspect & womanly behauour receyued his Grace with many sweete woordes and great thanks and praisynge geuen to hym. And whyle they two were thus communynge, the fyfthe Pencioners and the Garde departed to furnysh the Courte and Halle of Grenewyche. And when the Kyng had talked with her a lytle whyle, he put her on his ryght hande, and so with their footemen they rode as though they had ben coupled together. O what a syght was this to see so goodly a Prince & so noble a Kyng to ryde with so fayre a Lady of so goodly a stature & so womanly a countenance, & in especial of so good qualities, I thinke no creature could see them but his heite reioysed.

Now when the Kyng and she were mette and bothe their companies ioyned together, they returned thorough the ranks of Knyghtes and Esquyers which stode styl all this while & remoued not, in this ordre: Fyrst her Trompettes went forward, whiche were twelue in nombre besyde two kettle Drommes on horsebacke, then followed the Kynges Trompettes, then the Kynges Councillours, then the Gentlemen of the Preuy Chamber, then the Gentlemen of her Graces countrey in coates of veluet, all on great horses after them the Mayer of London in crimosyn veluet with a riche-collor, coupled with the yongest Baron, then all the Barons, nexte followyng Bysshoppes, then Earles, with whom rode the Earles of Ouersteyn and Waldoke of her countrey, then Dukes and the Archbysshop of Canturbury and Duke Phillip of Baure, nexte followed the Ambassadors, then the Lorde Preuye Seale and the Lorde Chauncellor, then the Lorde Marques with the Kynges sworde, nexte followed the Kyng himselfe equally ridyng with his faire Lady, & behind him rode syr Anthony Browne with the kyngz horse of Estate as you hearde before, and behynde her rode syr Iohan Dudley Master of her horses leadynge her spate Palferaye trapped in ryche Tyssue downe to the grounde. after them followed the Henxemen or Pages of Honoure, then followed the Ladye Margarete Douglas, the Ladye Marques Dorset, the Dutches of Richmond & Suffolke, the Countesses of Rutland & Hertforde, & other Countesses. then followed her Graces Chariot in the which she rode all her journey, well caued & gylte with Armes of her cōtrey curiously wrought & couered with cloth of gold, all the horses were trapped with blacke veluet, & on them rode Pages of Honour in coates of veluet, in the which Chariot rode. ii. auncient Ladies of her countrey. nexte after the Chariot followed. vi. Ladies & Gentlewomen of her countrey all richely apparelled with cappes set with Perle, & great Chaynes of dyuers fassions after the vsage of their countrey, whiche were very fayre of face, & with them rode. vi. Ladies of England well bosene. Then followed another Chariot lykenyse gylte & furnyshed as thother was: after that Chariot followed. x. Englysh Ladyes well apparelled, next them another Chariot all couered with blacke cloth, & in that. iii. gentlewomen which were her Graces Chamberers: then followed all the remnaunt of the Ladies, Gentlewomen & Maydens in a gret nombre which dyd



weare that day Frenche whodes last of all came another Chariot all blacke with. iiii. Lann-  
 ders appertaynyng to her grace next after followed a Houselytte of cloth of golde &  
 Crymosyn veluyt vpon veluet paled, with horses harnessed accordigly which the king sent her,  
 Then followed the seruyng men of her trayne, all clothed in blacke & on great horses.

In this orde they rode thorough the parkes, & so thorough the parkes and at the late  
 Tickers walle all men alyghted, sayng the Kyng, the Masters of the Horses & the Henx-  
 men which rode to the halle doore, & the Ladies rode to the Courte gate And as they  
 passed they behelde on the wharfe howe the Citizens of London were rowyng vp & down  
 on the Thames euen before them, euery crafte in his Barge garnished with Lianners, Flagges,  
 Streimers, Pencelles and Targettes some paynted & beaten with the Kynge's Armes, some  
 with her Graces Armes, and some with the Armes of their Crafte or Mistery Besyde  
 the Baiges of euery crafte, there was a Barge made like a ship, called the Batcheleys  
 barge, decked with cloth, of gold, penons, pencells, & targetz in great nombre, on whō  
 wayted a Foyst that shot great peces of Artillary And in euery barge was dyuers sortes  
 of Instrumentes & children & men syngyng, which sang & played altogether as the King &  
 the Lady passed on the wharfe, which syght & noies they much praised & allowed.

When the Kyng & she wer within the vtter court, they alyghted from their horses, & the  
 Kyng louyngly embrased her & kissed her, byddyng her welcome, to her owne, & led her  
 by her lyfte arme thorough the halle which was turnished beneth the harth with the Kynge's  
 Garde, and aboute the haith with the fyfye Pencioners with their Batell Axes, & so brought  
 her vp to her preuy chamber, where he lefte her for that tyme.

And assone as the Kyng & she was entered the Courte, was shot out of the Tower of  
 Grenewyche & there about, a great peale of Gonnes.

When the Kynge's company and hers was entered the parkes, as you haue hearde, then  
 all the horse men on Blacke Heath brake their aray and had licence to departe to London,  
 or to their lodgyng To se howe longe it was or the horsemen coulde passe, and howe  
 late it was in the nyght yer the footemen coulde get ouer London brydge, I assure you it  
 was wonderous to beholde, the nombre was so great.

Thus the Noble Lady remayned vnmaryed vntyll the tuysday followyng beyng the day  
 of the Epiphany On whych day about. viii. of the clocke in the mornyng, his Grace beyng  
 apparellled in a gowne of cloth of gold, raised with great floweis of syluer, furred with  
 blacke Ienettes, his coat Crymsyn sattyn all to cutte and enbrodered & tied with great  
 Diamondes, & a ryche Coller about his necke, came solely with his Nobilitie into the  
 gallery next the closettes, and there paused

Then the Lordes went to fetch the Ladye Anne, whiche was apparellled in a gowne of  
 ryche cloth of gold set full of large floweis of great & Orient Pearle, made after the  
 Dutche fasson rownde, her here hangyng downe, whych was fayre, yelowe and long On  
 her head a Coronall of gold replenished with great stone, and set about full of branches  
 of Rosemary, about her necke and middle, luelles of great valew & estimacion In this  
 apparell she goynge betwene the Erle of Ouersteyn & the Graunde Master Hostoden,  
 which had the conduyte & ordre of the performaunce of her maryage, with most demure  
 countynaunce & sad behauiour passed thorough the Kynge's chamber, all the Lordes goyng  
 before her tyll they came to the gallery where the Kyng was, to whom she made three low  
 obeysaunces & curteisyes. Then the Archebysshop of Caunterbury receyued them &  
 married them together, and the Erle of Ouersteyn did geue her. & about her marryng ryng  
 was witten **GOD SEND ME WEL TO KEPE**

When the Manage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the Kynge's closet and  
 the e hard Masse and offered their tapers, & after Masse had wyne and spyces, and that  
 done, the Kyng departed to his chamber, & all the Ladies wayted on her to her cham-  
 ber, the Duke of Noiffolke goyng on the ryght hande, and the Duke of Suffolke on the  
 lefte hande on her grace.

After. ix. of the clocke, the Kyng with a gowne of ryche Tyssue lyned with Crymosyn  
 Veluet

Veluet embrodered, came to his cloſet, & ſhe in her here in the ſame apparell that ſhe was maryed in, came to her Cloſet with her Serueant of Armes and all her Officers, byk a Queene, before her. And ſo the kyng & ſhe went openly on Proceſſion and offered and dyned together. And after dyner ſhe chaunged into a gowne, lyke a mannes gowne of Tyſſue with longe ſleeues gyte to her, furred with ryche Sables, her narrowe ſleeues were very coſtly, but on her head ſhe had a cap as ſhe ware on the ſaturday before with a cornet of laune, which cap was ſo ryche of Peile and Stone, that it was iudged to be of great value. And after her faſſyow, her Ladies and Gentlewomen were apparelled very rich and coſtly with chaynes of dyuers faſſions, and in this apparall ſhe went that nyght to Euensong, and after ſupped with the Kyng and after ſupper were Bankettes, Maskes, and dyuerſe diſportes, tyll the tyme came that it pleaſed the Kyng and her to take their reſt.

The ſonday after were kepte ſolempne Feaſtes, whyche moche pleaſed the ſtraungers. On whiche daie ſhe was appareled after the Engliſhe faſſion, with a Frenche whode, whiche ſo ſet furth her beautie and good viſage, that every creature reioyced to behold her.

When the erle of Ouerſtein, and other lordes and ladies whiche had geuen their attendaunce on her grace al that iornay, and had been highly feaſted of the kyng & other nobles very ſumptuouſly, they toke then leaue and had greate giftes geuen to them, bothe in money and plate, and ſo returned toward their countrey, leauyng behynd them the erle of Wal-docke, and diuerſe other gentlemen and damoſelles, which wer retained with her grace, till ſhe wer better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth daie of February next ensuyng, the kyng and ſhe came to Weſtmiſter by water accompaigned with many nobles and prelates in Barges, on whom the Maior and his brethren in ſkillet, and xii of the chief compaignies of the cite all in Barges garniſhed with Banners, Penons, and targettes, richely couered and replenished with mynſtrelyſy, gaue their attendaunce, and by the waie all the ſhippes ſhot their ordmaunce, and out of the tower was ſhot a greate peale of Gonnes, in goodly ordie.

The xii daie of February, the Duke of Norffolke was ſent in Ambaſſade to the Frenche kyng, of whom he was well entertained, and in theſe of theſame moneth, he returned again into Englande.

The xxiii daie of February, wer foure readers ſent for to the Starre Chamber, of euery houſe of the foure principall Innes of Courte one, where ſat the lorde Chauncellor, the lorde Preuie ſeale, and xiiii of the chief of the kynges counſaill, and there the lorde Chauncellor declared, how ſir Ihon Sheltō knight, had by the aduiſe of ſir Humfrey Browne Knight, the Kynges Seruaunt, ſir Nicholas Hare Knight, the Kynges counſailor, and Speaker of the Parliament, and Willyam Coignesby Eſquire, attorney of the Duchie of Lancaste, all beyng his ſeruauntes and of his Fee, declared a fraudulent will of his landes, contray to the ſtatute made, anno. xxvii. to the greate hynderaunce of the Kynges prerogative, and the true meanyng of theſaid ſtatute, and alſo to the euill example of all other, that ſhould defraude the lordes of their ſeignories. Wherefore theſaid ſir Humfrey Browne, and ſir Nicholas Hare, wer that daie by the whole Counſaill of the kyng, diſmiſſed of their Offices and ſeruiſe to the kyng, and ſent to the tower: and within three daies after was Willyam Coignesby ſent thether, where they remained ten dayes, and after wer deliuered but they three loſt all their offices, that they had of the kyng.

The firſt Sondae in Lent, Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, preached at Paules croſſe, and there intreated of the Goſpell of that daie and in his ſermon eſpecially, he touched the article of Juſtificatiō, and ſo he handeled it, that the thrid Sondae in Lent next folowyng, one Doctor Barnes, of whom before you haue heard, reproued in theſaid pulpit at Paules, the doctryne of theſaid Biſhoppe. and beeyng vexed with the Biſhoppes Doctryne, he vſed many tauntes againſt hym, but one ſpecially whiche was this, that he ſaid if the Biſhoppe and he, wer together in Rome with the Pope, he knewe that great ſommes of money could not ſaue his life, but for the Biſhoppe, there was no feare, but that a litle intreataunce, ſhould purchase fauour enough for hym: By this he noted the Biſhop

Steph Gardiner B.  
shop of  
Wyncheſter

Doctor  
Barnes.



to bee but a Papist, whiche the Bishop so vnquietly tooke, that he complained of Barnes to the kyng, and there had hym examined, and at the last by the Kynges commaundement, he came to the bishoppes house, where likewise the bishoppe not onely examined hym, but also toke vpon hym to be his skolemaster, and as moste meene and specially suche, as muche knewe and least cause had to lye reported, he prepared the tower for his skole house, and made suche a rod to beate his skoler, that he beate hym as small as ashes, or he left hym: although Barnes, with two other persones, that is to saie, Iherom and Garret, of whom in the nexte yere folowyng, ye shall here more, were by the Bishoppes procurement, appoynted in the Easter weke folowyng, to preache at saint Mary Spittle beside London, the three solempne sermons in one of the which sermons, that Barnes made, Barnes openly and before al the people, asked the Bishop forgeuenes, for speaking so vnreuerently of him in his former sermon, and he required the bishop if he forgave hym, in token thereof to holde vp his hande, whiche like as it was long before he did, so it appered afterwaide to many, that it was but a counterfeit forgeuenes.

The. xii. daie of Aprill began a Parliament, and sir Nicholas Hare restored to the office of speaker, in the whiche was frely graunted, without contradicciōs, foure fiftenes & a Subsidy, of twoo. s. of landes, and xii d. of goodes, toward the greates charges of Bulwarkes.

Thomas  
lord Crōwel  
created Erle  
of Essex

The. xviii. daie of Aprill, at Westminster was Thomas lorde Cromewell created Erle of Essex, and made greates Chamberlain of England, whiche euer the Erles of Oxenford had, whiche promotions he enioyed short tyme, as after in the nexte yere more appere.

### ¶ THE. XXXII. YERE.

A. Iustes

The first daie of Maie, sir Iho Dudley, sir Thomas Seimour, sir George Carew, sir Thomas Ponynges, sir Richard Cromewell, sir Anthony Kyngston knightes, enterprised a royall Iustes, Tornay, and Barriers, whiche wer in white Veluet barded and based. The Iustes began the first daie of Maie, the Tornay the third daie, and the Barriers the fift which chalenge thei valiantly performed, against all commers, and also they kept open household at Duresme place, and feasted the kyng and Quene, and all the Lordes. Beside this, on Tewesdaie in the Rogacion weke, thei feasted all the Knightes and Burgesses of the Cōmon house. and the morowe after thei had the Maior, the Aldermen and all their wives to dinner, and so the Fridaie thei brake vp household.

In this Parliament whiche began the. xviii. daie of April, as is afore rehersed, the religion of saint Ihones in Englande, whiche of most mē was named the knightes of the Rhodes, was dissolued, wherof hearyng sir Willyam Weston knight, Prier of saint Ihones, for thought died on the Assencion daie, beyng the fift daie of Maie.

Richard  
Farmer  
Grocer  
condemned  
in a Pre-  
munire

In this monethe was sent to the Tower, Doctor Wilson, and docter Sampson bishop of Chichester, for releuyng of certain traitorous persones, whiche denied the kynges supremacie, & for thesame offence was one Richard Farmer Grocer of London, a riche and welthy man, and of good estimacion in the citee, committed to the Marshall See, & after in Westminster hall was arraigned and attainted in the Premunire, and lost all his goodes.

Thomas  
lord Crō-  
wel com-  
mitted to  
the Tower

The. ix. day of Iuly, Thomas lorde Cromewell, late made erle of Essex, as before you haue hard, beyng in the counsaill chāber, was sodainly appichended, and committed to the tower of London, the whiche many lamented, but mo reioysed, and specially suche, as either had been religious men, or fauored religious persones, for thei banqueted, and triumphed together that night, many wisshyng that that daie had been seuen yere before, and some fearyng least he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be mery. Other who knewe nothyng but truth by hym, bothe lamented hym, and hartely prayed for hym: But this is true that of certain of the Clergie he was detestably hated, & specially of suche as had boine swynge, and by his meanes was put from it, for in dede he was a man, that in all his doynge, semed not to fauor any kynde of Popery, nor could not abide the scoffyng pride of

of some prelates, whiche vndoubtedly, whatsoever els was the cause of his death, did shorten his life, and procured the ende that he was brought vnto: whiche was that the. xix. daie of thesaied monethe, he was attaynted by Parliament, and neuer came to his answere, whiche haue many reported, he was the causer of the making thereof; but the truthe thereof I knowe not: The Articles for whiche he died, appereth in the Record, where his attaynder is written, whiche are to long to bee here rehearsed, but to conclude he was there attainted of heresy, and high treason. And the. xxviii. daie of Iuly was brought to the skaffold on the tower hill, where he saied these wordes folowyng:

I am come hether to dye, and not to purge my self, as maie happen, some thynke that I will, for if I should so do, I wer a very wretche and miser. I am by the Lawe condemned to die, and thanke my lorde God that hath appoynted me this deathe, for myne offence. For sithence the tyme that I haue had yerres of discrecion, I haue liued a synner, and offended my Lorde God, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forgeuenes. And it is not vnkowne to many of you, that I haue been a great traueler in this worlde, and beyng but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithens the tyme I came therunto, I haue offended my prince, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forgeuenes, and beseeche you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgeue me. O father forgeue me. O sonne forgeue me, O holy Ghost forgeue me. O thre persons in one God forgeue me. And now I praie you that he here, to beare me record, I die in the Catholicke faith, not doubtyng in any article of my faith, no nor doubtyng in any Sacrament of the Church. Many hath sclaudered me, and reported that I haue been a beaier, of suche as hath mainteigned euill opinions, whiche is vnttrue, but I confesse that like as God by his holy spirite, doth instruct vs in the truthe, so the deuill is redy to seduce vs, and I haue been seduced: but beare me witnes that I dye in the Catholicke faith of the holy Church. And I hartely desire you to praie for the Kynges grace, that he maie long liue with you, in healtie and prosperitie. And after him that his sone prince Edward, that goodly ympe, maie lōg reigne ouer you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this fleshe, I wauer nothyng in my faith. And then made he his prayer, whiche was long, but not so long, as bothe Godly and learned, and after committed his soule, into the handes of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and boocherly miser, whiche very vngoodly perfourmed the Office.

The wordes  
of the Lorde  
Cromwell  
spoke at his  
deth

On saint Peters cuen, was kept the Serieantes feast at saint Iohnes with al plentie of victaile. At which feast wer made ten Serieauntes, three out of Greyes Inne, and three out of Lyncolnes Inne, and of euery of the Temples twoo. At whiche feast were present, all the lordes and commons of the Parliament, beside the Maior and the Aldermen, and a greate number of the commons of the cite of London.

Serieauntes  
Feast

The morowe after Midsomer daie, the kyng caused the Quene to remoue to Richemond, purposyng it to bee more for her health, open ayre and pleasure. but the sixt daie of Iuly, certain Lordes came doune into the neither house, whiche expresly declared causes, that the mariage was not lawfull, and in conclusion, the matter was by the Conuocacion clerely determined, that the kyng might lawfully mary where he would, & so might she: and so were they clerely deuorced and seperated, and by the Parliament enacted and concluded, that she should bee taken no more as Quene, but called the Lady Anne of Cleue.

Quene  
Anne de  
uorced, and  
called Ladie  
Anne of  
Cleue

In this yere the lord Leonard Grey, brother to Thomas lord Marques Dorset, beyng the kynges lieuetenaut in Ireland, practised sondery feates for his profite, as in deliueying treytors beeyng hostages, and especially his nephew Fitzgarard, brother to Thomas Fitzgarard before executed, and also caused suche of the Irishe menne, as he had intelligence with all, to invade suche of the kynges frendes, whiche he fauored not: Wherefore the kyng sent for hym, and he mistrustyng and seyng no refuge, wrote to the kynges enemies, to invade thenglishe pale after his departure. And also he kepte the kynges Treasure, to his awne vse, without reiteynyng souldiours, acordyng to his commission, whereupon when he came to London, he was sent to the Tower.

The Lorde  
Graye sent  
to the  
Tower



In Iuly the Prince of Saleme, in the Realme of Naples, and the lorde Lois Denola, came into England to see the kyng, whiche had high chere and greate rewarde, and so departed. And after them came Dopp Fredericke Marques of Padulla, brother to the Duke of Farrar, and the Prince of Macedonia, and the Marques of Tertia Noua, and Mounsie de Flagy, and many other gentlemen, from the Emperours Courte into Englande, to see the Kyng, whiche on the daie of Mary Magdalene, came to the Court in Westminster, and wer highly feasted and well entertained, and with greate rewarde departed.

Lorde Hungerford beheaded

The twentieth and eight daie of Iuly as you haue heard before in this yere, was the Lorde Cromwell beheaded, and with him likewise was beheaded the Lorde Hungerford of Heytesbury, whiche certainly at the tyme of his death, seemed to bee very vnquiet in mynde, and rather in a frenesie then otherwise.

Baines, Garrard and Ieom

The thirte daie of Iuly, were drawn on heidelles out of the Tower to Smithfeld, Robert Baines Doctor in Diuinitie, Thomas Garrard, and Wyllyam Ierome Bachelers in Diuinitie, Powell, Fetherston and Abell. The firste three were drawn to the stake, there before set vp, and were burned, and the latter three drawn to the Galowes, likewise there set vp, and were hanged, hedded, and quartered. Here ye must note, that the first three, wer menne that professed the Gospell of Iesu Christ, and were Preachers thereof. But wherfore they were now thus cruelly executed, I knowe not, although I haue searched to knowe the truth. But this I finde in their attaindor, for ye muste vnderstande, that after they had Preached at saint Mary Spittle, as before I haue declared, Baines for learning his lesson no better was committed to the Skolehouse before prepared, whiche was the Tower, where he was kepte, and neuer called to examination, till his god that he should bee beaten withall, was made, whiche was a sharp and greate Fire in Smithfelde and for compaignie sake was sent to the Skolehouse with hym, the fornamed Garet, and Ierome, whiche dronke all of one cuppe. And as I saied before, thus muche I finde in their attaindor, that they were detestable and abhominable Heretikes, and that they had taught many heresies the number whereof was to greate in the attaindor to be recited so that there is not one alleged, whiche I haue often wondered at, that their heresies wer so many, and not one there alleged, as special cause of their deathe. And in deede at their deaths, they asked the Shuyfes, wherfore they were condemned, who answered, they could not tell but if I maie saie the truthe, moste menue said it was for Preaching, against the Doctryne of Stephen Gardmer Bishoppe of Wyncheste, who chiefly procured this their death, God and he knoweth, but greate pitie it was, that suche learned menne should so bee cast awaie, without examination, neither knowing what was laied to their charge, nor neuer called to answer.

Powell, Fetherston, and Abell

The laste three whiche were Powell, Fetherston, and Abell, were put to death for Treason, and in their attaindor, is speciall mencion made of their offences, whiche was for the denyng of the kynges supremacie, and affirming that his Marriage with the Lady Katheryne was good. These with other were the reasons, that they wer attainted of and suffered death for.

The fourth daie of August Thomas Epsam, sometyme Monke of Westminster, whiche had been prisoner for treason, three yeres and more in Newgate, came before the Iustices of Gaole deliuary at Newgate, and would not aske the kynges pardon, nor be sworne to be true to hym wherfore his Monkes garment, was plucked from his backe, and he repined till the kyng knewe his malicious obstinacie, and this was the last Monke that was seen in his clothyng in Englande.

In this monethe were certain Commissioners, sent by the kyng into Ireland to inquire of the lorde Leonard Gray, whiche certified diuerse articles against him, as ye shall here in the nexte yere folowynge.

Katheryn Haward shewed as Quene

The eight day of August, was the Lady Katheryn Haward, nece to the duke of Norfolke, and daughter to the lord Edinond Haward, shewed openly as Quene at Hampton Court, whiche dignitie she enioyed not long, as after ye shall here.

In y<sup>e</sup> latter ende of this moneth, was vniuersally through the realme greate death, by reason of newe hote agues and Fluxes, and some Pestilence, in whiche season was suche a droughth, that Welles and small Riuer were cleane dried, so that muche cattell died for lacke of water and the Thamis was so shalowe, and the freshe water of so small strength, that the Salt water flowed aboue London bridge, till the raine had encreased the freshe waters

On the. xxii. daie of Decmber, was Raufe Egerton seruauit to the Lorde Audeley, lorde <sup>Egerton</sup> Chauncellor, hanged, diawen, and quartered, for counterfetyng of the kynges greate Seale, <sup>hanged.</sup> in a signet, whiche was neuer seen, and sealed a greate number of Licenses for Denizens, and one Thomas Harman that wrote them, was executed for the statute made the last parliament sore bounde the straungiers, whiche wer not Denizens, whiche caused them to offere to Egerton, greate sommes of money, the desire whereof caused hym to practise that whiche brought hym to the ende, that before is declared.

In the ende of this yere, the Frenche Kyng made a strong Castle at Aide, and also a Bridge ouer into the Englishe pale, whiche bridge the Crewe of Calice did beate doune, and the Frenchmen recdified thesame and the Englishemen bet it doune again And after the kyng of Englad sent fiftene hundred woorke men, to wall and fortifie Guysnes, and sent with them fwe hundred men of warre, with capitaines to defende them The noyes ranne in Fraunce, that there wer fiftie thousande Englishemenne, landed at Calice with greate ordinaunce: wherefore the Frenche kyng sent in all hast, the Duke of Vandosme, and diuerse other capitaines, to the Frontiers of Picardy, to defende thesame. The kyng of Englande hearyng thercof, sent the Erles of Surrey and Southampton and the lorde Russell, his greate Admirall, into the Marches of Calice, to set an ordre there and after them sent. CC. light horsemen, of the borders of Scotlande. whom the Frenchmen called striadiates, whiche lordes when they had set all thynges in a good ordre, shortly returned.

In this yere was burned in Smithfeld, a child named Richard Mekins, this child passed not the <sup>Richard</sup> age of. xv. yerres, and somewhat as he had heard some other folkes talke, chaunced to speake <sup>Mekins</sup> against the Sacrament of the aultar This boye was accused to Edmond Boner Bishop of <sup>burnt</sup> London, who so diligently folowed the accusacion, that he first found the meanes to Indite hym, and then arreigned hym, & after burned him And at the tyme he was brought to the stake he was taught to speake muche good, of the Bishop of London, and of the greate Charitee, that he shewed hym and that he defied all heresies, and cursed the tyme that euer he knewe Doctor Barnes, for of hym had he learned that heiesie, whiche he died for the poore boye would for the sauergarde of his life, haue gladly said that the twelue Apostles taught it hym, for he had not cared of whom he had named it, suche was his childishe innocencie and feare. But for this deede many spake and saied, that it was great shame for the Bishop, who thei saied ought rather to haue labored to haue saued his life, then to procure that terrible execution, seying that he was suche an ignoraunt soule, as knewe not what the affirming of an heresie was.

You haue had before in the beginning of this yere, that doctor Wilson, and doctor Sampson Bishop of Chichester, wer sent vnto the Tower who now wer pardoned of the kyng and set again at their libertie.

### ¶ THE. XXXIII. YERE

IN the beginnyng of this yere, v. priestes in Yorke shire began a newe rebellio, with <sup>A newe re-</sup> thassent of one Leigh a gentlemā, and. ix. temporall men, whiche were apprehended, & <sup>bellio</sup> shortly after in diuerse places put in execution, insomuche that on the xvii. daie of Maie, the said Leigh & one Tatersall, and Thornton wer drawn through London to Tiborne, and there wer executed. And sir Ihon Neuell knight, was executed for the same at Yorke

On the same daie was Magaret Countesse of Salisbury, whiche had been long prisoner



in the Tower, beheaded in the Tower, and she was the last of the right lyne and name of Plantagenet

The ix. daie of Iune, wer Dainport and Chapman, twoo of the kynges Garde hanged at Grenewiche by the Friers Wall, for roberies in example of all other.

The lorde  
Graye con-  
demped.

Durynge this season, the commissioners that before wer sent into Ireland, to inquire of the lord Gray, certified xx articles of high treason against hym, wherupon he was arreigned & tried by knightes, because he was a lorde of name, but no lorde of the parliamēt. howbeit he discharged the Iury, & confessed the inditement, & therupon was iudged & after beheaded at the tower hill, where he ended his life very quietly & godly.

In this season was arreigned and condemned three gentlemen, called Mantell, Roydon, and Frowdes, and were hanged at saint Thomas of Waterynges. Likewise was Thomas Fines Lorde Dacres of the Southe, arreigned before the lorde Awdeley of Walden, then Chauncellour of Englande, and that daie high Stuard of the same at Westminster, and there before the said Lorde Chauncellour and his Peres, he confessed the Inditement and so had Iudgement to bee hanged. And so the twentie and nyne daie of Iune, beeyng Saint Peters daie at after None, he was led on foote, betwene the twoo Shirifes of London, from the Tower through the citee to Tyborne, where he was strangled, as common murderers are, and his body buried in the church of saint Sepulchres. The cause of the death of this noble manne and the other gentlemen, was a murder of a symple manne, and an vnlawful assemble made in Sussex. Greate moane was made for them al, but moste specially for Mantell, who was as wittic, and as towarde a gentleman, as any was in the realme, and a manne able to haue dooen good seruice

The Lorde  
Dacres of  
the South  
hanged

Submissions

This Sommer the Kyng kepthe his progresse to Yorke, and passed through Lyncolne Shire, where was made to hym an humble submission by the temporaltie, confessyng then offence, and thankyng the kyng for his pardon and the Toune of Staunforde gaue the Kyng twentie pounde, and Lyncolne presented fourte pounde, & Boston fiftie pound that parte whiche is called Lynsey gaue three hundred pounde, and Kestren and the Church of Lyncolne gaue fiftie pounde. And when he entred into Yoike Shire, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of the same Shire in coates of Veluet, and foure thousande tall yomen, and seruyng men, well horsed. whiche on their knees made a submission, by the mouthe of sir Robert Bowes, and gaue to the Kyng nyne hundred pounde. And on Barnesdale met the kyng, the Archelishoppe of Yorke, with three hundred Priestes and more, and made a like submission, and gaue the kyng sixe hundred pounde. Like submission was made by the Maior of Yoike, Newe Castle and Hull, and eche of them gaue to the Kyng an hundred pounde. When the Kyng had been at Yoike twelue daies, he came to Hull, and deuised there certain fortificacions, and passed ouer the water of Hombel, and so through Lyncolne Shire, and at Halontide came to Hampton Court

Quene Katherine be-  
headed

At this tyme the Quene late before married to the kyng called Quene Katherine, was accused to the Kyng of dissolute liuyng, before her marriage, with Fraunces Diram, and that was not secretly, but many knewe it. And sith her Mariage, she was vehemently suspected with Thomas Culpeper, whiche was brought to her Chamber at Lyncolne, in August laste, in the Progresse tyme, by the Lady of Rocheforde, and were there together alone, from a leuen of the Clocke at Nighte, till foure of the Clocke in the Mornyng, and to hym she gaue a Chayne, and a riche Cap. Vpon this the kyng remoued to London and she was sent to Sion, and there kept close, but yet serued as Quene. And for the offence confessed by Culpeper and Diram, they were put to death at Tyborne, the tenth daie of December. And the twentie and two daie of the same monethe, were arreigned at Westminster, the Lorde Wylliam Hawarde and his wife, whiche lorde Wylliam was Vncle to the Quene, Katherine Tilney whiche was of counsaill of her hauyng to dooe with Diram, Elizabeth Tilney, Boulmer, Restwould, the Quenes women, and Walgraue, and Wylliam Asby, and Dainport gentle manne, and seruantes to the olde Duches of Norffolke, and Margaret Benet a Butter wife, all indited of misprison, for counsailyng the euill demcanor of the Quene, to the slaunder of the Kyng, and his succession all thei confessed it and had Iudgement

ment to perpetuall prison, and to lose their goodes, and the proffite of their lādes, during their lifes. howbeit shortly after, diuerse of them wer deliuered by the kynges Pardon

The sixtene daie of Ianuary the Parliament began, in the which the Lordes and Commons assented, to desire of the kyng certain petitions First, that he would not vex himself, with the Quenes offence, and that she and the lady Rocheford, might be attainted by Parliament.

Also, because of protracting of tyme, whiche the more should bee to his vnquietnes, that he would vnder his greate Seale, geue his royall assent, without tariing the ende of the Parliament.

Also, that Diram and Culpepei, before attainted by the common law might also be attainted by Parliament.

Also, that Agnes Duches of Noiffolke, and Katheryn Countesse of Bugewater her daughter, whiche were for counsaing the saied offence committed to the Tower, Indited of misprision, and the lorde William and other, arraigned of the same, might be likewise attainted.

Also that whosoever had spoken or doen any act, in the detestacion of her abhominable Ruyng should be pardoned.

To the whiche petitions the kyng graunted, sayng, that he thanked the Commons, that thei tooke his sorowe to bee theirs Whereupon the Quene and the Lady Rocheforde, were attainted by bothe the houses. And on Saturdaie beyng the leuenth daie of February, the Kyng sent his royall assent, by his greate Seale and then all the Lordes were in their Robes, and the Common house called vp, and there the acte redde, and his assent declaired And so on the thirtene daie, these two Ladies were behedded on the Gicne, within the Tower with an axe, and confessed thei offences, and died repentaunt.

Quene Katherin and the Lady Rocheford behedded

At this Parliament the Kyng was Proclaymed kyng of Irelande, whiche name his predecessors neuer had, but wer alwaies called lordes of Irelande.

The Kyng Proclaymed Kyng of Irelande.

In the beginnyng of Marche died sir Arthur Plantagenet viscount lisle bastard to Kyng Edward the fourth, in the tower of London vnattainted, when he should haue been deliuered and put at his liberty And the twelue daye of the saied moneth, sir Ihon Dudley sonne and heire to the saied Lorde Lises wife was at Westmynster created Viscount Lisle

The Parliament sitting, in Lent one George Ferreis Bourgeoys for the toune of Plim-mouth, was arested in London vpon a condempnacion, at the suite of one White Whereupon the Seriaunt at armes, of the Common house, was sent to the Counter in Bredestrete to fetch him but the Clerikes would not deliuer hym, wherefor the Seriaunt and his manne, would haue brought him awaie perforce Diuerse of the Shirifes officers there present, withstoode the Seriaunt, so that they fell to quarelling, and the Seriautes man was sore hurte After the Fraie ended, the Shirifes of London whose names wer Rowland Hill, and Henry Suckely came to the Counter, and first denied the deliuerie of the prisoner, howbeit afterward they deliuered hym. But this matter was so taken in the Common house, that the Shirifes and the Clercke, and fise Officers, and the partie plaintife, were sent to the tower, and there laye twoo daies, and were deliuered again by the Speaker and Common house.

George Ferreis

Although I haue not vsed muche to declare of priuat thynges doen, in other forrein Realmes, yet will I now tell of one because the thyng was so reported to me, and the matter it self so writtē and deliuered me that I must nedes iudge it to be a truthe, and the like in all this worke is not expressed, therefore I purposed woorde by woorde, as it was written vnto me, here to expresse it. The matter is of a certain Gentelman in Scotlande, who for contemning of the Bisshop of Romes vsurped auctoritie, and for praisying and commendying the affaires and procedinges of Englande and reprouing the naughtie life of the Scottishe Clergie, was as an hereticke accused and conuented before diuerse of them, as after maie appere, there to make answeie to suche Articles as should bee objected against hym He knowing their accustomed fauor, fled from them into Englande Against whom after he was gone,

they



they proceded in suche soite, as by this that foloweth whiche is the true copie of the processe maie appere.

Sir Ihon  
Borthwike

Sir Ihon Borthwike, commonly called Capitain Borthwike, accused, suspected, defamed and conuicted by witnesses, whiche were men of suche honestie, against whom could none excepcion bee taken the yere of our lorde a thousande five hundred and fourtie, the. xxviii. day of May in the Abbay of saint Androwes, in the presence of the moste worshipfull fathers in Christ, Gawyn Archbischoppe of Glasgoue, Chauncellor of Scotlande, William of Aberdowyn, Henry Bischoppe of Galloway and of the kynges Chapell of Sterlyng, Ihon Bischoppe of Breth. William bishop of Dunblan Andrew Abbot of Melros, George Abbot of Dunfermelyng, Ihon Abbot of Passay, Ihon Abbot Lundros, Robert Abbot of Kylllos, and Willyam Abbot of Culros Malcolme Prior of Whitytern, and Ihon Prior of Pettywern. Master Alexander Balfour Vicar of Kylmane, and Rector of the Vniuersitie of saint Androwes And afore the cunning Masters, Master Ihon Mair, and Master Peter Chaplain Professors, and doctors of Diuinitie, Master Marten Balfour, Bachelor of Diuinitie, and of the lawe, and Official principall of saint Androwes, Ihon Wyrem Supprior, Ihon Wannand, and Thomas Cunnyngbā, Chanones of the Abbay of saint Androwes, Ihon Thomson with his felowe, Prior of the blacke Friers of saint Androwes, Ihon Tullidaff Wardain of the Grey Friers, of S. Androwes, & Ihon Patersone, vicar of the same couent. And also before the noble mightie & right worshipfull lordes, George erle of Huntley, Iames erle of Arran, Willyam erle Marshall, William erle of Montrose, Malcolme lorde Flemmyng, Chamberlain of Scotlande, Ihon lorde Lindsay, Ihon lorde Erskyn, George lorde Seiton, Hugh lorde Symeuall, sir Iames Homilton of Finnart, & Walter lorde of. s. Ihones of Torphecten knightes, master Iames Foules of Colynton clerke of the Register, to our moste soveraigne Lorde the Kyng and many and diuerse and sondery other lordes, barons, and honest persones required to be witnesses in the premisses, doth affirme that he hath holdē these errouis folowyng, openly taught them, and instructed them, that is to saie

1. First, that our moste holiest lorde the Pope, the Vicar of Iesu Christ, cannot haue nor exercise, any more auctoritie emongest christians, then any other bishop or priest.
2. Secondly, that indulgencies and Pardons, graunted by our moste holiest lord the Pope, is of no value strength and efficacie, but vtterly to the abuson of the people, and the deceuyng of our soules
3. Thirdly, he said that the Pope was a Simoniack, euer sell yng gyftes, and that all priestes might mary.
4. Fourthly, that all Englishe heresies (as thei are called) or at the least, the greater and better part obserued by Englishemen, hath been and is good, and to be obserued by christen men, as true and consonant to the law of God. in so much y he perswaded very many people to accept the same
5. Fiftly, that the people of Scotlande, & the clergie therof hath been and is vtterly execated and blinded, by affirmaciō that thei had not the true catholike faith, affirmyng and opely sayyng, that his faith was of more value & better, then all the Ecclesiasticall, of the realme of Scotland
6. Item, hkewise accordyng vnto tholde opinions of Ihō Wiclif and Hus, heresiarches and Master heretikes, condemned in the counsaile of Constantine, he hath affirmed and farther declared, that Ecclesiasticall persones, should not possesse, haue nor enioye, any temporall possessions neither exercise iurisdiction, or any kind of auctoritie, in temporall matters neither vpon their awne subiectes, but that all should vtterly bee taken awaie from them, as it is in these daies in Englande
7. Item, he hath saied, holden and affirmed falsely, and contrary to the honor state and reuerence, of our sacred kynges maiestie of Scotlande that our kynges maiestie of Scotland, the moste clerest defender of the Christian faith, would contrary to the lawe and libertie of the holy churche, vendicat and chalenge vnto his priuat vses, all ecclesiasticall possessions, landes,

landes, and yerely rentes, geuen by his fore fathers, and also by hymself, and to enforce this matter he hath also by writyng perswaded our moste noble kyng, with all his endeour.

Item, he hath willed and sought and many times hath desired hartely, that the Church of Scotlande should come, and be brought to thesame poynt and ende, and to suche like fall, as the Church of England is now come to in deede

Item, he hath saied, affirmed, and taught openly the Cannon lawes and the Decrees of our holy fathers, approued by the Catholike and apostolike Church, is of no valewe nor strength, bryngyng in and affirmyng the same, for to be made and set fwith, contraiy to the lawe of God.

Itē, he hath said holden & affirmed, many waies ſ̄ no religion should be kept, but that should be abolished and destroyed, and to bee as it is now destroyed in Englande, and vili-pendyng all holy Religion, affirmyng it to bee an abusion of the people, whose clothyng sheweth manifestly, to be deformed mōsters, hauyng no vtiltue or holynes, bryngyng in by this and perswadyng, as muche as in hym lay, all adherentes of his opimion, that all the religion in this realme of Scotlande, should be destroyed and vtterly taken awaie to the moste greatest losse of the Catholike Church, and to the deminishyng of Christen religion

Item, it is plainly knowen by lawfull probacions, that the same Ihō Borthwike, hath had and actually hath, diuerse bokes suspect of heresy dampned, aswell by the Papall, as by the Regall and ordinary auctorities forbidden (that is to saie) firste of all the newe testament in Englishe, printed in Englande, Oecolampadius, Melancthon, & diuerse tractes of Erasmus, and other cōdempned heretickes, and also the boke of *Vno Discidentium*, conteynyng moste manifest errors, and that he hath red, studied, and communicated, and presented the same to other men, aswell openly as priuately, and that he hath instructed and taughte, very many Christians in the same, to the effect, to turne them from the very true and Catholike faith.

Item, it is openly knowen, the same Ihon Borthwike to beso stubburne in all these foresaid errors and heresies, and to haue susteyned and taught the same, with suche an indurate mynde, so that he would not declayne by no maner of meanes frō the same, for diuerse of his frendes, and persons whiche loued hym, and would haue had hym conuert, to the catholike faith, neither would he consent to them in any wise, but rather vnmoueably persist in his errors.

For the whiche said articles, and many other errors holden, saied, publicated and taught by hym and (as the common voyce is) whiche he stil holdeth and teacheth, the foresaid Ihon Borthwike to bee taken, holden and cōmpted as an heretike, and a Master heretike, and as a very euil iudger of the Holy faith.

Therefore we Dauid of the title of saint Stephyn in the mount Celo of the holy church of Rome priest Cardinal, archebishop of saint Androwes, Primate of this whole realme of Scotland and of the Apostolike seate Legate create, sitting in our seate of iustice in nature of Iudges, the holy Euangelistes of God set afore vs, that our iudgements procede frō the sight of God, and our eyes must loke to equite, hauyng onely God and the Catholike faith afore our eyes, the name of God being called vpon and folowyng the counsaill aswell of the deuines as lawyers, this foresayd Ihon Borthwike called capitain Borthwike cōdempned of the foresayd heresies, accused, suspected and infamed by lawfull probacions had and brought against him in all ſ̄ foresaydes, conuicted, cited, called and not appearyng but absentyng him selfe like a runaway. Therfore let vs thinke, pronouce and declare him to be conuicted and to be punished worse then an heretike, And further more all his mouables and vnmouables by whatsoever title they be gotten and in whatsoever parties they lye, they to be geuen to the secular power And all offices had by dower or by his wife to be confiscat & spent to the vse and custome of the law Also we do declare by these presentes the image of the foresayd Ihon to be made to the likenes of him, and to be brought into the metropolitian Church of saint Androwes & after that to ſ̄ markett crosse of the cite, there to be brent as a signe and a memorial of his condemnyng to the example and feare of all other. Lykewise we do declare that if thesame Ihon be taken within our liberties

The sentence or judgment



## THE. XXXIIII. YERE OF

ties to be punished accordyng to the lawe of heretikes. Also we warne all true beleuers in Christ of whatsoeuer state & condicion they be, that they frō this day do not receiue or admit to their houses, tētes, villages or townes Ihon Borthwike to eat or to drynke or to preferre any kynd of humanite in paine of suche like punishment: Further, if there be any tounde culpable in these foresayd that they shalbe accused as fautors and maintayners of heretiques, and they shalbe punished accordyng to the law. This sentence red and made and put in writyng in the Metrapolitan Church of saint Androwes we sittynge in our Tribunalis seate, the yere of our Lorde 1540. the xxviii. day of Maye drawn out of the Regester made against heretikes and agreyng with the sentence of Ihon Borthwike.

## THE. XXXIIII. YERE.

IN this yere Iames erle of Desmōd came to the kyng and was honorably entertained & wel rewarded. And in Septembre the great Onele came to the kyng to Grenewyche, where he and a capitaine of the North partes of Ireland called Maganyse and the bishop of Cloar, made their submission in writyng, cōfessyng their offences, and promisyng to serue the kyng and his heyres truely whiche submission by the kyng considered, he vpon the first day of October created at Grenewyche thesayd sir Eustace Onele called great Onele (because he was the chiefe of his linage called Onele) Erle of Tereowen, commonly called Tyron and gaue him a great chayne, and made Magannysse and his eosyn knightes and gaue them both chaynes, & he gaue to the lorde Mathias sonne to the erle, the Barony of Duncan.

At this reasoun the kynges Maiestie prepared for warre into Scotlande, the cause why this warre was made is most manifestly declaired by that whiche foloweth, which the kynges Maiestie published by this title, *A declaration conteynyng the iust causes and considerations of this present warre with the Scottes wherein also appeareth the true and right title that the kynges moste royal maiestie hath to his souereigntie of Scotland.* And it beginneth thus

A declaration of the cause of warre with Scotland set forth by the kyng.

BEYNG now enforced to the warre, whiche we haue always hitherto so muche abhorred and fled, by our neighbour and nephieu the kyng of Scottes, one, who aboue all other, for our manyfolde benefites towards him, bath moste iust cause to loue vs, to honor vs, and to reioyce in our quietnes. We haue thought good to notify vnto the world his doynge and behauiour in the prouocation of this warre, and likewise the meanes and wayes by vs vsed to exchue and aduoyde it, and the iust and true occasions, wherby we be now prouoked to prosecute thesame, & by vtterance and diuulgyng of that matter, to disburden some part of our inwarde displeasure and grieve, and the circumstaunces knowen, to lament openly with the worlde, the infidelitie of this tyme, in whiche thinges of suche enormitie do brest out and appeare.

The kyng of Scottes our Nephieu and neighbour, whom we in his youth and tender age preserued and maintained from the great daunger of othei, and by our authoritie and power cōduced him safely to the reall possession of his estate, he nowe compelleth and forceth vs for preseruacion of our honor and right, to vse our puissaūce & power against him. The like vnkindnes hath been heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Goddes lawe, mannes lawe, and all humanitie. but the oftener it chaunceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persones of princes for the ranke of them can so happen but seldome, as it hath nowe come to passe.

It hath been very rarely and seldome seen before, that a kyng of Scottes hath had in marriage a daughter of England. We can not, ne will not reprehend the kyng our fathers act therein, but lament and be sory it toke no better effect. The kyng our father in that matter minded loue, amitie, and perpetual friendship betwene the posterity of both, which how soone it fayled, the death of the kyng of Scottes, as a due punishment of God for his

iniust inuasion into this our realme, is & shalbe a perpetual testimony to their reproche for euer, and yet in that present tyme could not the vnkyndnesse of the father extynguysh in vs the natural loue of our Nephieu his sonne, beyng then in the miserable age of tender youth but we than forgetting þy displeasure that should haue worthly prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished and brought vp our Nephieu to achieve his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he nowe so vnkyndly vseth and behaueth him towardes vs, as he compelleth vs to take armour and warre against him.

It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, & by what meanes we be compelled to this waire, wherein among other is our chiefe grieve and displeasure, that vnder a colour of fayre speche and flatteryng wordes, we be in dede so inured, cōtempned and dispised, as we ought not with sufferance to pretermite and passe ouer Woordes, wrytynges, letters, messages, ambassiates, excuses, allegaciōs, could not more pleasauntly, more gently, ne more reuerently be deuised and sent, then hath been made on þy kyng of Scottes behalte vnto vs, and euer we trusted the tree would bryng forth good fruite that was of the one partie of so good a stocke, & continually in apparaunce put forth so fayre buddes. and therfore would hardely beleue or geue eare to other, that euer alleged the dedes of the contrary, beyng neuerthelesse thesame dedes so manyfest, as we must nedes haue regarded them, had we not been so lothe to thynke euill of our Nephieu, whom we had so many wayes bound to be of the best sorte towarde vs. And therfore hauyng a message sent vnto vs the yere past from our sayd Nephieu, and a promise made for the repairing of thesayd kyng of Scottes vnto vs to Yorke, & after great preparacion on our part made therfore, thesame metyng was not onely disappointed, but also at our beyng at Yorke, in the heu therof, an inuasion made by oure sayd Nephieu his subiectes into our realme, declaryng an euident contempt and dispute of vs. We were yet glad to impute the defeaute of the metyng to the aduise of his counsaill, and the inuasion to the lewdnes of his subiectes and accordyng thereto gaue as benigne & gentle audience to suche ambassadoirs, as repaired hither at Christmas afterwaide, as if no suche causes of displeasure had occuired, specially consideyng the good woordes, swete woordes, pleasaunt woordes, eitsones propoued by the sayd Ambassadors, not onely to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kyndnes and perfite amitie to ensue. And albeit the kyng of Scottes hauyng contrary to the article of the league of amitie, receiued and enterteigned suche rebelles, as were of the chiefe and principle, in stirryng the insurreccion in the North against vs with refusall before tyme, vpon request made to restore thesame yet neuerthelesse vpon offer made thesayd ambassadors, to sende cōmission to the bordures, to determyne the debates of the confines in thesame, with so great a pre-tence of amitie and so fayre woordes, as could be in speche desired we were content for the tyme to forbear to presse them ouer extremely in the matier of rebelles. Albeit we neuer remitted thesame, but desyrous to make triall of our sayd Nephieu in some correspondence of dedes, condescended to the sendyng of commissioners to the boirdes, whiche to our great charge we did, and the kyng of Scottes our sayd Nephieu the semblable Where after great trauaile made by our commissioners, this fruit ensued, that beyng for our part chalenged a piece of our grounde, plainly vsurped by the Scottes, and of no great value, beyng also for thesame shewed suche euidence, as more substancial, more autentique, more plaine & euident, can not be brought furth for any part of grounde within our realme. Thesame was neuerthelesse by them denyed, refused, and the euidence onely for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishemen. And yet it was soo auncient, as it could not be counterfaine nowe, and the value of the grounde so lytle, and of so small wayte, as no manne would haue attempted to falsifie for suche a matier. And yet this denial beyng in this wyse made vnto our commissioners, they neuerthelesse by our cōmaundement departed as frendes fro the commissioners of Scotland, takyng order as hath been accustomed for good rule vpon the boirdes in the meane tyme.

After whiche their recess, the lorde Maxwell, Warden of the West Marches of Scottlād, made proclamacion for good rule, but yet added therewith, þy the bordereis of Scotland should  
withdrawe.



## THE XXXIII. YERE OF

withdrowe then gooodes from the borderers of England: And incontynently after the Scottishe men borderers, the fowerth of Iuly, entied into our realme sodainly, & spoyled our subiectes, contrarye to our leagues, euen after suche extremitie, as it had been in tyme of open warre. Wherat we muche meruailed, and were compelled therfore to furnishe our border with a garrison for defence of thesame. Wherevpon the kyng of Scottes sent vnto vs James Leyrmouth, Master of his houshold, with letters deuised in the moste pleasant maner, offering redresse and reformation of all attemptes. And yet neuerthelesse at the entry of the sayd Leyrmouth into England, a great nombre of the Scottes, than not looked for, made a forrey into our borders, to the great annoyaunce of our subiectes, and to their extreme detriment, wherewith and with that vnseemly dissimulation, we were not a litle moued, as reason would we should. And yet did we not finally so extremely persecute and continue our sayd displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to thesayd Leyrmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat alured by his woordes and fayre promises, tending to the persuation that we euer desired, to fynde the kyng of Scottes suche a Nephieu vnto vs, as our proximitie of blood, with our gratuite vnto him did require.

In the meane tyme of these fayre woordes, f dedes of the borders were as extreme as might be, and our subiectes spoyled and in a roade made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge therof, thesame sir Robert Bowes with many other taken prisoners, & yet detained in Scotland, without puttyng them to fyne and raunsome, as hath be euer accustomed. And beyng at the same tyme a surceauce made on both sides at the suite of thesayd Leyrmouth for a season: the Scottes ceased not to make sundry inuasion into our realme in such wise, as we were compelled to forget fayre woordes and onely to consider the kyng of Scottes dedes, whiche appered vnto vs of that sorte, as they ought not for our dutie in defence of our subiectes, ne could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnreformed. and therefore put in a readynesse our armyc, as a due meane wherby we might attaine suche a peace, as for the safeguard of our subiectes we be bound to procure.

After whiche preparacion made, and knowlege had therof, the kyng of Scottes ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of fayre woordes, whiche in our naturall inclination wrought eftsones their accustomed effect, euermore desirous to find in the kyng of Scottes suche a regard and respect to be declared in dedes as the correspondence of naturall loue in the Nephieu to suche an Vncle, as we haue shewed our selfe towards him doth require. Wherfore vpō newe request and suite made vnto vs we determined to staye our armyc at Yorke, appointyng the duke of Norfolke our Lieutenaunt, the lorde Priuyseale, the bishop of Dureham, and the Master of our horses, there to commen, treatate and conclude with the Ambassadors of Scotland, for an amitie and peace vpon suche condicions, as by reason & equitie were iudiferent, wherby the warre might be excluded, beyng by sundry inuasion of the Scottes then open and manifest.

In this communication betwene our and their commissioners, after dyuers degrees of cōmissions, shewed by the Scottes, and finally one, that was by our commissioners allowed, matiers wer proponed for cōclusion of amitie, nothyng difficile or hard on our part, but so agreable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland sayd, they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe, that the kyng of Scottes our Nephieu might haue a metyng with vs, all matters should easily be componed and determined. Whereupon they left speaking of any articles of amitie, and the ambassadors of Scotland made much outward ioy in communication of metyng, they shewed theimselfe in woordes, facion & behauour muche to delight in it, to reioyce in it, & therewith thought it easy and facile to be cōcluded and accomplished, and for their part they toke it then for a thyng passed, a thyng concluded, and moste certain to take effect, and onely desired vi dayes to obteigne aunswere from their Master, and our armyc for that tyme to stay and go no further. Whervnto our commissioners then agreed.

After these vi. dayes was sent a Commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a metyng precisely at suche a place, as they knewe well we would not, ne could not in wyn-  
ter

ter obserue and kepe, wherwith when our commissioners were miscontent, the Ambassadors of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to tempre the matter, whereby to wyne more tyme, shewed forth their instruccions, wherein libertie was geuen to the ambassadois to exceede their cōmission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to any other by our commissioners thought conuenient, whiche maner of procedyng, when our commissioners refused, allegyng that they would not conclude a metyng with men, hauyng no commission thervnto the ambassadois of Scotland vpon pretence to send for a more ample and large cōmission agreeable to thir instruccions for appointment of the place, obtained a delay of other vi. dayes, to send for thesayd ample commission without restraint of place. And after those vi. dayes they brought forth a newe commission, made in a good fourme, and without excepcion: But therewith they shewed also newe instruccions, cōteynyng suche a restraunte as the former cōmission did contene, so as the libertie geuen to the Commissioners in the commission was nowe at the last remoued and taken away by the instruccions, with addicion of a special charge to the Ambassadors not to exceede thesame.

And thus first the Ambassadors of Scotlād semed to haue wyll and desire to conclude a place semely and conuenient, whiche for want of cōmission they might not do, & at the last might haue concluded a metyng by vertue of their commission, and then for feare of the cōmaundement in their secūd instruccions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instruccions partly to excuse their kyng, who should seme secretly to wyll more than in the commission he did openly professe.

And than with an ample commission frō the kyng, they shewed their secrete instruccions for defence of themselves, why they proceded not according to their commission, not caryng how muche they charged therein their kyng, whose faulte they disclosed to discharge themselves, trustyng that by benefite of the Wynter approchyng, and the tyme lost in their cōmunicacion their Master should be defēded against our power for this yere, without doyng for their part that by honor, right, lawe, & leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane tyme our subiectes taken prisoners in Scotland could not be deliuered vpon any raūsome cōtrary to all custome and vsage of the borders in the tyme of peace and warre, and in this meane tyme stayed a great part of our armye already prested, and in our wages to go forward. In this tyme Ambassadors (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amitie and conclude it not. The treatyng of amitie was put ouer by communicacon of a metyng.

The cōmunicacion of metyng was so handled by alteration of commission and instruccions on their behalfe, as it appereth a plaine deuise onely excogitate for a delay, whiche hath geuen vs light, wherevpon more certainly to iudge the kyng of Scottes inwarde affection towaide vs, whose dedes and woordes well wayed and considered, doeth vs plainly to vnderstande, how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with swete and pleasaunt woordes, and to satisfy the appetites of other at home and abiode with his vnkynde and displeasaunt dedes. In his wordes he professeth an insoluble amitie, he allegeth kymed, he knowlegeth benefites, onely the faulte is that he speaketh another language to all the worlde in dedes, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegacion of iustice, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the sworde, whiche God hath put in our hand as an extreme remedy, whereby to obteigne both quietnes for our subiectes, and also that is due vnto vs by right, pactes, and leagues.

We haue paciētly suffered many delusions, and notably the last yere when we made preparamacion at Yorke for his repaite to vs: But should we suffre our people and subiectes to be so oft spoyled without remedy. This is done by the Scottes whatsoeuer their wordes be. Should we suffer our rebelles to be deteigned contrary to the leagues without remedy: This is also done by them whatsoeuer their wordes be. Should we suffre our land to be vsurped contrary to our most plaine euidence, onely vpon a wille, pryde, and arrogancie of the other partie. This is done by thē whatsoeuer their wordes be. And all these be ouer presumptuously done against vs, & geue suche significaciō of their arrogācie, as it is necessary



sary for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, lest thei should gather further courage to f greater displeasure of vs & our posteritie hereafter. And yet in f intreatyng of this matter, if we had not evidently perceiued the lacke of suche affection as proximitie of blood should require, we would much rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximitie of blood to our Nephieu, than we did heretofore f inuasion of his father. But considering we be so surely ascertained of f lacke therof, & that our blood is there frome w the colde ayre of Scotland, ther was neuer prince more violently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnkynde dealing, vniust behavior, vnprincely demeanour of him that yet in nature is our Nephieu, and in his actes and dedes declarerth himselfe not to be moued therw, ne to haue suche earnest regarde to the obseruacion to his pactes and leagues, ne suche respect to the intertainement of the administracion of iustice as naturall equitie byndeth, and cōseruacion of amitie doeth require. whiche we muche lament and be sory for, and vse nowe our force and puissance against him, not for reuengence of our priuate displeasure (beyng so often deluded as we haue been) but for recouery of our right, the preseruaciō of our subiectes frō iniuries, & the obseruacion of suche leagues as haue passed betwene vs, firmly trustyng, that almightie God vnder whom we reigne, will assist and ayde our iust proceedings herein to the furtheraunce and aduancement of the right, whiche we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falsehead, deceipte and dissimulation.

Hitherto it appeareth how this present warre hath not proceeded of any demaunde of our right of superiourtie, whiche the kyng of Scottes haue alwayes knowleged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginnyng. But this warre hath been prouoked & occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniury, present wrong iniured by the Neplieu to the Vncle moste vnnaturally, and supported cōtrary to the desertes of our benefites moste vnkynldy. If we had mynded the possession of Scotland, & by the inociō of warre to attain thesame, there was neuer kyng of this realme had more oportunitie in the minoritye of our nephieu. Ne in any other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euidēt title, more certain title, to any realme that he can clayme, then we haue to Scotland, not deuised by pretence of marriage, not imagined by couenaunt, or contriued by inuencion of argument, but lineally descended from the beginning of that astate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiue of the kynges of Scotland by dedes, woordes, actes and writynges continually almost without interrupcion, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor Henry the vi in whose tyme the Scottes abused the ciuile warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnes, in omitting of their dutie: whiche for f proximitie of blood betwene vs, we haue been slacke to require of them, beyng also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer been alwayes glad, rather without prejudice to omitte to demaunde our right, if it might cōserue peace, than by demaūdyng therof to be seen to moue warre, specially against our neighbor, against our Nephieu, against him, whom we haue preserued from daungier, and in suche a tyme as it were expedient for all Christendome to be vniue in peace, wherby to be the more able to resist the cōmon enemy the Turke.

But for whatsoever cōsideracions we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheles true, that f kynges of Scottes haue alwayes knowleged the kynges of England superior lordes of the realme of Scotland, and haue done homage and fealtie for the same.

This appeareth fyrst by history, written by suche as for confirmation of the trueth in memory, haue truely noted and signified thesame. Secondly it appeareth by instrumentes of homage made by the kynges of Scottes, and diuers notable personages of Scotland, at diuers and sūdy tymes sealed with their seales, & remainyng in our treasury. Thirdly it appeareth by Rogesters and Recordes iudicially and autentiquely made, yet preserued for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of title beyng moste plaine, as furnished also with all manner of euidences for declaration therof.

Fyrst as concernyng histories, whiche be called witnesses of tymes, the light of trueth,

and the life of memory, & finally the convenient way and meane, whereby thynges of antiquitie may be brought to mennes knowlege, they shewe as plainly this matter as could be wysshed or required, with suche a consent of writers, as could not so agree vppon an vntueth, conteynnyng declaracion of suche matter as hath moste euident probabilitie & apperance. For as it is probable and likely, that for the better administracion of iustice amonges rude people, two or mo of one estate might be rulers in one countie vnte as this Isle is: so is it probable and likely, that in the begynnyng it was so ordred for auoydyng disencion, that there should be one superior in right, of whom the sayd estates should depend. Accordyng whervnto we rede how Brute, of whom the realme than called Brytain tooke fyrst that name (beyng before that tyme inhabited with Gyauntes, people without order or civilltie) had thre sonnes, Loocrine, Albanact, and Camber, & detemynyng to have the whole Isle within the Ocean sea to be after governed by them thre, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales and Loocrine that now is called England: vnto whō as beyng the elder sonne, the other two brothers should do homage recognisyng and knowlegyng him as their superior. Now consider if Brutus cōquered all this Iland, as the history sayeth he did, and then in his own tyme made this order of superioritie as afore. how can there be a ttle deuised of a more plaine begynnyng, a more iust begynnyng, a more convenient begynnyng for the order of this Iland, at that tyme specially when the people were rude, whiche cannot without continual strife and variance cōteine two or thre rulers in all pointes equal without any maner of superioritie, the inward conscience and remorse of whiche superioritie should in some part dul and diminishe the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion. The fyrst diuision of this Isle we fynde it written after this sort without cause of suspeccon why they should write amysse. And accordyng heicvnto we fynde also in history set forth by diuers, how for transgression against this superioritie, our predecessors haue chastised the kynges of Scottes, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

We will here omit to speake of the rudenes of the antiquitie in particularitie, whiche they cared not distinctly to commit to wrytyng, but some authois, as Anthonius Sabellicus amonges other diligently enserchyng, what he might truely write of all Europe, and the Ilandes adioynyng, ouer and besydes that whiche he writeth of the nature, maners, and condicions of the Scottes, whiche who so lyst to rede, shall fynde to haue been the very same in tymes paste, that we fynde them now at this present, he calleth Scotland part of England, whiche is agreable to the diuision aforesayd, beyng in dede as in the land continuall without separacion of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnte vnto the same as by particuler declaracions shal most manifestly appere by the testimony of suche as haue left wrytyng for profe and confirmation therof. In whiche matter passyng ouer the death of kyng Humber, the actes of Dunwald kyng of this realme, the deuision of Belin and Brene, the victories of kyng Arthur, we shall begynne at the yere of oure Lords DCCCC. whiche is DCxlii. yeres past, a tyme of sufficient auncientie, from which we shall make special declaracion and euident of the execucion of our right and ttle of superioritie euermore continued and preserued hitherto.

Edward the first before the conquest, sonne to Alured kyng of England had vnder his dominion and obedience the kyng of Scottes. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Maryon a Scot wrytyng that story in those dayes, graunteth, confesseth, and testifieth the same, and this dominion continued in that state xxiii. yere. At whiche tyme Athelstaine succeded in the crowne of England, and hauyng by bataille conquered Scotland, he made one Constantyne kyng of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countie of Scotland vnder him, addyng this princely worde, That it was more honor to him to make a kyng, than to be a kyng.

Xxiii. yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our lorde, Dcccclxvi. Eldred kyng our progenitor, Athelstaines brother, tooke homage of Irise then kyng of Scottes.

Xxx. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde Dcccclxxvi. kyng Edgar our predecessor



## THE XXXIII YERE OF

decessor toke homage of Kynald kyng of Scottes. Here was a litle trouble in England by the death of S Edward kyng and martyr, destroyed by the deceite of his mother in lawe: but yet within memory.

Xl. yeres after the homage done by Kynald to Kyng Edgare, that is to say in the yere of our lorde M. xvi Malcolme kyng of Scottes did homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done the Scottes vitcered some piece of their naturall disposicion, wherevpon by warie made by our progenitor saint Edward the Confessor xxxix. yere after that homage done, that is to say, the yere of our lord M. lvi Malcolme kyng of Scottes was vanquished, and the realme of Scotland geuen to Malcolme his sonne by our sayd progenitor saint Edward: vnto whom the sayd Malcolme made homage and fealtie

Within xi. yeres after that Wylliam Conqueror entred this realme whereof he accompted no perfect conquest, vntill he had likewise subdued the Scottes, and therefore in the sayd yere, whiche was in the yere of oure Lorde Mlxxiii the sayd Malcolme kyng of Scottes did homage to the sayd Wylliam Conqueror, as his superior by conquest kyng of England.

Xxv. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord M xciii the sayd Malcolme did homage and fealtie to Wylliam Rufus, sonne to the sayd Wylliam Conqueror: and yet, after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise sayled of his dutie, and therefore was ordained in that estate by the sayd Wylliam Rufus, Edgare brother to the last Malcolme, & sonne to the fyist, who did his homage and fealtie accordyngly.

Seuen yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde M.C the sayd Edgar kyng of Scottes, did homage to Henry the fyrst, our progenitour.

Xxxvii yere after that Dauid kyng of Scottes did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Hery the first. Wherefore beyng after required by Stephyn, then obteignyng possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the sayd Matilde, and thervpon forbare. After whiche Dauids death, whiche ensued shortly after, the sone of the sayd Dauid made homage to the sayd kyng Stephyn

Xiiii. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of oure Lorde, M C l Wylliam kyng of Scottes, & Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the secondes sonne, with a reseruacion of their dutie to Henry the second his father

Xxv. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde, M C lxxv. Wylliam kyng of Scotland, after muche rebellhon and resistence, accordyng to their natural inclinacion, kyng Henry thes econde, than beyng in Normandy, Wyllia then kyng of Scottes knowleged finally his errour, and made his peace and composicion, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotlande, makyng therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within xv. yeres after that, which was y yere of our lord M C lxxx. the sayd Wyllia kyng of Scottes, came to our cite of Cauntorbury, & there did homage to our noble progenitour kyng Richard the fyrst.

Xiii yeres after that, thesayd Wylliam did homage to oure progenitor kyng Ihon, vpon a hyll besides Lyncolne, makyng his othe vpō the crosse of Hubert then archebishop of Cauntorbury, beyng there present a meruailous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Xxvi. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lord M.CCxi Alexander kyng of Scottes maryed Margarete, the daughter of our progenitor Henry the third, at our cite of Yorke, in the feast of Christmas at whiche tyme y sayd Alexander did his homage to our sayd piagenitor who reigned in this realme, lvi yeres. And therefore betwene the homage made by the sayd Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to y sayd kyng of Scottes, to Edward the first at his coronacion at Westminster, there was about fifty yeres at whiche tyme the sayd Alexander kyng of Scottes repayed to the sayd feast of coronacion, and there did his duetie as is aforesayd.

Within xxviii yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our lorde M.CC lxxxii. Ihon Baliol  
kyng

kyng of Scottes, made his homage and fealtie to the sayd kyng Edward the first, our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruse to vsurpe the crowne of Scotland, and to moue sedicion therefore, against them of the house of Balioll, whiche made for a season some interruption in thesayd homage. but yet no intermission without the termes of memory For within xliiii. yeare after, whiche was the yere of our lorde, M.CCCxxvi. Edward Baliol, after a great victory had in Scotlād against the other factiō, & enioying the crowne of Scotlande, made homage to our progenitour Fdwarde the thind

And xx. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde M.CCCxlii. David Bruse, who was euer in the contrary faction, did neuerthelesse in the title of the crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in possession, make homage to our sayd progenitor Edward the thind.

Within ix. yeres after this, Edward the thind, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scottes, made warre against them. where after great victories Edward Baliol hauyng the iust and right title to the realme of Scotlande, surrendred clerely thesame to our sayd progenitour at the toune of Rokysbrough in Scotlande where our sayd progenitour accepted thesame, and than caused himselfe to be crowned kyng of Scotland, and for a tyme enterteigned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on thone partie by confiscacion acquired, & on the other part by free will surrendred vnto him.

And then after the death of our sayd progenitour Edward the thind, beganne sedicions and insurreccions in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitour Richard the second, whiche was augmented by the alteration of the state of thesayd Richard, and the deuolucion of thesame, to Henry the fowerth, so as the Scottes had some leysure to play their vagues, and folowe their accustomed manier And yet Henry the v for recovery of his right in Fraunce, commaunded the kyng of Scottes to attende vpō him in that iourney. And in this tyme the realme of Scotland beyng descended to the house of the Stewardes, of whicne our Nephieu directly commeth, James Stuarde kyng of Scottes in the yere of oure Lorde M.CCCC.xliii. made homage to Henry the vi at Wyndsore, Whiche homage was distant from the tyme of the other homage made by David Bruse lx. yeres and moie, but farie within the freshe memory of man.

All whiche homages and fealties as they appeare by storie to haue been made and done at tymes and season as afore, so do there remayne instruments made thervpon and sealed with the seales of the kynges of Scotland testihyng thesame And yet doeth it appere by story, how the Scottes practised to steale out of our treasurye dyuers of these instruments, whiche neuerthelesse were after recouered againe. And to the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour the sayd instrumētes be, here is inserted the effecte in worde and sentence as they be made, whiche we do, to mete with the cauellacion and contriued evasion of the Scottes, allegyng the homage to haue been made for the Erladoine of Huntynghdon, which is as trew as the allegatiō of him that is burnt in the hande, to saye he was cut with a sikle. And therefore the tenour of the homage is this.

“ I Ihon N kyng of Scottes shall be trew and faithfull vnto you loide Edward by the grace of God kyng of England, the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie of thesame kyngdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to holde of you and I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life & lymme and worldly honour against all men, & faithfully I shall knowlege, and shal do to you seruice due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotland aforesaid, as God so helpe and these holy euangelies.”

Now for the third parte touchyng recordes and registries, wee haue them so formall, so autentiquall, so seriously handeled, and with such circumstaunces declaryng the matiers, as they be & ought to be a great corroboracion of that hath ben in stories written & reported in this matter. For amonges other thynges we haue the solempne act, and iudicial processe of ou



our progenitour Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by twelue competiteurs That is to say,

Forentinus comes Holandie.  
 Patricius de Dubar comes de Merchia.  
 Willielmus de Vesty.  
 Willielmus de Ros.  
 Robertus de Pinbeny.  
 Nicholaus de Soules.

Patritius Galightly.  
 Rogerus de Mundeville.  
 Ioannes de Comyn.  
 D. Ioannes de Hastings,  
 Ioannes de Balholo.  
 Robertus de Bruce  
 Ericus rex Norwegie.

And finally, after a great consultacion and mature deliberacion, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parties, sentence was geuen for the tide of Balliol, accordyng wher vnto he enioyed the realme. But for confirmaciō of the dutie of the homage before that tyme obserued by the kynges of Scottes, it appereth in those recordes, how when those competiteurs of the Realme of Scotlande repaired to oure saied progenitour, as to the chief lorde for discussion of the same, in as muche as the auctoritie of the iudgement to be geuen depended ther vpon: It was than ordered, that the whole parliament of Scotlande spiritually temporall and of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and cōsidering vpon what ground and foundation the Kynges of Scotlande had in tymes past made the saied homages and recognition of superioritie, the saied parliament tyndyng the same good and trew, should if thei so demed it, yeld and geue place, and by expresse consent recognise thesame. At whiche parliament was alledged vnto them, as appereth in the same recordes, not only these actes of the princes before those daies, & before rehersed: but also besides the testimonye of stories, the writynges and letters of forein princes, at that tyme recityng and rehersyng thesame: Wherevpon thesaied parliament did ther agree to this our superioritie, and ensuyng their determination did particularly and seuerally inake homage and fealwe with Proclamacion, that whosoever withdiue himselfe from doying his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebell. And so all made homage and fealwe to oure progenitour Edward the first. This Realme was in the tyme of the discussion of the title ruled by Gardians deputed by hym, al castels and holdes were surrendered to him as to the superior lord in the tyme of vacation, benefises, offices, fees, promotiōs passed in that tyme from the mere gift of our saied progenitour, as in the right of this cioune of England, Shirifes named and appointed, writtes and preceptes made, obeyed, and executed: and finally all that wee do nowe in the Duchie of Lancaster, the same dyd our progenitour for the tyme of our contencion for that title in the realme of Scotlande, by the consent of an argument of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At whiche tyme the bishopes of saint Andrewes and Glascoo wer not as thei now be arche byshopes, but recognised the archebishop of Yorke, whiche extended ouer all that countrey.

Now if the Scottes wil take exception to the homage of ther princes as made in warr and by force whiche is not true: what wil thei say or can thei for shame allege against ther awne parliament, not of some but of all confirmed and testefied by there writynges and seales: wherunto nothing enforced them, but right and reason, beyng passed in peace & quiet without armoure or compulsion. If thei say thei did it not, they speake like themselves, If thei say thei did it, then do they now like themself, to withdraw ther duetie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus apereth vnto you the begynnyng of the right of superioritie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie, certayne omission and forbearyng vpon the groundes and occasions before specified we deny not. Wherby thei haue many times sought and taken there oportunitie, to withdraw the doying of ther dutie in knowlege of our superioritie ouer them, which to auoyde, thei haue not cared what thei saied or alleged, though it wei neuer so vntrue: lyeng alwaies in a wait whan they might annoy this Realme, not without there awne great daunger, peril, & extreme detryment. But as thei detracted the  
 doying

doying of their dutie, so God euer graunted vnto this realme force to compell them therunto within memorie, notwithstanding any their interruptiō by resistance, which vnto the tyme of our progenitor Hēry the sixt neuer indured so long as it made intermission within tyme of mynd whereby the possession might seme to be enpaired, from the tyme of Henry the sixte vnto the seuenth yere of oure reigne, oure Realme hath bene for a season lacerate and torne by diuersitie of titles tyll oure tyme and sithence by war outwardly vexed & troubled: The storye is so lamentable for some parte therof, as were tedious to rehearse.

Sythen the death of our progenitor, Henry the. vi. our Graundfather Edward the. iiii. reigned, who after great traueyls to attayne quietnes in his Realme, finally in the tyme of preparacion of warr against Scotland, dyed.

Rycharde the. iiii. then vsurped for a small tyme in yeres, whom the Kyng our father by the strength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battayll, and most iustly attained the possession of this Realme, who neuerthelesse after the great tempestuous stormes, syndynge all matters not yet brought to a perfecte quyet and rest, ceased and forbore to requyre of the Scottes to do their duty, thynkyng it policy rather for that tyme to assay to tame their nature by the pleasaunt coniunction & conuersation of affinitie, then to charge them with their faulke, and requyre dutye of them, when opportunitie serued not, by force and feare to constrayne & compell them.

And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father, without demaunde of this homage And beyng our reigae nowe. xxxiiii. yeres, we were. xxi. yeres letted by our Nephieu his minoritye, being then more careful how to bryng him out of daūger, to the place of a king, then to receiue of him homage when he had full possession of the same Wherefore beyng now passed sithens the last homage made by the king of Scottes to our progenitor Henry the. vi. C. xxii. yere, at which tyme the homage was done at Wyndesore by Iames Stuard, then kyng of Scottes, as afore, lvi of these yeres the crowne of this Realme was in contention, the trouble wherof engendried also some busynesse in the tyme of the kyng our father, which was xxiiii. yere: And in our tyme. xxi. yere hath passed in the minoritye of our Nephieu So as finally the Scottes resortynge to their only defence of discontinuance of possession, can only alledge iustly but xiii yere of sylence in the tyme of our reygne beyng all the other tymes sythens the homage done by Iames Steward, suche as the sylence in them had ther ben neuer so long, could not haue engendred preiudice to the losse of any ryght, that may yet be declared & proued due For what can be imputed to Kyng Edward for not demaunding homage beyng in stryfe for that estate, wherunto the homage was due: What should Rychard the. iiii. serch for homage in Scotland that had neither ryght ne leasure to haue homage done vnto hym in Englande: Who can blame our father, knowyng the Scottes nature, neuer to do then dutie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, which they woulde excheue if they might, beyng his Realme not clerely then purged from yll seede of sediciō, sparkled & scattered in the ciuell ciuile warres before.

Lawe and reason sciueith, that the passyng ouer of tyme not commodious y the purpose, is not alleageable in prescriptiō for the losse of any ryght. And the minoritye of the kyng of Scottes hath endured. xxi. yeres of our reigne, whiche beyng an impediment on their parte, the whole prescription of the Scottes, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced evidently to. xiii yere, which. xiii yere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demaunde our dutie, lyke as the Scottes haue lykenyse ceased to offer and tender the same. For which cause neuerthelesse we doo not enter this waire, ne mynded to demaunde anye suche matter, nowe beyng rather desirous to reioyce and take comfort in the frendship of our Nephieu, as our neybour, then to moue matter vnto hym of displeasure, whereby to alienate suche naturall inclinacion of loue, as he should haue toward vs But such be the workes of God, superior ouer all, so suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superioritie maye be knowen, demaunded and requyred, to the entent that accordyng therunto all thynges gouerned in due ordre here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this lyfe



to his honor & glorie which he graunt vs to doo, in suche rest, peace and tranquillitie, as shalbe mete and conuenient for vs.

When the Kyng had setfurth the Declaracion of the cause of his war as is aboue mentioned Then sent he furth the duke of Norffolke Lieutenaunt generall, accompanied with the Eyles of Shrewsbury, Darby, Comberland, Surrey, Hertford, Anguyshe, Rutland, and the Lordes of the North parties, and syr Anthony Browne Master of the Kynges horsse, syr Ihon Gage Comptroller of the Kynges house, and xx. M. men well appoynted, whych entered Scotland the xxi. day of October, and taryed there, viii. dayes without battell, and brent the townes of Paxton, Ramrige, Styne, Gradyne, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, Skytshell, Newthorne, Smellem Spytte, the two Merdens, Slederyke, and the two Broxlawes, Florys and the Fayre Crofte, Ednem Spytte, Roxborough, Kelsey & the Abbey, Lang Spronstow, Ryden, and Hadenston. And whyle the Duke was at Farneton in Scotlande the. iiii. day, there came to speke with him half a myle from the Hoste, from the kyng of Scottes, the Bisshop of Orkeney and Iames Leiremouth Maister of the houshold, to entreate peace, but they agreed not. And the Armye laye so long in Scotlande, as they might for hongre & colde without anye countynance of harine, and so for necessitye returned to Barwycke And all this iourney the Standarde of the Erle of Hampton which dyed at New Castell, was borne in the forwarde, because he was appoynted Capitayne of the same.

The kyng of Scottes hearyng that the Army was returned, leysed an army of. xv. thousand chosen men of all partes of his Realme vnder the gudyng of the Lorde Maxwell Wardeyn of his west Marches, bostyng to tary as long in England as the Duke dyd in Scotlād. And so on Fridai heying s. Katheryns euen, they passed ouer the water of Eske & brent certayne houses of the Greues on the very border. Thomas bastard Dacres with Iacke of Musgraue set word to sir Thomas wharton Wardein for the kyng on the west Marches, to come on to succour them: but the sayd n. valiaūt Captayns, although the Scottes entered fierly, yet they manfully and coragiously set on them, with an. C. light horsse, and left a stale on the side of a hill where withall the Scottes wei wonderfully dismaide, either thynkyng that the duke of Norffolke, had been come to the west Marches, with his great army. or els they thought that some greater aemie came, when they espied sir Thomas Wharton, comyng with. iiii. C. men onely. But at that tyme so God ordeined it to be, that they at the first blont fled, and thenglishemen folowed, and there were taken prisoners theles of Casselles, and Glancaine, the lorde Maxwell, Admirall and Wardein, the lorde Flemmyng, the lorde Somerwell, the lorde Oliphaht, the lorde Gray, sir Oliuer Senclere, the kynges miniō, Ihon Rosse lorde of Oragy, Robert Eskyn sonne to the lord Eskyn, Carre Larde of Gredon, the Lorde Maxwelles twoo brethren, Ihon Lesly Bastard to the Erle of Rothus, and twoo hundred gentlewoman more, and aboue eight hundred common people, in somuche that some one man, yea, and women had three or foure prisoners. They toke also twentie and foure gonnes foure cartes with speares and ten pauliōs. This was only the handstroke of God, for the Cardinal of Scotlande promised them heauen, for destruccion of Englande

The kyng of Scottes tooke a great thought, for this discomfiture, and also because that an Englishe Herauld called Somerset was slain at Dunbarre, whiche thynges together he tooke so vnpatiently that he died in a Frenesy. Although many reported that the kyng hymself was at this bickeryng, and there receiued his deathes wounde and fled therewith into Scotlande. But howsoeuer it was, true it is as is aforesaid he died, and the Queene his wife was deliuered of a daughter, on our lady Euen before Christmas, called Mary Of the prisoners aforesaid twentie and foure of the chief of them, were brought vp to the Tower of London, and there were twoo daies And on sainte Thomas daie the Apostle before Christmas, they were solelymply conueighed through London to Westminster, where the Kynges counsaill sat, and there the Lorde Chauncellor, declared to them their vntrute, vnkyndenes, and false dissimulation, declaring farther how the kyng had cause of warre against them, bothe for the denyng of their hoimages, and also for their traiterous inuasions without defiaunce, and also for keepyng his subiectes prisoners without redempcion, contrary to the olde Lawes of

The V<sup>o</sup> clo-  
rie at the  
Water of  
Eske

The death  
of the Scot-  
tish Kyng

the Marches, for whiche doynge, God as they might perceiue had skouged them. Howbeit the kyng more regardyng his honor, then his princely power, was content to shewe to them kyndenes, for vnkyndenes, and right for wrong. And although he might haue kept them in straite prison, by iuste lawe of Armes, yet he was content that thei shoud haue libertie, to bee with the nobles of his Realme, in their houses. And so accordyng to their estates, thei wer appoynted to Dukes, Erles, Bishoppes, Knightes, and other Gentlemen, whiche so enterteigned them, that thei confessed themselves, neuer to bee better enterteigned, nor to haue had greater chere

But after their newe gladnes, tidynge came to them, of the death of their Kyng, whiche thei sore lamented, and hearyng that he had lefte an onely daughter his heire, thei wished her in Englande, to bee married to the Prince the kynges sonne. The kyng and his Counsaill, perceiuyng the ouerture now to bee made, whiche waie without waie these two realnes might bee brought into one, sent for all the prisoners fewe lackyng, to his Manor of Hapton Court, on saint Stephens daie, where thei wei so well enterteigned, bothe of the kyng and his nobles, that thei saied, thei neuer sawe kyng but hyin, and saied that God was better serued here, then in their country. howbeit thei Kirkmen preached, that in Englande was neither Masse, nor any seruice of God. And thei promised the kyng to doo all that in them laie with their frendes to performe asmuche as he requered. Whereupon not without greates rewardes, thei departed towarde Scotlande, on Newe Yeres daie, and by the waie thei sawe the Prince, and came to Newe Castle to the Duke of Suffolke, who vpon hostages deliuered them, and so thei entered Scotland and wei well and gladly welcomed

Likewise therle of Angus, which was banished Scotlande, and had of the kynges Fee, yerely a thousande marke, and sir George Douglas his brother had fife hundred marke. These wer accepted into Scotlād, and restored by the last kynges will and therle of Angus and diuerse of the Lordes that were prisoners, were made of the priue counsaill of the realme, by the Erle of Arrain, Gouvernour of the young Quene, and the realme, as next heire apparaunt. notwithstanding that the Archebishop of Sanct Androwes and Cardinall, enemye mortall to the Kyng and realme of Englande for the Bisshoppe of Romes auctoritie (and partly set on by the Fienche kyng for the same cause) had forged a will, that the kyng had made hym Gouvernour, associate with twoo Erles of his affinite, bothe of the Realme, and of the young Quene, contrary to the Lawes of Scotlande. Whereupon the saied Erle of Arrain, accordyng to his right, with the helpe of his fiendes, tooke vpon hym the rule of Gouvernour, and put the saied false Cardinal in prison, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes and other prisoners, by their bandes, accordyng to the custom of the Marches. And so in Marche next folowyng, the Scottes beganne their Parliament.

All this yere there was neither perfitte peace, nor open warie, betwene Englande and Fraunce, but Shippes were taken on bothe sides, and Merchantes robbed. And at the laste the Merchantes goodes on bothe parties were seized, and likewise the Ambassadors of bothe Realmes were staid. howbeit shortly after the Ambassadors wei deliuered, but yet the Merchautes wer robbed, and no warre proclaimed

In the ende of this yere, came from the Gouvernour of Scotlande as Ambassadors sir William Hambleton, James Leyrenouth, and the Secetary of Scotland, whose message was so meanelly liked that thei were faine to sende an Herauld into Scotlande, for other Ambassadors, and so hether came the erle of Glancarn, and sir George Douglass and whatsoever their answee was, sir George returned in Poste and within twentie daies, came again with an honest answee, but that honestie endured a small tyne

## ¶ THE XXXV YERE

IN the beginnyng of this yere on Trinitie Sondaie, was a newe League sworne, betwene the Kyng and the Emperour, at Hampton Courte, to bee frendes to their frendes, and enemies to their enemies



The thirde daie of Iune came to the Courte, from the Realme of Irelande, the Lorde Obryn, the Lorde Macke Willyam Brough, the Lorde Macke Gilpatricke And in Iuly the saied Obryn was created Erle of Townon, and Lorde Macke Willyam, was created Erle of Claunikard, and sir Dunon Obryn was made Baron of Ebranky, and so with rewades they tooke their leaue, and returned. Also the same Monethe, the Scottishe Ambassadors returned with greate rewardes.

Lauderney.

At this season the kyng and the Emperoure, sent Garter and Toyson Kynge at Armes, to demaunde certaine thynges of the Frenche Kyng whiche if he did deny then to desie hym, but he would not suffer them to come within his lande, and so they returned. Whereupon the saied demaundes, were shewed to the Ambassadeure at Westminster. And in Iuly the Kyng sent ouer sixe thousande tall menne, whereof was Capitain generall, sir Ihon Wallop, and sir Thomas Seymour Marshall, and Sir Richarde Cromwell Capitain of the hoarse menne, whiche assaulted a Toune called Laudersey, vnto the whiche assaulte came the Emperoure in proper person. And shortly after came doune the Frenche Kyng in proper person, with a greate armie, and offered the Emperoure battail, by reason whereof the siege was reysed, and straight the Frenchemenne victayled the Toune, whiche was the onely cause of their commyng. For the nexte daie, the Emperoure beeyng ready, at the houre appoynted to geue battail, and the Frenchemenne made greate shewe, as though they would haue come forwarde, but they daied of all that Daie, and in the Night they ranne a waie, and trusted some to their Horsses, and some to their legges like tall felowes

Four persons condemned.

Anthony Person 1.

In this yere, the Kyng maryed Ladye Katherin par wydow, late wyfe to the Lorde Latymer, at Hampton Court. In this Monethe were Indited, arraigned and condemned at new Wynsore, foure menne that is to saie, Anthony Persone Prieste, Robert Testwood a Syngyng manne, Henry Filmer a Taylor, and Ihon Marbeck a Syngyng manne. All these menne were at one tyme, as is aforesaid, arraigned and condemned of Heresie, by force of the sixe Articles. The Heresies, that they were condemned for these as they are alleged in their Inditementes. Firste, that Anthony Persone should Preache twoo yere before he was arraigned, in a place called Wynkefelde, and there should saie. That like as Christe was hanged betwene two Thefes, euen so when the Prieste is at Masse, and hath consecrated, and listeth hym vp ouer his hedde, then he hangeth betwene twoo Thefes, excepte he Preache the woorde of God truly, as he hath taken vpon hym to do.

2.

Also that he saied to the people in the Pulpit, ye shall not eate the body of Christe, as he did hang vpon the Crosse, gnawyng it with youre teethe, that the bloud runne about your lippes, but you shall eate it this daie, as ye eate it tomorow, the next daie and euery daie, for it refresheth not the body, but the spinte.

3.

Also after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the woorde of God, saied as foloweth. This is the woorde, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ.

4.

Also, he saied that Christe sitting with his disciples, tooke bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples sayyng This is my fleshe, take it and eate it and like wise tooke the Wyne and blessed it, and gaue to his Disciples sayyng, take it and drynke it. This is my bloudd: what is this to vs, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people.

Henry Filmer.

Item, Henry Filmer the Taylour arraigned of this Article, that he should saie. That the sacrament of the Aultare is nothyng but a similitude and a Ceremony. And also if God be in the Sacrament of the aultare, I haue eaten twentie Goddes in my life

Robert Testwood.

Robert Testwoode arraigned of this Article, that he should saie in the tyme that the Prieste was lifyng vp the Sacrament, what, wylte thou lifye hym vp so high, what yet higher, take hede, let hym not fall.

Ihon Marbeck.

Ihon Marbecke arraigned, for that he had with his awne hande, gathered out of diuerse mennes witynges, certain thynges that were expiesly against bothe the Masse, and the Sacrament of the Aultar.

These foure persones, were arraigned, condemned, and burned for the articles aboue saied, except Ihou Marbecke, whose honestie and innocencie, purchased hym the Kynges Pardon, the other thre were burned at Wyncore aforesaid.

Beside these menne, were a greate number of Gentle menne, aswell of the kynges priuie Chamber, as other indited, by the procurement of one Doctor London, a Prebendary of Wynsoie, and one Wylliam Symones a Vaunt Pailer: whiche Gentlemenne made suite to the Kynges Maiestie, declaryng in what case they stode. Whereupon Doctor London was examined, and so was the saied Symones, whiche vpon their Othe of alleageaunce, denied their Trayterous purposes, as after it was proued to their faces. Wherefore they were adiudged as Periured persones, to weare Papers in Wyncore, and so thei did, and were after committed to the Flete, where the saied Doctour London died. And here haue I an occasion, because of doctor Londons periury, to tell you howe he was also the occasyon that another commytted wylfull periury. The matter was that a certayne robbery was commytted in Oxfordina Colledge whereof the sayd Doctor London was Master. and certain plate by one of the said Colledge was taken away & brought to London to sell, and it was solde to a Goldsmyth in London named Willyam Calaway. This Goldsmyth had before bought muche plate of the partye (which now solde the sayde stollen plate) beyng a man of credyte, and therefore suspected nothyng. But this matter was so folowed, that the partye that stole it was taken, and so was dyuers accessaries. At the last, Doctor London knowing to whom it was solde, and that the Goldsmyth was a man of the Newe Learnynge (as they called hym) swaie a great othe that he would hang hym or elles it shoulde coste hym fyue hundredth pounce: wherevpon he caused also the sayde Goldsmyth to be attached as accessarye, and arreigned hym at the Sessyons holden at Newgate in London where it was alleged that they ought not by the lawe to enquire of the accessarye before the principall and there for the dispatche of the sayde Goldsmyth it was alleged that the principall was hanged, whiche was nothyng so, for he was set at his libertye and lyueth styll. But to be shorte, the Goldsmyth (which vndoubtedly is a known, tryed and proued honest man and euer was of honest name and fame) was founde gylyte, and no remedy but he must declare what he coulde say why he should not dye accordyng to the law he playd to haue his booke whiche was answered that he coulde not haue it, for he was Bigamus. And now cometh the Periury that I promised to tell you of. His wyfe, which of all persōs that knoweth her, is certainly known to be an honest woman, and frō he byrth hathe euer ben of as muche honesty as any woman maye be. And this woman had had two husbands before, which also were honest men, and she had children by them, and therefore was it alleged against this Goldsmyth that he was Bigamus. This good woman perceuyng that her former mariages shoulde shorten her husbands dayes, came into the open Courte before the Iudges and affirmed by her othe contrary to the truth, that she was neuer married to mo men then to the sayde Goldsmyth, althoughe she had chyl-dren by her other husbands and contynued dyuers yerres with them, yet she swaie she was Whole to them bothe and not married. And so by defamynge of her selfe, to her great playse, she deliuered her innocent husband.

In this yeare was in London a great death of the Pestilence, and therefore Myghelmas Tearme was adiourned to Saynct Albons, and there was kepte to the ende.

In the weke of Christmas, came to the Kyng to Hampton Courte Ferdinando de Gonzaga Viceroy of Cicile Prince of Malfeta Duke of Iuano, Capitayne generall of the chyualye and Army of the Emperour Charles, whyche came to the Kyng to appoynte what tyme the Army and the Emperour shoulde be readye to invade Fraunce, and the appoyntment taken he departed, & had for his reward a C. liii. ounces in golden plate, & iii. M. iii. oz. iii. gylt plate, which al was very curiously wrought. And all the tyme that he lay here, he lay at the Kynges cost.

The sonday before Christmas was Lorde Willyam Parre, brother to the Quene, which had married the Daughter & heyre of Lord Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, at Hampton Courte, created Erle of Essex. And syr Willyam Parre Knyght vncle to them bothe, was made



Lord Par of Hooton & chaumberleyne to the Queene. And on Newyeres day was Syr Thomas Wriothesley the Kynges Secretary made Lorde Wriothesley of Tychefelde.

Also this yere was open warre proclaimed with Fraunce, and lycence geuen to the Kynges subiectes to seaze vpon the Frenchemen and their goodes as in lyke cases befoie had ben accustomed.

### THE XXXVI. YERE.

THIS YERE the Kyng sent a gret army into Scotlande by sea, and he made the Erle of Hertford Lieutenaunt Generall of the same. And the Vicount Lisle hygh Admirall, whiche valyaunt Capitaynes so sped them that the thyrday of Maie the Lorde Admirall arryued with all his fletee which was two hundreth sayle in the Fryth, where he landed dyuers of his men and there tooke dyuers vesselles whiche after dyd hyghe seruyce. And shortly they approched vnto the towne of Lyth where they landed their men and marched forwarde, in three great batteyles, wherof my Lorde Admyrall led the vawarde, the Erle of Shrewesbury the arrerewarde, and the noble Earle of Hertforde heyng Lieutenaunt, the battayle: Where they founde the Scottes assembled to the nombre of syxe thousande horsemen beside footemen to stop the passage of the army. And at the fyrst the Scottes made towarde the Englyshmen as though they would haue set on the vaward, but when they perceiued the Englyshmen so wyllynge to encountre with theym, namely the Cardinall who was there present, which perceyued the deuocion the Englyshmen had to see his holynesse, after certayne shot on bothe sydes, they made a sodayne retreat, and leauyng their artillary behynde them fled towarde Edenborough. The fyrst man that fled was the Cardinall lyke a valyaunt Champion, and with hym the Gouvernour, the Erle of Huntley, Muriey and Bothwell, with manye other great men of the Realme. And shortly after the Englishmen mauer al the Scottes might do, entered the towne of Lith wher that night the army encamped them, & there they found such riches as they thought not to haue founde in any towne of Scotland.

Lyth taken.

The next day the Armie went towards Edenborough towne, and whē they approched nere, the prouost of the towne accōpanied with one or two Burgesses, and two or thre officers at armes desired to speake with the kynges luetenaunt, and in the name of al the towne saied, that the keyes of the towne shoulde be deliuered vnto his lordship condicionally, that they might go with bag & baggage & the towne to be saued from fire. Wherunto aunswer was made by the said lorde lieutenaunte, that wher as the Scottes had so manifestly broken there promises confirmed by othes and Seales and certefied by the whole parliament as is euidently knownen to the whole worlde, he was sent thether by the kynges highnes to take vengeance of there detestable falshed, to declare and shewe the force of his highnes sworde to all suche as shoulde make any resistance vnto his graces power sent thether for that purpose: And therefore he tolde them resolutely that onlesse they woulde yelde vp the towne franckly without condicion, and cause man, woman and chylde, to issue into the felde, submittyng them to his will and pleasure, he would put them to the sword and ther towne to the fire. The prouost answered that it wei better for them to stād to their defēce. Whereupon cōmaundement was geuen to the said prouost and officers at armes vpon there perill to depart. And forth with the lord lieutenaunt sent to the vaward that they shoulde marche towardes the towne whiche courageously set forwarde, and the English gonners manfully set on the gates, specially sir Christopher Morice, that they did beat the Skottes from there ordinaunce, and so entered the gate called Cany gate by fine force, and ther slew a great nombre of the Skottes and finally it was determined by the said lorde lieutenaunt vterly to ruinate and destroy the said towne with fire, which thynge immediately was attempted, but because night was come, the armie withdrew to their campe, and the a fresh the next day set hie where none was before, which continued that day & two dayes after burnyng. And shortly after came vnto this Army by land foure thousande light horsmen sent by the kyng, whiche after they were come, the army forsoke there shippes and sent them home laden with spoyle and goneshot whiche they founde there, and dislodged their camp

Edenborough burnt.

camp out of the toue of Lith, and set fire in euery house, and brent it to the ground: and so returned home by land, through all the mayn contry of Scotlande, burnyng and destroyng euery pile, fortresse and village that was in their walke, and so with great honour to the great reioysyng aswel of the kynges maiestie as of all his faithfull and louyng subiectes, they returned a gayn into Englād with the losse skaut of fortie persones. and because their great exployt may be better knowen, here shal folowe the names of the chief borowghes, castelles and townes brent and desolated by this royall armie

The borowgh and toune of Edēborowgh with the Abbey called holy roode house, and the kynges palace adioynyng to the same

The Abbey of newe botle. parte of Muskleborowgh toune, with the chappell of our lady of Lawret.

Hadingtō toune with the Friers and Nonry Laurestō with y grauge.

The toune of Lith brent, and the hauen and pier destroyed

The Castell & village of Cragmiller. Preston toune and the Castell. A Castell of Oliuer Sancklers, The toune of Dumbarre

Drilawe.	Chester Felles	Crawnend.
Broughton	Stauhouse.	The Ficket.
Dudistone	Trauent.	Shenstone.
Beuerton	Trapren	Kirkland hill
Markle	Belton.	East Barnes.
Hatherwike.	Butteiden.	Quickwood.
Bowland.	Raunto.	Bildy and the tower.
Blackborne	Enderleigh the pile &	
Wester Crag.	toune.	

Also townes & vilages brent vpon the sea by the English flete, which I cannot name the halfe

Kynkone.

S. Minetes.

The quenes Fery.

parte of petynewaynes. The brient Islād, with many other whose names I could not come by.

In this yere also the kynges maiestie prepared two great armies to Fraunce, the one was conducted and led by the duke of Norffolke and the gentle lorde Russell lorde preuy seale, which encamped at Muttrell and beseged the toune, where they lay a long tyme, and left the toune as they found yt: The other army was led by the valiante duke of Suffolke which was the kynges liutenant of that armie, and beyng accompanied with the lorde chambreleyn, the Erle of Arondell Marshall of the felde, and sir Ihon Gage comptrollor of the kynges house, and sir Anthony Browne master of the kynges horsse, with diuerse and many other capitaynes: the ninetene day of Iuly encamped before Bulleyn on the Est syde of the same vpon the hill, where after many sharpe skyrmyshes they gayned first the oldman, & shortly after basse Boleyn.

Boleyn beseged

The fourtene day of Iuly the kynges maiestie in his royall persone passed the ses from Douer to Calis, and the six and twentie day encamped him selfe before Bolleyn, on the north syde within lesse then halfe a myle of the toune where his grace remayned tyll the toune was surrendered vnto his maiestie the which toune he so sore assauted & so beseged with suche aboundance of greate ordinaunce that neuer was there a more vahaūter assaute made, for besyde the vndermyning of the castel, tower and walles, the toune was so beaten with the ordinaunce that there was not left one house whole theren. & so sore was lated to the charge of the Frēchmen that after the kyng had assauted them by the space of a moneth, they sent furth of the toune to the kyng two of their chief captaynes, called Mounsire Semblemound, & Mounsire de Haies, whiche declared that the chief capitayne of the toune with his retinew was contēted to delyuer the toune vnto his grace, so that they might passe with the



with bag and baggage, which request the kynges maiestie, mercifully graūted theim. And so on the next day, the duke of Suffolke rode into Bulleyn, to whō in the kynges name, they deluered the keyes of the toune. And at after none departed out of Bulleyn al the Frenchmen. The nōber of the men of warre, that wer strong and galaunt, that came out of the toune, were of horsemen, lxvii. of footmen. xv. C. lxxiii. of Gonners viii. C. of hurte menne lxxxvii. of women and chyl dren. xix. C. xxvii. So there was in al that came oute of the toune, foure thousand, foure hundred, fiftie and foure, beside a great number of aged, sicke and hurt persones, that was not able to go furth of the toune. The last person y came furth, was Monsire de Veuine, grand capitaine of the Toune, which when he approached nere the place, wher the king stode, he alighted from his horse, and came to the king. And after he had talked with hym a space, the kyng toke him by the hand, and he reuerently kneeling vpon his knees, kyssed his hande, and afterwarde mounted vpon hys horse and so departed.

The kynges  
entrance  
into Bulleyn

The xviii. day, the kinges highnes hauyng the sworde borne naked before him, by the Lorde Marques Dorset, like a noble and valyaunt conqueror rode into Bulleyn, and the Trompetters standing on the walles of the toune, sounded their Trompettes, at the time of his entring, to the great comfort of al the kynges true subiectes, thesame beholdyng. And in the enteryng there met him the duke of Suffolk, and deluered vnto him the keyes of the toune, and so he roade toward his lodgyng, which was prepared for him, on the South side of the toune. And within two dayes after, the kyng rode about al the toune, within the walles, and then commaunded that our Lady Church of Bulleyn, should be defaced and plucked doune, where he appoynted a Moūt to be made, for the greate force and strength of the toune.

When the kyng had set all thinges ther in suche ordre, as to hys wiadom was thought best, he returned into England, to the great reioysynge of al hys louyng subiectes.

In the meane ceason, that the kyng laye before Bulleyn, & was like to haue cōquered thesame, as at the last he did, as before you haue hard the Emperour toke a peace with the French kyng, to the no litle grefe and displeasure of the kinges maiestie, and that was the cause that the kyng so sodainly brake vp his army, aswel at Bulleyn as also at Muttrell.

Shortly after besyde diuerse and many sharpe skirmishes, made by the Frenchmen at Bulleyn, aswel by the Dolphyn with a great power which in the night season, stale vpon Base Bulleyn, taking ther a great sort of sicke persones, and women in their beddes, whō without mercy they slew. How beit so māfully the Englyshmen, which esaped out of Base Bulleyn, behaued themselves, gettyng weapons out of the hygh toune, that they bet the Frenchmen agayn out of y Base toune, and after wyth the helpe of the high toune, they slewe a great nōber of them, and so agayn possessed quietly, thesayde Base toune. Besyde I say this skumishc and many mo, Monsire de Bees came with xv. M. men, and encamped ryght agaynst the toune, on the other side of the water entēdyng there to haue buylded a Forte. But the fourth daye of Febiuary, he was set vpon his owne campe, by the moste valaunt and fortunate Erle of Hertford and Lord Lisle, the Lord Gray and other at whose comming thesayde Monsire de Bees, wyth al his puyssaunce fled, leauynge behinde them al their ordinaunce, Tentcs and plate.

## ¶ THE. XXXVII. YERE.

The vii. day of Iune, a great armye of Frenchemen, came nere to the hauen of Bulleyn, and skirmished wyth the englysbemen to the no great gayne of the Frenchmen. but this army which was accōpted to the number of xx. M. ther encamped & begā again to buyld a Fort, which before they departed, accōplished thesame.

In Iune the lord Lisle Admirall of Englande, wyth the englyshe flete entered the mouthe of the riuer of Sain, and came before Newehauen, where the great army of Fraunce laye,  
which

which were. CC. sayl of shippes and. xxvi. Galies of Force, wherof the bishop of Rome had sent xx. wel furnished wyth men and money, to ayde the French king Thenglyshemen beyng but an. C lx. sayle, & all great shyppes, did not determine to set on the whole nauie, but shot certayn peces of ordinaunce at them, whiche caused the Galies to come aboarde, and shot at the Englyshmen whiche Galies had greate aduantage, by reason of the calme wether twyse eche part assauted other with ordinaunce, but sodainly the wynd rose so greate, that the Galies could not indure the rage of the seas and thenglyshmen were compelled to entre the main seas, for feare of flattes and so sayled vnto Portesmouth, where the kyng then laye, for he had knowelage by his espyalles, that the French army, entended to lande in þy Isle of Wyght, wherfore he repaired to þy cost, to se his realm defended.

After the departyng of thenglyshe nauy, from Newhauen, the Admyrall of Fraunce, called the Lorde Dombalt, a man of greate experyence, halsed vp hys sayles, and with hys whole nauie, came to the point of the Isle of Wyght, called. S Helenes poynt, and there in good ordre cast their Ankers, and sent xvi. Galies dayly, to the very hauen of Portesmouth. Thenglyshe nauye lyng in the hauen, made them prest and set out towards thē, and styl the one shot at the other. But one day aboue all other, the whole nauie of the Englishmen made out, and purposed to set on the Frenchmen: but in their setting forward, a goodly ship of Englande called the Mary Rose, was by to much folly, drowned in the midst of the hauen, for she was laden wyth much ordinaunce, and the portes left open, which were very lowe, and the great ordinaunce, vnbreched, so that when the ship should turne, the water entred, and sodainly she sanke. In her was sir George Carewe knight, Captain of thesaid shyppe, and foure hundreth men, and much ordinaunce.

At the same tyne certayn of the French menne, landed in the Isle of Wyght, where their capitayne was slayne and many othei, and were to their great losse and payn, driuen again to their Galies.

The kyng perceuyng the great nauie of the Frenchmen to approach sent letters for men into Hampshire, Somerseshire, Wilshire, and dyuerse other places adioyning which repaired to his presence in greate numbers, welfurnished wyth armure and victayl, and all thynges necessary, so that the Isle was garnished, and all the Frontiers on the sea coast, furnished wyth men in great number.

The French capitaines hauing knowlege, by certain Fysher menne which they toke, that the kyng was present, and also of the great power that he had in readines, they disancred and sayled along the coastes of Sussex, and a smal number of them landed in Sussex, whiche neuer returned to their shyppes, for they were taken vp by the waye.

Whē they had searched al þy coastes, & saw men euer redy to receiue them, thei turned the sterne and returned hoine again, without any act worthy to be wrytten, done or enterprysed. sauing þy in this mean tyne their newe Fort against Bullein, was strongly furnished and fynyshe

The nōber of the Frenchmen, as diuerse prisoners that wer takē in the isle of Wyght, & in Sussex did report, wer lx.M And at this tyme the French kyng wrote to the Emperor, and declared to him, that hys army had gotten the isle of Wight, the Portes of Hampton and Portesmouth, & diuerse othei places, which wrytyng was as true, as þy French kyng hath in al his leagues & promyses, bene to the kynge of Englande.

In August folowyng, the noble eile of Hertford entered into Scotland, wyth xii. M. men, and destroyed all the townes in the nidle Marches, and passed to the West marches, to the great detrimēt and losse of Scotlande, and destroyed Coldingham Abbey. & yet the Frenchmen and Scottes, whiche lay at Kelsey, durst not once encountre w hym.

In thys moneth died Charles, the noble and valiaunt duke of Suffolke a hardye gentleman, and yet not so hardy, as almoste of all estates and degrees of menne hygh and lowe, rych and poore, hartely beloued and hys death of them muche laniented, he was buried at Wyndsore.

The death  
of charles  
duke of  
Suffolke.



The. xxiii. day of Nouember, a Parliament began at Westmynster by authoritie whereof, was graunted to the kyng a Subsedey, of .i. s. viii d of the pound, of moueable goodes, and. iii. s the pounde in lande to be paied in two yere And all Colleges, Chaunteries, and Hospitalles wer committed to the kynges ordre, duryng hys life, to alter & trāspose, whych hys grace at the Prorogacion of the Parliament, promised to do to the glory of God, and the common profite of the realme

A litle before this tyme, the noble and valiaunt lord Lisle, lord Admiral landed in Normandy, and brent the subbarbes of Treiport, and diuerse villages alonge the sea cost, and destroyed and toke almooste all the shyppes in the hauen, which was a ryche and a goodly pray, and so returned wythout any dammage.

The French kyng soie moued wyth these doynges, sent Mōsire de Bees with. xii M. men, which entered into thenglish pale, beside Giauelyn, and brent Marke and diuerse smal villages, and then returned.

Euer in maner wer skirmishes & Alarmes betwene high Bullein & the new bulded fortresse, but the losse ran euer on the Frenchmēs side.

This wynter was meanes made by thēperor, that certain Ambassadors of England & Fraunce might mete, to cōmon of a peace, wherevpon the king of Englād sent to Guisnes, Cutbert bishop of Duresme sir William Paget his secretaiy, & doctor Tregonel And the French kyng sent to Arde a bishop, the chief President of Roan, and a Notary, but no conclusion came to effect Wherefore the kyng hauynge perfyte knowlege, how the Frenchmen intended to buyld a new fortresse on s Ithones rode, betwene Bullein and Calice whiche thing had not onely sore distrussed Calice, but daily had put Bullein in trouble. Wherefore he meaning to preuent so great a mischief, sent ouer the noble Earle of Hertford, and the valiaunt lord Lisle Admual, and many valiaunt capitaines with vii M good souldiers, which gat the rode but ii daies before the Frenchmen appointed to haue bene ther, & in that place encāped thēselfes Monsire de Bees leader & conductor, of all the French affaires, encāped himself beside Hardeelow, & durst not once come furth to set on our men, notwithstandinge his former preparacion & deuyce.

These thinges thus hangyng, many great skirmishes were daylye betwene the Bullenoyes, and the French Bastiliō. & one day thone part lost, & the other gayned, & likewise the losers regained. but in one skirmishe wer lost xvi Englysh gentlemen, and lxxx other, although ther were slayhe three rascal Frenchmen, and in this skirmish was slain, sir George Pollard And in a like iorney was slayn sir Raufe Eldekarre Captain of the light horsemen, wyth a fewe other Englyshemen, but yet a great multitude of the Frenchmen, at that time lay on the grouūd

The xxiiii day of December, the kinges maiestie came into the parliament house, to geue his royal assent, to suche actes as there had passed, where was made vnto him by the Speaker, an eloquent oratiō, to the which it hath euer ben accustomed, that the lord Chauncellor made answer, but at this time it was the kynges pleasure, that it should be otherwyse, for the kyng himself made him answer, as foloweth worde for worde, as nere as I was able to report it.

Kyng Henry the VIII  
answers to  
the speaker  
of y<sup>e</sup> Par-  
liament.

2 "Although my Chauncelor for the time beyng, hath before this time vsed, very eloquently and substantially, to make answer to suche oracions, as hath bene set furth in this high court of Parliamente, yet is he not so able to open and set furth my mynd and meanyng, and the secretes of my hart, in so plain and ample maner, as I my selfe am and cā do: wherefore I taking vpon me, to answer your eloquent oracion maister Speaker, say, that wher you, in the name of our welbeloued commons hath both playeed & extolled me, for y<sup>e</sup> notable qualities, that you haue conceiued to be in me, I most hartely thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembrance of my dutye, whiche is to endeuor my self to obtain and get suche excellent qualities, and necessary vertues, as a Prince or gouernoi, should or ought to haue, of which giftes I recognise myself, pothe bare and barrein but of suche small qualities, as God hath endued me withal, I rendre to his goodnes my most humble thākes,

entending with all my witte and diligence, to get and acquire to me suche notable vertues, and princely qualities, as you haue alleged to be incorporate in my persone. These thanks for your louyng admonicion and good counsaill firste remembred, I elsowes thanke you again, because that you considering our greate charges (not for our pleasure, but for your defence, not for our gain, but to our great cost) whiche we haue lately sustained, aswell in defence of oue and your enennes, as for the conquest of that fortresse, which was to this realme, moste displeasaut and noysome, & shalbe by Goddes grace hercafter, to our nation moste profitable and pleasaunt, haue frely of youre awne mynde, graunted to vs a certain subtedy, here in an act specified, whiche verely we take in good part, regarding more your kindnes, then the profite thereof, as he that setteth more by your louyng hartes, then by your substaunce. Beside this hartie kindnes, I cannot a litle reioyse whē I consider, the perfite trust and sure cōfidence, whiche you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope, and vnfeined belefe in my good doynge, and iust proceedinges for you, without my desire or request, haue committed to myne ordre and disposicion, all Chauntries, Colleges, Hospitalles, and other places specefied in a certain act, humely trustyng that I wil orde them to the glory of God, and the profite of the common wealth. Surely if I contrary to your expectation, shuld suffre the ministries of the Church to decaie, or learyng (whiche is so great a iuel) to be diminished, or pore and miserable people, to be vnelieued, you might say that I beyng put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this cace, were no trustie frende to you, nor charitable man to mine euen christian, neither a louer of the publyk wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom accompt must be rēdered of all oue doynge. Doubt not I praye you, but your expectation shalbe serued, more Godly and goodly then you wil wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceiue.

Now, sithence I find suche kyndenes, on your part towarde me, I can not chose, but loue and fauor you, affirmyng that no prince in the world, more fauoreth his subiectes, then I do you, nor no subiectes or commōs inore, loue and obaye, their souereigne lord, then I perceiue you do me, for whose defēce my treasure shal not be hiddē, nor yf necessite requyre my persone shall not bee vnadventured yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect loue and concord, this frendly amity can not continue, except bothe you my lordes temporal, and you my lordes spiritual, and you my louyng subiectes, studie and take paine to amend one thing, which surely is amisse, and farre out of ordie, to the which I most hartely require you, whiche is, that charity and concord is not emongest you, but discord and dissenciō, beareth rule in euery place. S. Paule esaieth to the Corinthians, in the. xij. Chapter, Charitie is gētle, Charitie is not enuius, Charitie is not proude and so furth in thesaid Chapter. Beholde then what loue and Charitie is emongest you, whē the one calleth the other, Hereticke and Anabaptist, and he calleth hym again Papist, Ypocrite, and Pharisey. Be these tokens of charitie emōgest you. Are these the signes of fraternal loue between you: No, no, I assure you, that this lacke of Charitie emongest your selves, will bee the hinderance and aswagyng, of the feruent loue betwene vs, as I said before, except this wōld be salued, and clerely made whole. I must nōdes iudge the fault and occasion of this discorde, to bee partly by negligence of you the fathers & preachers of the spiritualtie. For if I know a man whyche liueth in adultery, I muste iudge hym a lecherous and a carnall persone: If I se a man boast and bragg hymself, I cannot but deme hym a proude manne. I se and here daily that you of the Clergy preache onc against another, teache one cōtrary to another, inueigh one against another without Charity or discreciō. Some be to styff in their old Mumpsinus, othei be to busy and curious, in their newe Sumpsinus. Thus all men almoste be in variety and discord, and fewe or none preache truly and sincerely the worde of God accordyng as thei ought to do. Shal I now iudge you charitable persones doing this. No, no, I cannot so do. alas how can the pore soules lue in concord when you preachers sow emonges them in your sermons, debate & discord. Of you thei loke for light, and you bryng the to darchenes. Amende these cymes I exhorte you, & set sueth Goddes worde, bothe by true preaching, and good example geuyng, or



els I whom God hath appoynted his Vicare, and high mynster here, wyll se these dyuisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, accordyng to my very duety, or els I am an vnprofitable seruante, and vntrue officer

Although as I saie, the spirituall men be in some faute, that chaitye is not kept emongest you, yet you of the temporalitie, bee not cleane and vnspotted of malice and enuie, for you rayle on Bishoppes speake slauderously of Priestes, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, bothe contrary to good ordre, and Christian fraternity. If you knowe surely that a bishop or preacher, eireth or techeth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Counsayl or to vs, to whom is committed by God the high auctority to reforme and ordre such causes and behauiours and bee not ludges your selves, of your awne phantasticall opinions, and vain exposicions, for in suche high causes ye maie lightly erre. And although you be permitted to reade holy scripture, and to haue the word of God in your mother tongue, you must vnderstande that it is licensed you so to do, onely to informe your awne conscience, and to instruct your childe and famely, & not to dispute and make scripture, a railyng and a taunting stocke, against Priestes and Preachers (as many light persones do.) I am very sorry to knowe & here, how vnreuerently that moste precious iuel the worde of God is disputed, tyled, song and rangled in euery Alehouse and Tauerne, cōtrary to the true meaning & doctrine of thesame. And yet I am euen asmuch sorry, that the readers of thesame, folowe it in doynge so fayntlye and coldly for of thys I am sure, that Chaitye was neuer so faint emongest you, and verteous and Godly liuyng was neuer lesse vsed, nor God him self emongest Christians, was neuer lesse reuerenced, honored or serued. Therefore as I said before, bee in Charitie one with another, lyke brother and brother, loue dread and serue God (to the which I as your supreme heade, and souereigne lord, exhort and require you) & the I doubt not, but that loue & league, that I spake of in the beginning, shall neuer be dissolued or broken betwene vs. And the makinge of lawes, whiche be now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers, to bee as diligēt in puttyng them in executiyn, as you wer in making and furthering thesame, or els your labor shalbe in vain, and your commonwealth nothing releued. Now to your peticion, concerning our royal assent, to be geuen to such actes as hath passed both the houses. They shalbe read openly, that ye maye hear them. Then they were openly read, and to many hys grace assented, and diuerse he assented not vnto. Thys the kinges oracion was to his subiectes there present suche comfort, that the lyke ioye could no be vnto them in this world. And thus the actes read, as the maner is, and his assent geuen, his grace rose and departed.

**Barck Ager** In this tyme, there was by the Frenchmen, a voyage made towaide the Ile of Brasile, wyth a shyp called the Barck Ager, whiche thei had taken from the Englysh men before. And in their way they fortunēd to mete sodainly wyth a litle Craer, of whom was Maister one Golding, which Golding was a fearce and an hardy man. The barck perceiuing this small Craer to be an Englyshman, shott at hym and bouged hym, wherfore the Craer drew strayght to the great shyp, and six or seuen of the man lept into the Barke. The Frenchmen looking ouer the boord at the sinkyng of the Craer, nothyng mystrustyng any thyng, y myght be done by the Englyshmen. And so it fortunēd that those Englyshmen whyche clymed into the shyp, founde in the ende thereof, a great nōber of lime pottes, which thei with water quenched, or rather as the natur thercof is set them a fyre, and threw them at the Frenchmen that wer aborde, and so blynded them, that those fewe Englyshmen that entred the shippe, vanquished al that were therein, and dryue them vnder hatches, and brought the Barck clerely awayn agayn into Englande.

### ¶ THE XXXVIJ. YERE.

IN the monethe of Aprill, by meanes of diuers Prynces, an assemble was had, betwene both the Realmes, of Englande and Fraunce, at Guysnes and Arde. There were for the  
Kynge

of Englande, the Erle of Hertforde, the Lorde Lysle Admyrall, Syr Wylliam Paget Secre-  
tarye, and Doctor Wotton Dean of Cauntorbury And for the Frenche kyng, the lorde  
Clado Doneball Admirall, and Marshall of Fraunce the byshoppe of Eureux, a president  
and a Secretary After long debating, and diuerse breckies, a peace was concluded, and  
proclaymed in the kynges Court, and in the cite of London on Whitsunday, with sound of  
Tronipettes. And likewyse was it done at Paris and Roan. For the performauce where-  
of, the Viscount Lisle Admiral, wyth the bishoppe of Duresme, and dyuerse lordes, and  
aboue an hundred gentlemē, all in Veluet coates and cheynes of golde, went to Paris, and  
were there solemplye receyued and feasted, and shortly returned.

After whose returne, the Admirall of Fraunce, accompanied wyth the bishoppe of Eu-  
reux, the Isles of Nauteuile, and Villiers, and diuerse great Lordes, besyde two hundreth  
Gentlemen well appointed, tooke his Galey at Depe, and hauinge in hys compaignie twelue  
fayre Galies wel trimmed and decked, sayled into Englande, and neuer toke lande, till he  
came to Grenewiche, where he was receiued by the Fries of Essex and Darby, the xix day  
of August And the next day, he wyth al hys Galies, landed at the Tower Wharte, and on  
al the bankes, by f water syde, laye peces of ordinaunce which shot of, but especially f  
Tower of London, where was shot a terrible peale of ordinaunce And frō thence he rode  
through London, in greate triumphe, the Maior & the craftes standing in the stetes in good  
oordre, to the Bishoppes Palace of London, wher he lodged, tyl Bartholomew euen, on  
whiche day he was conueighed toward Hampton Court, where in the way the pynce hauyng  
wyth hym the Archebyshoppe of Yorke, the Erles of Heutford and Huntingdon, and about  
two thousande horse, mette hym and embraced hym, in such lowly and honourable maner,  
that all the beholders gretely reioysed, and much marueyled at his wyt and audacitie, and  
so he came to the Court, geuyng the Prynce the vpper hand as he roade And at the vtter  
gate of the Courte, the Lord Chauncellor, and al the Kynges counsaill receiued him, and  
brought him to his lodgyng.

On Barthelemew daye, the kyng rychly appaieled, welcomed hym and in great triumph  
went to the chapel, wher the league was sworne and signed To tel you of the costlye ban-  
quet houses, that were built, & of the great banquettes, the costly Maskes, the liberal hunt-  
ynges that were shewed to hym, you woulde much maruel, and skant beleue But on Fri-  
day folowyng, he beyng rewarded with a Cupborde of plate, to the value of twelue hun-  
dred pound, returned to Londō, and on Sunday tooke his Galies and departed Beside  
this diuerse of his cōpayny had much plate, and manye hoisses, and Greyhoundes geuen  
them Also the Admiral had geuen to hym, of the cite of London, twoo Flagons gylt,  
and twoo parcel gylt, to the somme of an hundred and syxe and thritie pounde, beside Wine,  
Waxe, and Torches and thus thei laden wyth more ryches then they brought, returned into  
Fraunce.

Although this peace pleased, both the Englysh and the French nacions, yet surely both  
mistrusted, the continuance of thesame, considering the old Prouerbe, that the iye seeth, NB  
the harte rueth, for the Fiēch men styll longed for Bulleyn, and the Englyshmen minded  
not to geue it ouer. in so much as during the Admualles of Fraunce beyng in England, the  
captayn of the newe fortresse, began to make a Pile, euen at the very haueu mouth of Bul-  
leyn but the Lorde Gray capitain there put awaye the worke men, and toke awaye their  
toolles, and filled the trenches, to the Frenchinennes great displeasure And after the Frenche  
kyng caused vpon a great payn, that al the trenches, and newe inuencions should be cast  
doun, and fylled by hys owne people, leaste he should seme to be the breake of the peace.

In this yere was a reignied, cōdemned and burned, for affirming opimons, contrary to  
the syxe articles, foure persones, that is to saye, Anne Askew Gentlewoman, Ihon Lacelles  
a Gentleman, Nicholas Otterden Priester, and Ihon Adlan a Taylor all these were burned  
in Smithfelde, the xvi. day of Iuly and because the whole processe of their matters is by  
diuerse wryters set furth, therefore I passe it ouer In Ianuary were attaynted of hygh trea-



son, Thomas duke of Norffolke, and Henry his sonne erle of Surrey which erle was behedd-  
ed at the Tower Hill.

The death  
of Kyng  
Henry the  
eight.

Kyng Ed-  
ward the  
next crown-  
ed.

Now approached to thys noble kyng, that whych is by God decreed, and appoynted to all  
menne, for at thys ceason in the monethe of Ianuary, he yelded hys spirite to almighty God,  
and departed thys worlde, and lyeth buryed at Wyndsore And the laste daye of Ianuary  
was hys true, lawfull and onely sonne Prynce Edward Proclaymed kyng, of all his fathers  
dominions, and the. xix. daye of February, was crowned and anoynted Kyng of thys realme,  
whome Iesu preserue, longe to reygne ouer vs.

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Printed in the USA  
BVOW06s1940211013

334312BV00007B/63/P







